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Rezanov Reconnoiters California, 1806

Fort Ross Interpretive Association
19005 Coast Highway 1
Jenner, CA 95450

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Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov.

Rezanov Reconnoiters California, 1806

A new translation of Rezanov's letter, parts of Lieutenant Khvostov's log of the ship *Juno*, and Dr. Georg von Langsdorff observations

Edited by Richard A. Pierce

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The Book Club of California San Francisco 1972

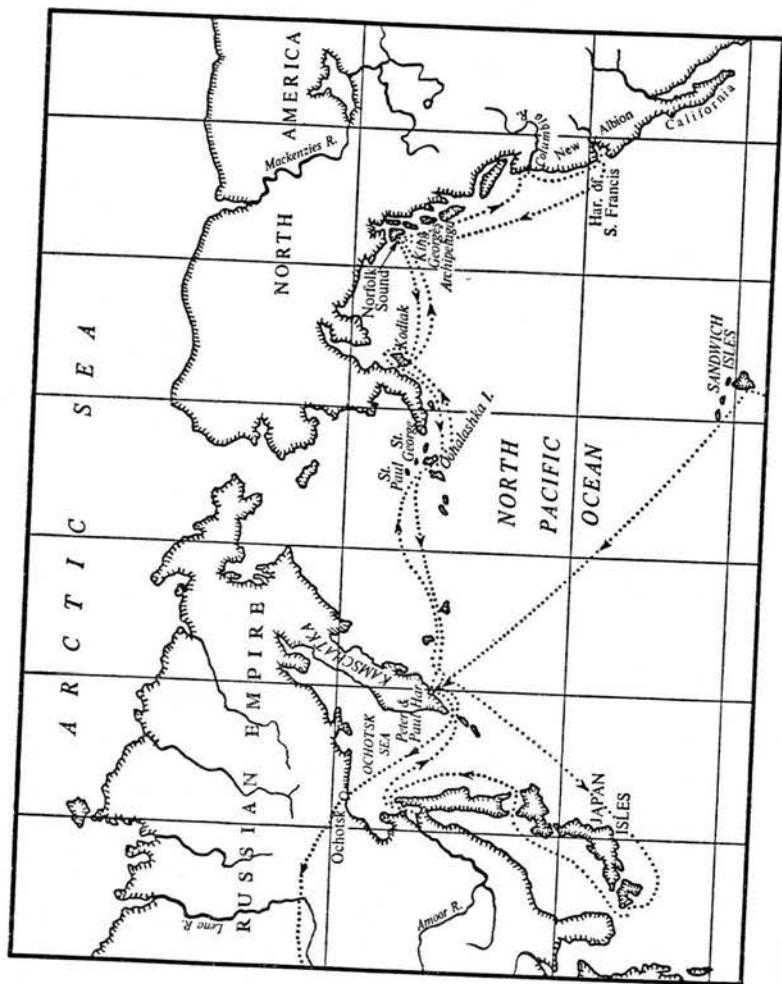
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Cover design: view of parts of the Coast of Northwest America,
Point Reyes and Port of St. Francisco, Vancouver, 1798.

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Rezanov's voyages in the North Pacific.

Introduction

The voyage to California of Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, high official of the Imperial Court and Plenipotentiary of the Russian-American Company, was a notable event in more than a century of Russian exploration and dominion in North America. Profiting from the preoccupation of the European powers in wars touched off by the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon, Russia had with a handful of men and scant means laid claim to the Aleutian chain and a major part of the northwest coast of North America. Grigorii Shelikhov (1747-1795), a wealthy and enterprising Siberian merchant, had organized a successful trading company and had himself established the first permanent Russian post in North America on the island of Kodiak in 1784. His appointee as Chief Manager of the company's American holdings, Alexander Andreevich Baranov (1746-1819) had with courage and resourcefulness established other posts, including the new capital of the Russian colonies, New Archangel (Sitka) and every year collected thousands of sea otter, seal and other pelts for shipment to Okhotsk. From there, for the ultimate benefit of private traders and the Imperial Treasury, the precious cargo was sent to Irkutsk, capital of Eastern Siberia, and on to the border trading center of Kiakhta for sale to the Chinese.

Rezanov was born in 1764, the son of a respected jurist of Irkutsk. Entering government service, he became in 1791 the chief clerk of G.R. Derzhavin, the influential head of the Senate office of petitions, and gained a reputation for honesty and efficiency. On a trip to Siberia to inspect shipbuilding and navigation facilities on the Pacific coast, Rezanov met and married the daughter of Grigorii Shelikhov, thereupon becoming involved in the latter's far-reaching trading operations and plans. After Shelikhov's death, Rezanov became a leading figure in his late father-in-law's concern.

In 1799 he made effective use of his position at court to persuade Emperor Paul to grant the Shelikhov enterprise long-sought monopoly rights as the Russian-American Company. The list of shareholders included Paul's son and successor, Emperor Alexander I.

The complex tasks of recruiting personnel for the colonies, procuring supplies, building ships, establishing settlements, carrying on the fur trade, trying to prevent illegal trade by foreigners (chiefly New Englanders), giving a modicum of fair treatment to the natives, and laying claim to new territories for the Empire created many difficulties. In 1803, Rezanov was chosen to study the situation in the Russian possessions on both shores of the North Pacific at firsthand, with plenipotentiary powers to reorganize administrative and economic procedures on the spot, and to attempt to open trade relations with Japan. For that reason he travelled to the Pacific on the ship *Nadezhda* (Captain Krusenstern), which with the ship *Neva* (Lieutenant Lisianskii) comprised the first Russian round-the-world expedition. Still grieving over the recent death of his wife, and with close personal interests in the North American colonies, he willingly undertook the arduous journey to the other side of the globe. The German naturalist and physician, Dr. Georg von Langsdorff, a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, went along on the voyage to conduct scientific investigations. He also was a skilled artist who depicted scenes, people, fauna and artifacts encountered on the voyage.

The *Nadezhda* (the *Neva* had sailed directly to Russian America) arrived in Japan in September 1804, and remained until the following April, but Rezanov's proposals were rejected by the Japanese government. Leaving the *Nadezhda* in Petropavlovsk, Kamchatka, in June, 1805, Rezanov, accompanied by Langsdorff, made his way to America on a company vessel, the *Maria Magdalena*. The *Maria* reached Kodiak at the end of July, and New Archangel on August 26.

Recently recaptured from the natives by Baranov, with the aid of Lieutenant Lisianskii and the *Neva*, the settlement was being rebuilt. Rezanov shared the hardships of Baranov and his men, and the urbane courtier soon developed high respect for the rugged and energetic manager of the com-

pany's enterprises. The two shared similar broad views of the role which Russia might play in the New World.

There was little food in New Archangel, so in September Rezanov purchased the ship *Juno* and her cargo of supplies from an American skipper, John D'Wolf. Even this did not long suffice, and by the end of the year the food situation was critical. In late January, 1806, Rezanov therefore ordered Lieutenant Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov to fit out the *Juno* and take her to San Francisco for a cargo of grain. Spain forbade foreign trading ships to enter her ports, so Rezanov himself went along to deal with the Spaniards and, more important, to reconnoiter the coast with a view toward establishing Russian posts at the mouth of the Columbia River and as far south as the Spanish possessions. Dr. Langsdorff accompanied him. The crew, says the log, included Lieutenant Khvostov, two sub-lieutenants, two sailors, "four Englishmen," and 14 hunters.

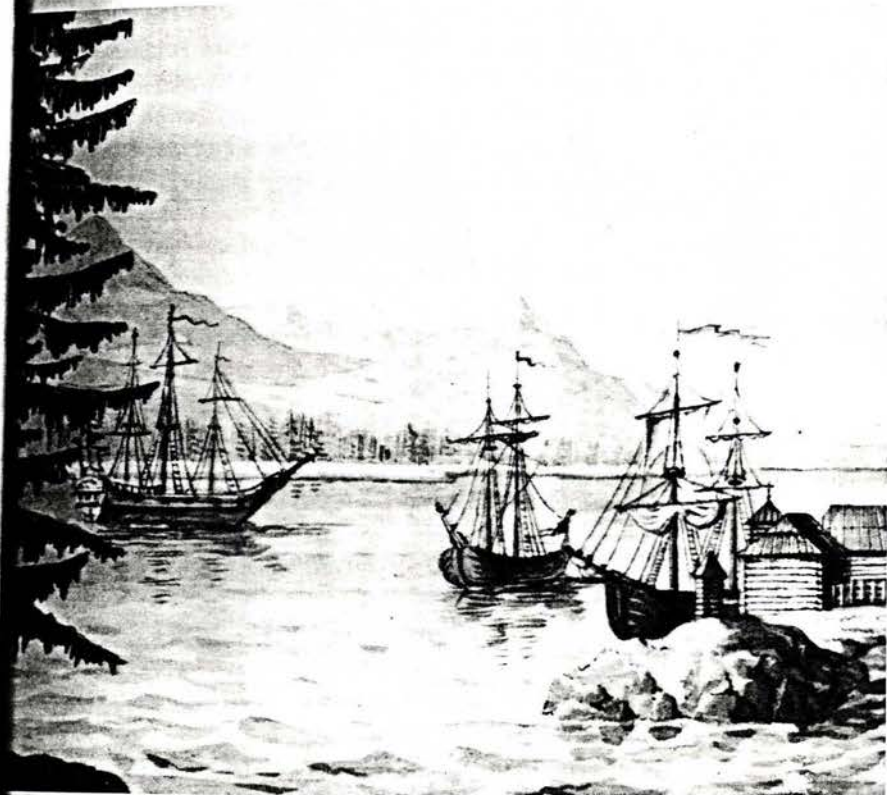
Details of the voyage have up to now been drawn chiefly from Rezanov's letter of June 17, 1806, to the Minister of Commerce, Count N. P. Rumiantsev, and from the book by Langsdorff, Rezanov's physician and companion on the voyage. Rezanov's letter, printed in P. A. Tikhmenev's *Istoricheskoe obozrenie obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerikanskoi kompanii i deistvii eia do nastoiashchago vremeni* (Historical review of the origins of the Russian-American Company and its activities to the present time), St. Petersburg, 1861-1863, 2 vols., describes the voyage from New Archangel, the visit to San Francisco, and some of his aims. Unfortunately, Tikhmenev saw fit to excise several passages (here marked by dots), perhaps because they contained information on policies or personalities which even a half-century later he judged indiscreet to publish. The original document was probably destroyed in 1870 with other company papers following the sale of Russian America to the United States and the firm's liquidation.

A translation of this letter made by Ivan Petroff, in The Bancroft Library, has been used by later writers, and the portion pertaining to California was published in a limited edition by Thomas C. Russell as *The Rezanov Voyage to Nueva California in 1806 . . .*, San Francisco, 1926. However, the scholarship of that volume was criticized by Avrahm

Yarmolinsky in "A Rambling Note on the 'Russian Columbus'" (*New York Public Library Bulletin*, vol. 31, No. 9, September 1927, pp. 707-713), and Petroff's translation is unreliable. It has therefore seemed justified to republish this revealing document in complete form and in an improved translation. The version presented here is from a translation of part of the Tikhmenev work made by Dmitrii Krenov, for a W.P.A. Writer's Project in about 1940. Krenov's typescript is in the Northwest Americana collection of the University of Washington Library. I have compared this translation with the Russian text published by Tikhmenev, and have made a number of changes.

Langsdorff's account, contained in his book, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1812, 2 vols.), supplements that of Rezanov. The book was translated and published, slightly abridged, as *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807* (London, 1813, & Amsterdam and New York, 1968, 2 vols.). As this source is well-known and generally accessible, there has been selected for inclusion in an appendix only those passages of Langsdorff's text about the period spent ashore that relate specifically to Rezanov's letter or to the log of the *Juno*, excluding most of his general comment about California and his description of a visit to San Jose that do not have parallels in the Russian accounts.

The observations of Rezanov and Langsdorff are supplemented by a little-known source on the voyage, the log of the *Juno*, kept by the vessel's commander, Lieutenant N.A. Khvostov. A portion of this log appeared in volume 3 of the typewritten text, *Alaska History Research Project. Documents Relative to the History of Alaska*, translated by Tikhon Lavrishcheff in 1936-1937. Copies of this work may be found at the University of Alaska and in the Library of Congress. I have checked Lavrishcheff's translation against the original extract, in the Yudin Collection (Box 1, Folder 11), also in the Library of Congress, have made corrections, and have restored portions which he omitted. Omissions indicated in the entries for February 15 and 16 are in the original document. The log itself was probably lost in the destruction of the company files.



New Archangel (Norfolk Sound).
Detail, pen & wash drawing by Langsdorff, 1806.

The Rezanov, Khvostov, and Langsdorff accounts generally corroborate or supplement one another, but sometimes are in conflict. In any case, they provide nearly all that is known concerning this voyage, which might have been fateful for the Pacific Coast had Rezanov been able to pursue his plans. Together, they clarify certain points and provide new facts.

The three accounts agree on February 25, old style (March 8, new style) as the day of departure from New Archangel. The log provides a day-by-day narration of the voyage. Langsdorff supplements Khvostov's laconic entries, but some of his dates seem inaccurate. Like many diarists, he may have tried to reconstruct events from memory some days after they had occurred, with consequent error. Longitudes in the log of the *Juno* are expressed in degrees east of Greenwich, not west, as in Langsdorff's calculations and on all modern maps. To arrive at the latter, one may subtract Khvostov's figure from 360°. Vancouver's charts, which were used on the voyage, show both figures. Khvostov and Langsdorff frequently differ in their position reckoning, indicating error on the part of one or the other, or both. Khvostov's February 27 longitude of 224° 19' E. (135° 41' W.) would have placed the *Juno* in the interior of what is now British Columbia, but this may have been the fault of the copyist.

All three accounts agree that land was sighted near the mouth of the Columbia River on March 14, but that during the night the ship was carried by the current to Gray's Harbor, which Langsdorff and two Aleuts then reconnoitered in a baidarka (kayak). Khvostov and Rezanov mention this only briefly, whereas Langsdorff, who in some peril regained the ship after dark, understandably dwells upon it at greater length.

They then tried for the mouth of the Columbia again. Khvostov says they sighted it on the 18th, Langsdorff says the 19th, and Rezanov the 20th. Khvostov's entry seems to combine several days' occurrences; Langsdorff and Rezanov spread the effort over two or three days, and indicate that they gave up trying to enter the Columbia about the 21st, and headed south.

The log mentions the death of a hunter from scurvy on March 11;

Langsdorff has it on March 22; Rezanov mentions it but gives no date.

None of the three accounts supports the assertion in a paper read before the California Historical Society on March 10, 1891 by Professor George Davidson, quoting Ivan Petrof as saying "There is authority in the Russian records that Rezanov tried to enter Humboldt Bay but failed." The bay was in fact entered by Russians later in the same year, but under an American skipper, John Winship, who had contracted with Baranov to hunt sea otter on shares along the California coast in exchange for the use of a crew of Aleuts, with baidarkas. It is interesting to note, however, that Map 13 in M.D. Teben'kov's *Atlas severo-zapadnykh beregov Ameriki ot Beringova proliva do Mysa Korrientes i ostrovov Aleuskiikh* . . . [Atlas of the northwest coasts of America from Bering Strait to Cape Corrientes and the Aleutian Islands . . .], St. Petersburg, 1852, shows the bay as "Zaliv Indeitsov ili Rezanova" [Indian or Rezanov Bay]. The explanatory text, *Gidrograficheskiia zamechaniia k atlasu* . . . [Hydrographic notes to the atlas . . .] mentions the Winship visit but does not indicate the origin of the name "Rezanov Bay." It may be inferred that the bay was named after Rezanov at the time because of his keen desire for Russian exploration and settlement on the coast and that later, as memory of him dimmed, the name was supplanted by "Indian Bay."

The log states that on March 25, at dawn, they sighted Cape Mendocino. Langsdorff has them sight the Cape "towards evening" on the 23rd.

On the 27th, both the log and Langsdorff note sighting and passing the Farallones, sounding the entrance to the Golden Gate (Langsdorff writes that they were using Vancouver's charts) and anchoring there for the night. In spite of the Spanish ban on entry by foreign vessels, the *Juno* was then brought into San Francisco Bay on March 28. Rezanov has this on the 24th, but evidently erred.

Once the Russians had landed, Rezanov's diplomacy and wordly charm, the desire of the Californians for trade goods, and their natural hospitality won the visitors a warm welcome. The Russian plenipotentiary gained such esteem from the commandant of the presidio of San Francisco, Don José Arguello, and his superior, the governor of Spanish California, Don

José Arrillaga, that they freely discussed official matters with him. Rezanov on the other hand, though disarming in manner, was less frank. He concealed his wish to extend Russian control southward, made no mention of the serious food problem at New Archangel, and evaded the question of aid extended by the Russians to foreign skippers who wished to poach for sea otter on the Spanish shores. When Governor Arrillaga inquired about a Boston ship with a party of Aleuts from Russian America which had wintered in California "about five years" before—later specified as that of the skipper Joseph O'Cain, in 1803—Rezanov had an easy explanation. O'Cain, he said, was little better than a pirate; he had seized a number of Aleuts and had taken them to California without the company's consent. The following year the British skipper Captain Barber had brought some of the Aleuts back, exacting a ransom, but the whereabouts of the remaining Aleuts, as of O'Cain, was a mystery. Actually, Rezanov knew the situation very well. The ship *O'Cain*, under its skipper of the same name, had sailed from Boston about January 23, 1803. O'Cain obtained a crew of Aleuts with baidarkas from Baranov under an agreement to hunt sea otter on shares. The vessel had wintered on the California coast, the men hunting all the while, returned to Kodiak in June, 1804, presumably bringing back the Aleuts, and after settling with Baranov, had sailed to Canton and Boston. Barber had indeed delivered some company employees for a ransom, but these were survivors of the Indian massacre at Sitka in 1801.

In similar easy fashion Rezanov allayed his hosts' concern over the problem of what to do with the *Juno* in case of war between Russia and Spain. Involvement in an alliance with France had brought Spain into conflict with Great Britain, joined in the autumn of 1805 by Austria and Russia. Nevertheless, although news of a declaration of war between Spain and Russia was expected at any time, Rezanov remained outwardly unperturbed. (Khvostov, in his entry for April 9, says that they were informed that the two countries were actually at war, but Rezanov in describing the incident says they were told that if they were not then at war they soon would be.) He said soothingly that it was just as likely that peace had been restored and he dwelt on the benefits which the two coun-

tries' colonies could derive from closer ties. Soon, in addition to his original aims, he began to entertain hopes of concluding a trade agreement. In support alike of his own and of Russian state interests—it is uncertain which predominated—the 42 year-old Rezanov even won the heart of Arguello's 15 year-old daughter Concepcion, and after her family overcame their initial dismay, this brought him closer to his hosts than ever.

He was even able to turn the dissatisfaction of members of the *Juno's* crew to advantage. On April 21, according to the log, two of the Russian hunters ran away. Rezanov also mentions this. On April 25, under pretext of a search for the pair, he sent Lieutenant Khvostov and nine men to explore the north side of the bay. Remarks on the possibilities for fortification, shipbuilding, agriculture and the hope of easy communication with a future Russian post to be set up farther north at Bodega Bay indicate the seriousness of Rezanov's intent to take possession for Russia of territories immediately adjacent to those occupied by the Spanish. Had he lived and been able to use his influence at court to obtain support for the venture and funds for ships, supplies, and colonists, the Marin side of the bay might have provided a base in northern California much more useful than those at Ross and Bodega, from whence Russian influence could have reached into the fertile interior valleys.

The fugitive Russians were not found, but several other crewman had to await the end of the visit in discomfort. On April 2, Khvostov relates, "five English sailors" in the crew jumped ship. The entry for February 15, however, lists their number as four, and Rezanov, placing the occurrence on "the third day after we arrived," bears this out and clarifies their origin when he describes them as "three Bostonians [Americans] and a Prussian who had entered the company's service as sailors when we purchased the *Juno*." Apprehended, the men were marooned on "a barren island" in the bay for punishment and safekeeping. Judging by the anchorage of the *Juno*, not far from the presidio, and the convenience of the site, the four may have been the first men to sit out a sentence on Alcatraz.

Finally, with trade goods disposed of, a cargo of grain loaded, and all on board restored to health, the time came for departure, and on May 10

Rezanov and Langsdorff) or 11 (Khvostov) the *Juno* left San Francisco. As on the southward voyage, Langsdorff provides additional details, but differs somewhat from Khvostov in dates and reckoning of position, or in matters observed. On June 1 and 2, Khvostov notes damage to rigging and its repair. Rezanov states that this was during a period of calm when they were near "Kaigany Island" (probably Dall Island, in the Alexander Archipelago) and that they were just in time, before "a heavy gale arose, in which all our masts would have snapped off had not our repairs been made." Langsdorff merely notes a period of calm for this period. On June 8 (Rezanov) or 9 (Khvostov and Langsdorff) the *Juno* arrived in New Archangel.

Once ashore, Langsdorff wasted no time in requesting permission to depart. He had received little cooperation in his scientific efforts, and by now had had enough of Russian America, so on June 18 he left with the American captain D'Wolf on the small (25 tons) brig *Rostislav*, bound for Okhotsk. The *Rostislav* was so slow, however, that they arrived at Petropavlovsk, Kamchatka, only on September 2, and rather than go to Okhotsk and make the winter's journey across Siberia, they elected to remain in Kamchatka until the following year. Meanwhile, in August, Rezanov departed from New Archangel on the *Juno*, under Lieutenant Khvostov, bound for Okhotsk, reaching there in September. He intended to proceed thence overland to St. Petersburg, where he could report in person to the Emperor on his achievements and plans. He would also ask the Sovereign's permission for him to marry Doña Concepcion, the first step in a complex procedure which would involve application to both the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches, and to the Spanish government. However, this was not to be. Leaving Okhotsk on September 24, Rezanov in his haste neglected his health. He was twice laid up at points along the way, and on March 1, 1807 died at Krasnoiarsk. Langsdorff visited the grave of his erstwhile chief when he passed through Krasnoiarsk in late November of the same year.

With Rezanov died most of his dreams for a Russian claim to the Pacific coast of North America. Baranov established the Russian settlements of

Ross and Bodega in 1812, but his successors lacked either the means or the zeal to do more, and Russian enterprise in North America was eventually restricted to northern latitudes by agreements with the United States and Great Britain.

The final stories of the other principals in Rezanov's California venture can be easily told. While Rezanov was at Okhotsk he ordered Lieutenant Khvostov and his chief navigator Davydov to use the *Juno* and another vessel for an ill-advised punitive expedition against the Japanese in 1806-1807. Arrested at Okhotsk by a hostile local official upon their return, they were imprisoned, escaped, later went to St. Petersburg for trial, but were there released to take part in the war with Sweden. Again in the capital in October, 1809, they joined Captain D'Wolf and Dr. Langsdorff in a convivial evening of reminiscence of times past. One the way home, the two men fell into the chill waters of the river Neva and both were drowned. Davydov had started a book on his and Khvostov's travels, and this was completed as far as possible by Vice Admiral A.S. Shishkov and published as *Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku morskikh ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova* [Two voyages to America by the naval officers Khvostov and Davydov], St. Petersburg, 1810-1812, 2 vols. Unfortunately, the book contains nothing on the *Juno's* California voyage.

The *Juno* was wrecked on November 3, 1811 on the coast of Kamchatka while enroute from New Archangel to Petropavlovsk. Only three men survived.

Doctor Langsdorff distinguished himself as a naturalist, but in 1829 contracted a tropical fever in Brazil which afflicted him with an incurable mental illness until his death in 1852.

Rezanov's young betrothed, Doña Concepcion, waited in vain for word of him, and would wed no other. When she heard of his death is uncertain. Some foreign ship may have brought the sad news a year or two later. Otherwise, Kotzebue, who called at San Francisco on the *Rurik* in September, 1816, would almost certainly have been asked about Rezanov. Bret Harte's poem to the contrary, it is unlikely that Doña Concepcion learned the circumstances of Rezanov's death only from Sir George Simp-

son, visiting San Francisco 34 years later, in 1842. Regardless of how and when she may have heard the news, Doña Concepcion later became a nun and died in 1857 at the age of 67, in the convent of St. Catherine at Benicia.

Captain D'Wolf, original owner of the *Juno*, whose *A Voyage to the North Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1861, and Fairfield, Washington, 1968) mentions the vessel's sale and some of the principals of the story, outlived them all, dying in 1872.

Interest in the story persists, and it has been recounted many times as both history and fiction. Hector Chevigny, who had a profound feeling for the romance of Russian America, wrote the only biography of Rezanov to appear so far. His *Lost Empire. The Life and Adventures of Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov*, New York, 1937, and Portland, Oregon, 1958, although in popular form, provides some new facts and some theories deserving further investigation. Gertrude Atherton was the first to present the tale as a novel in her *Concha Arguello, Sister Dominica*, New York, 1906, republished as *Rezanov and Doña Concha*, New York, 1937. The emigre Russian writer Nikolai Sergievskii, in *Gishpanskaia zateia* [The Spanish Enterprise], New York, 1941 and 1955, and the Soviet writers Ivan Kratt, in *Koloniia Ross* [The Ross Colony], Leningrad, 1950, later enlarged as *Velikii okean* [Great Ocean], Moscow-Leningrad, 1964, and Iurii Kachaev, in *... i gnevaetsia okean* [And the Ocean Roars], Moscow, 1970, have also made it the basis of novels. These provide Russian flavor which would evade foreign writers, but Kratt and Kachaev show their lack of opportunity for on-the-spot study by each having Rezanov, upon entering the Golden Gate on the *Juno*, admire the snowy peaks of the Sierra Nevada to the east, and Kratt, reflecting contemporary Soviet politics, makes many anti-American and anti-British references.

All works on the voyage have depended mainly on the Rezanov and Langsdorff accounts, to which the Khvostov log may now be added. Further elaboration of the story must await discovery of new material, perhaps in Soviet archives.

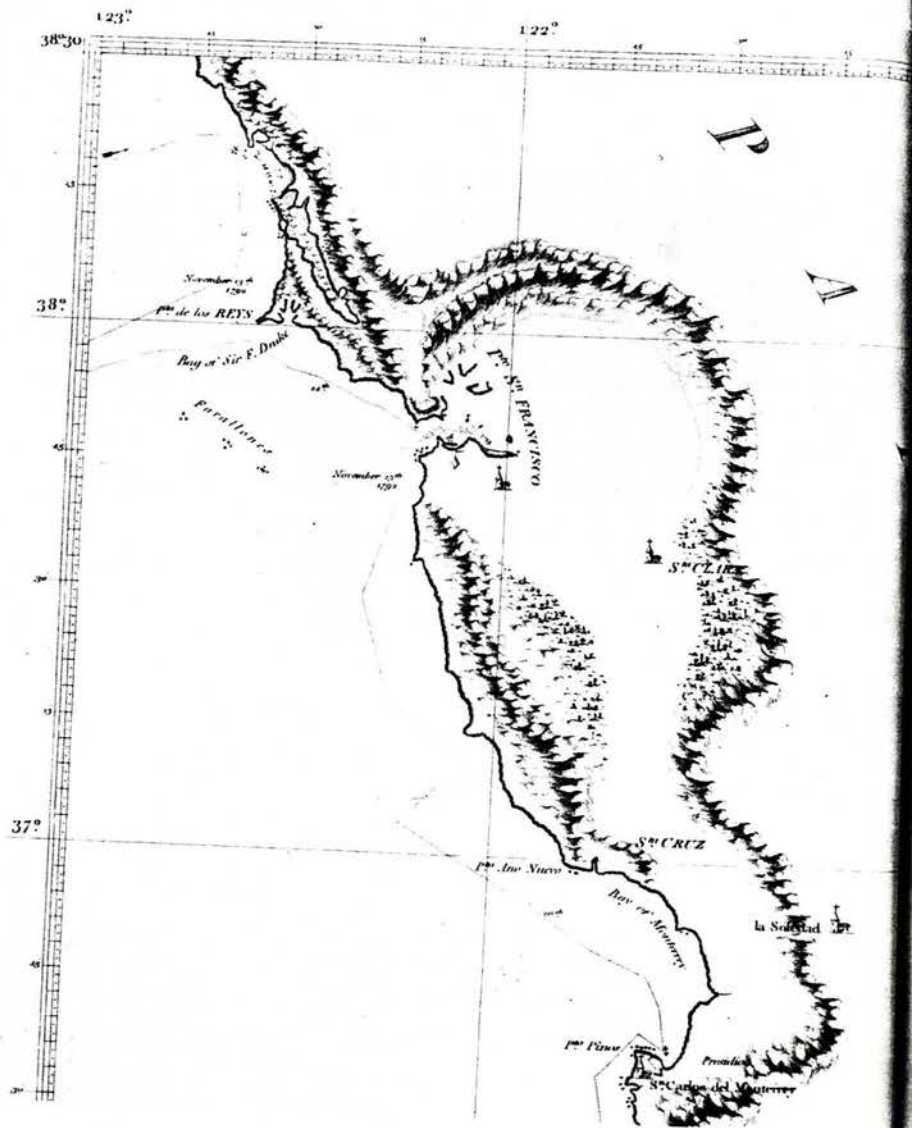
All dates are in old style, twelve days behind reckoning by the Gregorian calendar, unless otherwise indicated. The references to Italian

miles (Khvostov, March 15) and to German miles (Langsdorff, April 9) recall that until the adoption in Europe of a uniform metric system, each country employed its own measurements of distance. The transliteration of Russian names follows the Library of Congress system, slightly modified. Excerpts from Dr. Langsdorff's account, however, have been left in the form of the translation of 1813. Thus the names Von Resanoff, Schwostoff (Khvostov), and Davidoff are as they appear in that work. The references to topgallant sail winds, etc., in the log are expressions of the system used before adoption of the Beaufort scale, indicating a wind velocity by which it would be possible to carry all sails including the sail mentioned without endangering the ship.

RICHARD A. PIERCE

Acknowledgements

The editor wishes to express appreciation to Captain Alistair Ramsay, of Deseronto, Ontario, a veteran seafarer and able scholar, for many helpful suggestions concerning maritime terminology used in the log of the *Juno* and to the cartography laboratory of the Department of Geography, Queen's University, which prepared the map of the voyage.



Map of San Francisco Bay, George Vancouver, 1798.
Used by Lieutenant Khvostov in entering the Bay.

Letter of Rezanov

to the Minister of Commerce, from New Archangel.

June 17, 1806.

Gracious Sire

Count Nikolai Petrovich:

From my recent reports to Your Excellency and to the Board of Directors of the Company you are sufficiently informed of the calamitous situation which I found in the Russian-American possessions. You know of the starvation which we had to endure the entire winter, the men barely subsisting on provisions purchased with the ship *Juno*. You are aware of the disastrous condition of the country caused by sickness, and of my determination to undertake a voyage to New California, setting forth with inexperienced men, sick with scurvy, resolved to save the region or perish in the attempt. Having with God's help completed this journey, so difficult considering the circumstances we were in, I am now pleased to report to Your Excellency on the first step of the Russians in this land.

We left Sitka on February 25th, on the ship *Juno*, which I had purchased from the Bostonians. The crew, disabled by scurvy, soon became exhausted and hardly half were able to man the sails. The sorry shape we were in forced us to take it easy.

Even under these unfavorable conditions it was my intention to explore the Columbia River. I have gone fully into that matter, so to avoid repetition I will merely refer here to my last report to the Board of Directors. We sighted the mouth of this river on March 14th, but contrary winds made us stand off. Keeping for awhile on a southerly course, we returned on the following day and expected to enter the mouth, but observations taken showed a different latitude, and we found that a strong current had carried us sixty miles and that we were opposite Gray's Harbor, the northern shore of which resembles very much the mouth of the Columbia. The wind was blowing offshore and permitted us to lie at anchor. We sent a baidarka in which Doctor Langsdorff entered the harbor. The lead showed the depth of water to be four to five sazhen at the bar at low tide,

and according to him it is not nearly as unapproachable as it has been described by others. Perhaps since their time the bar has been lowered by the current. He saw much smoke at the head of the harbor, and he inferred that the country must be inhabited. The anchorage is good and well sheltered from the winds, while the bottom is sandy. I merely repeat here to Your Excellency the words of the doctor, but I myself saw sloping sandy shores, covered with woods. At night taking advantage of a favorable wind we left the coast and thereafter severe and contrary winds kept us out at sea. The number of sick increased daily and one of them died, a victim of our wanderings. Beginning with myself the scurvy spared no one, not even the officers.

Seeking to enter the Columbia River, the only harbor this side of California, in order to recuperate, we neared it on the evening of March 20th and anchored. We intended to enter it the next day, but the rushing current and high breakers in the channel made this impossible. The Indians lit fires on the hills, inviting us to enter, but the strong wind prevented them from being our guides. At length, we sought a shelter ourselves, and got ourselves into such whirlpools that we barely had time to anchor in four sazhens of water. Here I saw the skill of Lieutenant Khvostov, and to do him justice I must state that it was only by his resoluteness that we were saved and managed to extricate ourselves from the place we were in, surrounded by ledges of rock. The condition of the men demanded that we take advantage of the first fresh north wind. Thanks to God, a change in the moon brought us a continuing and favorable wind, and with pallid, deathlike faces we at last reached the entrance to San Francisco Bay on the night of March 24th and on account of dense fog we anchored outside to wait for the morning.

On the following morning a favorable wind and current enabled us to enter the port. Knowing the suspicious nature of the Spanish Government, and in view of our desperate situation, I thought it best to go straight through the Gate and past the fort. I deemed it useless to ask for permission to enter, since in the event of refusal we should perish at sea, and decided that two or three cannon-balls would make less difference to

us than refusal. With all sails full, we ran for the harbor. As we neared the fort we could see a great commotion among the soldiers. When we were abreast of it one of them asked through a speaking-trumpet; "What ship is that?"

"Russian!" we replied.

They shouted to us several times to anchor, but we merely replied: "Si Señor! Si Señor!", simulating confusion, meanwhile passing the fortress, until, running up in the port, we finally complied with their demand, anchoring at a cannon-shot's distance.

Soon about twenty horsemen, among whom were the commandant and a missionary, demanded the surrender of the ship, but we could afford to be bold, as their cavalry was within range of our grapeshot.

I dispatched Midshipman Davydov to inform them that I was the one of whose coming I hoped they had been notified by their Government; that I was proceeding to Monterey but my ship had been damaged by storms, which compelled me to seek shelter in the first port; and that I should leave as soon as the repairs were made. The answer was brought back that orders had already been received from the King to render us all necessary assistance, and that the commandant invited me to dine with him at the presidio, at the same time assuring me that all my requests should be promptly attended to. Gratitude forced me to go ashore, where I was met by Don Luis de Arguello, a son of the commandant, taking his father's place during the latter's absence. We were proffered saddle-horses, but as the presidio is not more than a verst [0.66 mile] away from the shore, we went on foot with the commandant and the missionary, Father José de Uria. The cordial reception by the hospitable family of the commandant overwhelmed us. We remained until evening after dinner, and then returned to the ship. In the meantime veal, vegetables, bread and milk were already sent on board the ship and our men after restoring their exhausted strength felt as gratified and pleased as we.

Don Luis informed me with marked courtesy that he was obliged to send a courier to the governor to advise him of my arrival, and that he therefore found himself compelled to ask where our ships the *Nadezhda*

and *Neva* were, of which they were previously notified. I replied that I had ordered them back to Russia; that I had been entrusted by the Emperor with the command over all the American territories, had visited them during the past year, wintered in Norfolk Sound and finally decided to visit the Governor of New California to confer with him, as the chief of a neighboring territory, as to our mutual interests.

Do not think, Gracious Sire, that I made this declaration from personal ambition. No, it was solely to impress the Spaniards with the importance of our territories in the north and to further our interests with them that I proclaimed myself Commandant General. The interests of our country required it. Even here I did not transgress, as I really have the chief command by the Emperor's orders and by the power of attorney given to me by the shareholders. I made no improper use of these, but on the contrary, sacrificed myself every hour for the benefit of those whom I represented. With the same courier I sent a letter to the Governor thanking him for the gracious manifestations of hospitality and informed him that I would sail to Monterey as soon as the vessel was repaired.

On the following day the missionaries of San Francisco invited us to dinner. The mission is about an hour's ride from the presidio, and I went there with my officers. In our conversation with the missionaries there we touched upon the subject of trade, and their strong wish for it was very clear to us. Later, in a more fitting connection, I shall have the honor to describe to Your Excellency the condition of all the missions, presidios, trade, surplus and requirements of this province but now, Gracious Sire, be kind enough to permit me to occupy your attention with what are perhaps but trifling matters, that I may show you how, imperceptibly to those of whom I shall speak, I accomplished my purpose, in spite of our desperate straits, and the means I employed.

After our return from the mission I sent fitting and valuable presents both to the Commandant and to the missionaries, to repay them for their invitations and to hide from them our poverty and need, of which the Boston vessels had told them to our disadvantage. I accomplished my purpose to perfection. There was not one who did not receive something



Northwest coast Indians in ceremonial dance,
Sitka, Alaska. Detail, pen & wash by Langsdorff, 1806.

especially desired, and the hearts of all inhabitants were won for us. Good reports about the Russians drew the missionaries from afar, while those nearby voluntarily offered to supply us with a cargo of grain.

Seeing the possibility of obtaining a cargo of grain from this port, I decided to go overland to Monterey, which was eighty miles distant. I sent a courier to the Governor with a letter in which I explained that as the repairs to my ship would perhaps detain me a considerable time, I would beg him to allow me to visit him. His reply was full of courtesies. He would not permit me to go to so much trouble, but he himself would undertake this journey the following day, and he had sent orders that I should be assisted in everything. At the same time he sent me the Commandant to congratulate me officially upon my arrival. I recognized in that the suspicious nature of the Spanish Government, which prevents foreigners everywhere from gaining a knowledge of the interior of their territories and from observing the weakness of their military forces.

In the meantime the excellent climate of California, the abundance of breadstuffs there as compared to our lack of them, and the prospect of facing starvation again in the future were the hourly subject of conversation among our men. We noticed their inclination and desire to remain permanently and took measures against their desertion.

The third day after we arrived, three Bostonians and a Prussian who had entered the Company's service as sailors when we purchased the *Juno* expressed to me their wish to stay. I told them that I would consult the Commandant, and after he refused to grant them his permission I ordered them removed to a barren island, where they were held until our departure. In the meantime we placed pickets on shore and established rounds. The Spaniards gave us mounted patrols, but in spite of all measures taken, two very good men who were well cared for, Mikhailo Kallianin and Peter Polkanov, ran away when they went to the creek to wash clothes and disappeared without a trace. Subsequently the Spanish authorities gave me their word of honor to deport the deserters, if found, to Russia by way of Vera Cruz. I will ask to have them punished and returned to America to remain forever. Without severe punishment as an example, it will be hard to control others.

While awaiting the arrival of the Governor we spent our time in the residence of the hospitable Arguellos and soon became on intimate terms with them. Of the lovely sisters of the acting commandant, Doña Concepcion is the recognized beauty of New California, and Your Excellency will agree with me when I say that our past sufferings were required, for our time passed joyfully. Pardon me, Gracious Sire, if I mingle something of the romantic in such a serious letter, but perhaps it is best to be sincere. Meanwhile the favorable reports concerning us which were constantly reaching Monterey had disposed in my favor the Governor himself, who luckily for us had been a friend of this family from his youth.

At last, on April 7th, Don José de Arillaga, governor of the two Californias, arrived. The fortress saluted him with nine cannons, and a battery concealed behind our ship around a point opened fire with the same number.

Weak as the Spanish defenses are, they have nevertheless increased their artillery since Vancouver's visit. We later secretly inspected this battery. It has five brass cannons of twelve pound caliber. I heard that there are seven guns in the fortress. As I was never there and in order to disarm suspicion did not allow others to go either, I do not know if there are more or less guns there.

When the Governor came I at once sent an officer to congratulate him upon his arrival. Replying graciously, he informed me that he had a bad foot, was tired from his journey, but hoped to see me soon. And really this venerable old man, whose hair was white, was extremely fatigued from horseback riding, as there is no other mode of travelling in California. On the following day I expected a visit from the Governor or at least a message brought by one of his officers when I noticed a great commotion among the soldiers at the presidio. About noon two missionaries came to the ship to tell me that the old Commandant Don José de Arguello, who arrived with the Governor, was inviting me to dinner. I replied that the proprieties demanded that I should go to him and thank him for the daily favors accorded to me by his family, but as the Governor with whom I was in official communication was at his house I had to beg pardon for the delay in the discharge of my duties.

Father Pedro, one of the missionaries with whom we had become intimately acquainted, said to me "You have not understood me correctly, the Governor also invites you. All are at the presidio dressed in full uniform, to receive you fittingly."

I told him that I thought that a military officer might have been sent, but the jovial Pedro answered: "Are the holy fathers not as worthy of respect as officers? We live in America and truly know nothing but sincerity."

I thought that perhaps by sending the acting commandant several days before, they counted the formalities already complied with, and so in order not to prejudice our case I decided to go. Saddle horses were brought and we left for the presidio. While riding I fell back with Father Pedro and asked him if permission had been granted to sell us breadstuffs. "I will tell you confidentially," he answered. "The Governor received news from Mexico before his departure from Monterey that if we are not at war with you we soon shall be."

"What nonsense!" said I, laughingly. "Would I have come here at such a time?"

"That is what we said," he replied.

From this it seemed as if the fear was all on their side, and that they suspected our coming was with sinister intentions, expecting perhaps, that the two other ships would arrive soon. Meanwhile, pretending that I had forgotten my handkerchief, I sent a note to the ship, with orders that none of the men should be allowed on shore, and then calmly continued my way. At the entrance to the presidio the officers met us outside the gates, and the picket saluted. The Governor, in full uniform, came to meet us in the patio. Crossing the plaza and seeing the smiling faces of beautiful Spanish girls my suspicions vanished for had there been any ground for worry no women would have been present.

After paying my compliments to the Governor and thanking Commandant Arguello for the kind hospitality of his family I explained to them frankly that it was in their name that I had been invited by the missionaries and not being aware of the status of the holy fathers, I had

put all conventions aside out of my desire to secure the benefits that attracted me to California, and that I longed impatiently for the opportunity to get acquainted with its supreme authorities.

The Governor spoke French quite well. He was confused and apologized for the precipitancy of the missionaries. "It is true," he said, "that I meant to have the honor of inviting you, but I could not venture to do so without first notifying you of my arrival, and although everything in California is subject to my authority, yet my right foot," (on which he could hardly step) "refuses obedience and in this state of affairs the missionaries, who already have your favor, undertook to inform you but instead misinterpreted my instructions."

"In this case," I said, "I am very grateful to the missionaries, since they brought us together."

The unreserved manner of the Governor, the mutual exchange of compliments at the table, and my intimacy, very soon created in us a sincere mutual regard. The commandant of the presidio of Monterey, Don José Noriega de la Guerra, an artillery officer, and several cadets received me with much politeness and from this day on we were on intimate terms with the principal officers and officials of California.

I requested of the Governor a business meeting. He set it for the next day, but I persuaded him to meet me the same evening. "Do not be surprised at my impatience," I said, "I hope you noticed from my letters how precious time is to me." I proceeded to tell him that my visit concerned the American possessions of both Russia and Spain, and entering at once into the matter, I impressed upon him the needs of California and of our settlements which could be supplied by mutual intercourse, that only in that way could lasting bonds of friendship be established between the courts of both countries; that the colonies of both would flourish, and that our coasts would form a tie between us, and would be equally protected by both powers and that then nobody would dare to settle in the unoccupied territory between us. I further explained to him that His Catholic Majesty's possessions in the New World were of such vast extent that it was impossible to protect them, that seeing their weak means of

defense sooner or later they would become a victim of aggression, and that perhaps the war in Europe was now saving them.

As to the suspicions long entertained by their Court that the Russians wanted to occupy their territories, I assured him that even if California were given to us, it would never bring us such advantages as we could expect from mutual commercial intercourse because of the expense of keeping it.

"Dismiss this erroneous idea from your mind," I told him. "Our Monarch's possessions in the north have an inexhaustible source of wealth in furs. The growing demand for these furs, as an article of use as well as of luxury among the northern peoples, will never allow us to leave a country that enriches us, and is of such vastness that for ages to come its supplies cannot be exhausted. Russia's situation, as well as its interests, must convince you that we have no need of the southern parts of America. If it were otherwise, you must acknowledge that so strong a power would not disguise its intentions, and you could never prevent it from carrying them out. I frankly tell you we need breadstuffs. These we can import from Canton, but California being nearer to us and having a surplus that it cannot sell, I came here to discuss with you as the supreme authority of this country the measure that we can both agree upon and which can be approved and confirmed by the courts of both nations. That is the true motive of my arrival and I respectfully ask you to decide speedily in the matter, so that I shall not lose valuable time."

I perceived that the Governor listened to me with much pleasure. "We have already been informed" he said, "of the confidence reposed in you by your Monarch, and of the full powers conferred upon you with regard to America, and know about your instructions concerning commercial affairs. I am exceedingly pleased to know you personally but my position is altogether different from yours, and for many reasons I cannot give you a definite answer, and at once. In the meantime, permit me to ask you, how long ago did you receive letters from Europe?"

"Ten months" I answered him. This was not true, but luckily before his arrival I managed to perfect my knowledge of late political news through the missionaries.

"Do you know," he asked, "that you are at war with Prussia?"

"Perhaps on account of the purchase of Pomerania," I replied.

"But the latest news that I have received from Europe—five and a half months old—shows that Russia's relations with France and her allies are not friendly and sincere."

"That may also be so" I replied, "but the threats of European cabinets are not always to be taken at their face value. As you will agree, we are in such a remote corner of the world that we may hear of war when peace may already have been declared."

"True," said he, "but you take it too calmly!"

"Men like us, who are used to all kinds of danger, must pay little heed to rumors." I reverted to the previous subject, and he asked me to give him till the next day to consider. At the same time he told me very politely that although there were no doubts as to my character, formality demanded that I should send him the documents conferring upon me plenipotentiary powers, so that he could properly make his report to the Viceroy.

"With pleasure" I said, "and then we shall talk seriously tomorrow morning."

Being in close connection with the house of Arguello, I learned the next day, word for word, all that had been said there after I left. The Governor was pleased by my frank declaration. He acknowledged the merits of my conclusions as to the needs of their possessions, consulted with the missionaries, who were all on my side, divulged the unfriendly attitude shown by our European cabinets, and admitted that he wished nothing better than speedily, in some way, to get rid of such guests as we, on whose account he might compromise himself in the eyes of their suspicious government, whether we were received kindly or unkindly. However, he spent the evening writing down my arguments.

I met the Governor at the appointed time and was courteously received. Saying that I had given the Spanish credentials to the ships returning to Russia, as I had not then expected to visit California, I handed him the credentials of various powers, which I had in duplicate. He copied only

my credentials from the French court and from the Company and returned everything.

"Your conversation of last night interested me greatly," said he. "I admit that I wish you success with all my heart, but I cannot conceal the fact that I am expecting to hear hourly of a total breach between our governments. I will tell you sincerely that I do not know how to meet and consider your project, and I must tell you frankly that it would be very agreeable to me to part with you in a friendly manner before the arrival of the courier I am expecting."

"I am astonished at your haste" said I. "You have instructions as to how I should be received. You should adhere to them till you receive others. I came here as I did with the most friendly intentions. It seems to me that the laws of nations give you the means of parting with me in a friendly way. Only set a time within which I must leave."

"Oh, of that you can be assured!"

"Then, said I, "let us put aside this disagreeable concept while we may still occupy ourselves with the interests of both powers."

"You wish to purchase a cargo of breadstuffs here. But tell me, why do you need such a large quantity? You do not need such a quantity of provisions for your ship."

"I will explain my reason to you at once. First, my ship is in need of repairs and the ballast must be unloaded. I would like to load the breadstuffs instead. Second, I want to purchase the breadstuffs, in order to learn, upon their distribution in our possessions in America and Kamchatka, if the prices will be suitable, and after studying the requirements of each place to determine the total quantity required in the general plan, as we know in detail what California can supply and how much. You will admit that a cargo of about five thousand poods [a pood is 36 pounds] is no great object in trade."

"I agree to that," he said, "but I hear that you have brought trading goods."

"None at all," I replied. "The ship's commissary has a small quantity, which I permitted him to take, although I will not conceal from you that

it would give me great pleasure to see these goods bartered with your permission."

"All I can do for you," answered the Governor, "is to allow you to pay for the breadstuffs in piasters, but in regard to trade in general, you will pardon me if, on account of strict orders from the Government, I cannot consent to that. As to the purchase of breadstuffs, it is very difficult to grant to you permission to do so. I must ask you to state your requirements in writing without mentioning other matters, and I also respectfully ask you to state the particulars of your travels from Petersburg."

"I am very sorry," said I, "that you cannot grant my last request. The inhabitants tell me that they have great need of the goods, and it is my wish that my commissary get rid of them so that we may have more room in the ship for grain. It makes no difference to me whether I pay the purchase price of grain to the missionaries or to my commissary. It would be a pity if the missionaries could not satisfy their wants. It is really easy for you to give your consent, and thus give general satisfaction. The missionaries would supply the grain, while I would pay the piasters and take the receipts. Then you will send the originals of these receipts to the Viceroy. As to how the holy fathers use the money, that is a matter that does not, it appears to me, concern either of us."

"No, no," said he; "that is the same as trading. After living sixty years without reproach, I cannot take that upon my conscience."

"But," said I, "it is not love of gain, but merely a desire to benefit your countrymen that makes it your duty to do it. Here you are in a better position to see the needs of the country than the people in Madrid and truly I see no sin in it, especially," I said with a smile, "when all the ecclesiastics will bend the knee in prayers for you."

"Oh, I see very clearly that they have already bent the knee for you" remarked the Governor with a smile, "but jokes apart" he continued, "you cannot imagine how strictly the regulations prohibiting all trading are enforced here. I will give you an instance. About five years ago a Boston ship wintered here, running in debt to us, and as they had no ready cash, I accepted in payment some goods we needed. But first I re-

ported to the Viceroy, who replied that on that occasion the transaction would be permitted, but that there must be no such trading in the future, as it would give foreign vessels a pretext for visits to our ports."

"To convince you," said I, "that I have no desire to cause you any trouble, I will leave off this conversation, but will merely ask you to give me hope that I may get the necessary quantity of grain."

"You shall have it," said he.

"And in order not to lose any time, I will order that the ship be disarmed."

"With God's help" answered the Governor.

In his presence I sent orders to that effect to the ship. Glad of having made a beginning, I left the carrying out of my experiment in trading to time, certain of its successful termination.

On the following day I presented the requested statement, but five days then passed without a single grain being delivered. In the meantime rumors of our war with the French grew day by day. They were also expecting a frigate from San Blas to arrive to patrol the coast. I found out that a part of the Monterey garrison had been transferred to the mission of Santa Clara, a distance of one day's journey on horseback from the port. The inclination of our men to prove treasonable and to leave us, and the actual desertion of two men, rendered our position still more critical. But the respect always manifested by the Spaniards showed no signs of diminishing. I always had dragoon soldiers as a guard of honor. The Spanish pickets always saluted. The Governor met and took leave of me graciously every day; and the general courtesy everywhere displayed disarmed me of all suspicion.

From day to day, though in a way imperceptible to the Governor, the graciousness of the house of Arguello was drawing us closer and the confidence of Arguello in me was increasing. He apologized for not having visited me on my ship.

"Let us set aside all useless formality of etiquette," I said. "I know the ways of your government. I know that if you had followed the impulses of your heart you would have visited me long ago. Anyway, I am with you every day."



California Indians with ceremonial headdress
by Ludovick Choris, from *Voyage pittoresque autour
du monde*, Paris, 1822.

"We have become accustomed to your presence," said Don José de Arillaga, "and I assure you that the good family of my friend Arguello appreciate the pleasure of seeing you in their house just as highly as they are grateful to you for the manifestation of your benevolence."

Here I must make a confession to Your Excellency of my purely personal adventures. Seeing that our situation was not improving, expecting every day that some big trouble would arise, and having but little confidence in my own men, I decided that I should assume a serious bearing where I had before been but formally polite and gracious. Associating daily with and paying my compliments to the beautiful Spanish señorita, I perceived her active, venturesome disposition and character, her unlimited ambition, which at her age of fifteen, made her, alone among her family, dissatisfied with the land of her birth. She always referred to it, when we were joking, as "A beautiful country, a warm climate, an abundance of grain and cattle—and nothing else." I described Russia to her as more severe in climate, but still abounding in everything, and she was willing to live there. At length I created imperceptibly in her an impatient desire to hear something more explicit from me, and when I proposed marriage she accepted. My proposal was a shock to her parents, whose religious upbringing was fanatical. The difference in religion, and the future separation from their daughter was like a stroke of lightning to them. They sought the council of the missionaries, who did not know what to do, took poor Concepcion to church, made her confess, and tried to make her refuse me, but her determination finally quieted everybody down. The holy fathers left everything to the decision of the throne of Rome. Even if I could not bring about the marriage, I had a written conditional agreement made, and forced a betrothal. Consent was given on condition the betrothal be kept secret pending the decision of the Pope. Thereafter my position in the house of the Commandant was that of a near relative and I managed the port of his Catholic Majesty as my interests required.

The Governor was now very much perplexed and perceived that he had made a mistake when he assured me of the high esteem with which I

was regarded by the family of the Commandant, as he now found himself to be in fact my guest. A rare friendship of thirty years standing obliged him to consult the Commandant in everything. Every official paper received by the Governor passed through the hands of Arguello and consequently through mine. The Governor was soon won over, placed a like confidence in me, and at length they did not keep the slightest secret from me. I spoke Spanish better every hour, and was in Arguello's house from morning till evening. When their officers saw that I had almost become hispanicized, they began to compete with one another to be first to inform me of any new occurrence, so that now I did not dread hearing of the possible arrival of any courier.

Meanwhile I wondered why the missionaries did not deliver the grain and I made the governor perceive my dissatisfaction. He told me frankly that the holy fathers expected a courier and that they thought that by delaying they would obtain the ship's cargo for nothing.

I told him just as frankly that he personally was the cause of the delay. "Why are you keeping the Monterey garrison at Mission Santa Clara? As soon as you order it to return to Monterey, all rumors will at once cease."

The Governor was surprised to learn that even his secret orders were known to me, and treating it as a joke, sent at once for the troops to return, while the mission received confirmation of his permit to deliver grain. At the same time he ordered, at my request, the first shipment of grain delivered from the Pueblo of Invalids, where with the assistance of Concepcion's brothers the grain was ready for shipment. As soon as the first shipment was on its way, the missions began to send grain in such quantities that I had to request them to stop hauling it as on account of the ballast, artillery and cargo of goods, the ship could not take on more than 4500 poods. Along with the grain I received 470 poods of tallow and butter and up to 100 poods of salt and other things.

Our account was computed in piasters, but the prices, fixed in California by the government, were known to me, and on that basis I made my purchase without any mistake. I shall speak of the prices in the proper

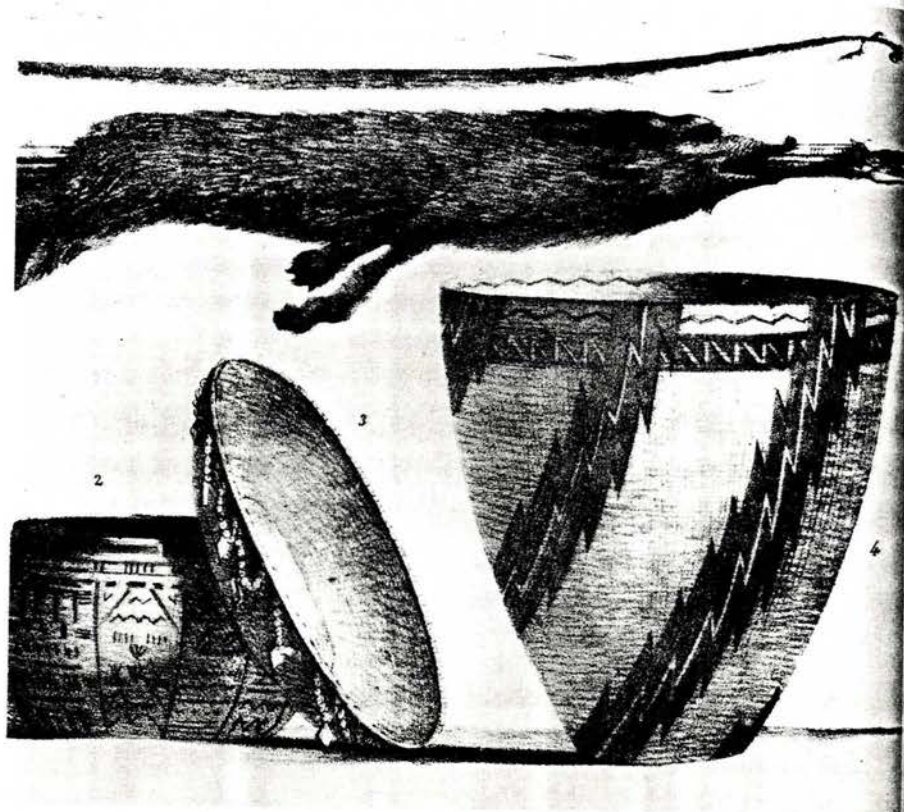
place, but I was very anxious to make an experiment in trading, and urged the governor in every way toward this end, promising him the good-will of my Emperor.

The venerable old man hesitated a long time, before he asked me my sincere advice as how to comply with my wish and at the same time be free from suspicion.

"Very easily," said I. "Let the missionaries and other inhabitants present petitions to you. Then you refer them to me, and send some of your officers to examine the quality of the goods and ascertain the prices. I will make the prices as favorable as I can, in the interests of the inhabitants, if you will give orders to show me the original Mexican invoices. The payment in piasters will be transferred to my commissary, from whom you will receive the goods and distribute them among the people."

This plan was executed. The goods were inspected and accepted, and transfer was made. My name did not appear in the transaction except where I signed the general invoice of goods purchased, certifying that such goods belonged to the commissary, Panaev, and that to supply the needs of the inhabitants of California and to favor the Spanish Government, I had permitted him to sell the goods. This permission remained as an official document in the office of the port.

This, Gracious Sire, is our first experiment in trade in California, which at low estimate, might amount to a million rubles yearly. Our American possessions will not be in want. Kamchatka and Okhotsk can be supplied with grain and other food supplies. The Yakuts, now burdened with the transportation of flour, will be able to rest; the government expenses for the upkeep of the army will be diminished; the prices on bread at Irkutsk will be much lower, because a considerable portion of grain formerly shipped to distant provinces will be used at home; the customs will bring new revenue to the Crown; and the industries of interior Russia will be stimulated by an increase in the number of factories on account of the California trade. In the meantime, ways will be found for trade with India by way of Siberia. Your Excellency may be assured that with a good and well-considered beginning all this can be brought about in a short time.



Artifacts of California Indians.
Detail, litho., pl. 8, Choris, 1826.

In my last reports to the Board of Directors, I described at length the means to expand the trade here to dimensions worthy of a great empire. I shall only briefly refer to them here, and will frankly express my belief that it is too early for us, or rather unprofitable to send ships back to Russia by way of Canton. First of all, I think we should strengthen New Archangel and then send ships to Canton and from there back to Siberia and America, from whence their voyages could be made quicker, safer and more profitably. No ships with goods should be sent here from Petersburg, unless they are to remain here. This will strengthen both America and its fleet. Siberia will be awakened by this trade and when it becomes impossible to dispose of all the goods here, then world trade can be attempted. Otherwise it would be only factitious glitter and no profits.

But pardon me, Gracious Sire, for having once more deviated from my course. I am obliged to give to Your Excellency a true conception of California trade, and I shall begin by explaining the measures, weights and coins of California and then proceed

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But, all joking aside, Gracious Sire, if you can obtain permission to trade with California, the Company could construct granaries from the profits acquired from this trade. By kind treatment of the many savages we could develop our own agriculture and cattle raising in the proposed southern colonies and once our trade with Canton was fully organized, we could settle Chinese laborers there.

Your Excellency will laugh perhaps at my far reaching plans, but I definitely insist that their execution is feasible and that if we had men and means, without great sacrifice on the part of the treasury, all this country could be brought permanently under Russian influence, and when you consider the conditions you will agree with my opinion that our trade would make notable and even gigantic strides. All very extensive plans appear visionary on paper, but when they are planned correctly, their execution compels admiration. It is not through petty enterprises, but by

great undertakings that the mighty commercial bodies achieve their greatness. If the Russian Government had thought earlier of this part of the world, and estimated adequately its potentialities, and if it had pursued continuously the far reaching plans of Peter the Great who, with insignificant resources, dispatched the expedition commanded by Bering, it is safe to say that New California would never have been Spanish territory, because their attention was turned towards it only from 1760 and this incomparable territory was permanently consolidated only through the enterprising spirit of the missionaries. Even now there still is left an unoccupied intervening territory fully as rich and of much importance to us, and if we allow it to slip through our fingers, what will succeeding generations say? I, at least, will not be arraigned before them in judgment.

We must presume that the Spaniards, fanatical as they are, will proceed farther, and though I did my best to divert their suspicion, it is improbable that their government will believe my friendly arguments. As decidedly as I am convinced of the success of these proposed undertakings, I am just as positive that if they are not executed in the time of Alexander I, we will never be able to execute them. Then it will be evident to the world that Russians, possessing as their national traits the spirit of enterprise and the faculty for surmounting obstacles, must have bowed before circumstances and sunk into inactivity. Finally the spirit to accomplish deeds of grandeur and importance will die. In brief, we should be compared to a worn flint from which one struggles to secure a spark till the hands get tired and even if one secures this spark it is impotent to light anything—a flint whose original potent fire was not utilized.

For God's sake, Gracious Sire, consider with a spirit of patriotism the natural resources of this territory which promises such great commercial opportunities to our country, of which Your Excellency is the only intermediary before the imperial throne. Present my plans to the Emperor, plans that will become immortal in centuries to come. Queen Elizabeth of England founded the greatness of her country, and her name is held in reverence by her people. But the name of our Monarch would be revered even more if under his happy reign Russians would shake off the yoke of

foreign nations and reap an abundant harvest from great undertakings.

In my last reports to the Company, I explained at length that my experiments would justify my proposals, to which we were led for a long time by natural conditions, and my voyage to California appears to me only to justify them, and should prove to you, Your Excellency, that there is nothing chimerical in my plans.

The Governor, as I have already had the honor to explain to Your Excellency, having unexpectedly become my sincere friend, hid nothing from me, as he was aware that I could learn everything from Gospodin Arguello. He frankly confessed that their court feared Russia more than anybody else. That Shelikhov's settlements had given them reason to expect a far reaching enterprise but that the last twenty years had quieted their apprehension.

"I beg you," said I to the governor "to lay aside forever any suspicions entertained by your court, and disclose to them our discussion in this regard."

"You need not ask me," he answered; "it is my own pleasure to communicate to the Viceroy your friendly and sincere assurance, which will greatly aid us in the arrangement of closer trade relations. Command me for the welfare of the people committed to our care and you will find me ready to give every assistance."

And truly every day brought new proofs of their friendship and esteem. Everything was at my command. The soldiers of the garrison were hastening the delivery of grain, the people supplied us with water. In short, everybody was competing to please us; and as I had no more difficulties to overcome, I had nothing to do but give the necessary orders. Despite the many rumors of war, I entertained the Spaniards with feasts and dinners, seeing to it that all who remained at the presidio after serving me had a good time. The governor, proving his sincerity, his weak legs notwithstanding, danced with us, and we did not spare gunpowder on board the ship and in the fortress. The music of Spanish guitars was mixed with songs of Russian singers and with all my shortcomings, I believe that the Californians will long remember the arrival of the generous Russians,



San Francisco Bay Indians playing
a game at Mission Dolores.
Detail, litho., pl. 8, Choris, 1826.

and I must acknowledge to Your Excellency that I spared nothing that could heighten respect for the Russian nation in this part of the world.

I often talked with the Governor about trade. I wondered that California should lack so many things, when there were so many ways of obtaining what was needed. "It appears to me," I said, "that were trade encouraged a little, all your wants could be provided for."

"Do not wonder," he replied. "Trade has been entirely neglected with us, but now the government is beginning to open its eyes in this matter, although its view is still obstructed as by a fog. The differences of various parties at court, as well as their private interests, cannot be brought into accord with public interests. It is true that trade has been protected to a great degree. The class of people engaged in it is now so much respected that in spite of the restrictions of the nobility the King conferred upon many of that class the title of Marquis, something that has never before been done in Spain. The Caracas Company was almost on the point of failure and dissolution, but three years ago it was reinforced with funds in an unprecedented manner. The directorate of the Company is now at Madrid, and it has suddenly acquired fifteen million piasters. The King himself is a shareholder, with six thousand shares, to the amount of a million and a half piasters. He has given the vessels of the Company the right to carry the royal flag and to recruit men and officers from the royal navy. The Company carries on trade with the East and West Indies, but poor California is forgotten. It grieves me to tell you, but it is actually true, that our government is too slow, and because of that has no accurate conception of anything, nor has it any desire to acquire any. When the Company proposed to assist in establishing trade, some private persons, who had from ancient times been sending a galleon from Manila to Acapulco, protested against it as an infringement on their rights and succeeded in having the King prohibit the Company from touching any port on the western shores of America.

The Manilans send a galleon with Chinese goods, a portion of which reaches us, but only through the hands of the Mexicans. The latter send us goods at excessive prices by two navy corvettes which cruise annually

along our coast from San Blas, and we have to pay piasters in advance in order to obtain the necessary goods the following year."

Once, turning the conversation to the Philippine Islands I asked what nation they traded with, and if it was true that the Manilans loaned their money at two or three percent just to have it transferred to Europe.

"Manila," he answered "is porto-franco [a free port]. As far as the money is concerned, it may be that it was so formerly, but the greed of the English as well as that of other nations trading in India has resulted in an increased rate of interest in the Manilans' favor. I know for certain from one of our San Blas officers that the English paid them not less than twenty-five percent, and you may believe that even that made them rich, when they make over two hundred percent on the goods bought at Canton, Bengal, and other places, with the money of other people. But just now I believe the Bostonians will profit by the breach in friendly relations between us, since upon declaration of war with England they renewed their former requests for opening trade with our American possessions. Our government refused them, but after the United States minister left Madrid to show his displeasure, our court in this critical situation was forced to send a satisfactory answer after him, by which four ports were opened to them, namely: Buenos Aires, Vera Cruz, Caracas, and Cartagena. Having obtained from France the province of New Orleans, ceded to them by this country, and Pensacola being close to New Mexico, they have gained such a foothold in trade that even Santa Fe is beginning to buy their goods. As I have personally witnessed in our waters the enterprise of the citizens of this republic, I am not surprised at their success. They flourish in the pursuit of trade, being fully aware of its possibilities. Everybody at present recognizes the possibilities of trade but us, who pay with our purses for our negligence. While the whole world is pursuing the prey, we are content to amuse ourselves with dried fish."

"I will tell you frankly," continued the Governor, "that it is only necessary for your Emperor to insist strongly, and the demand will be complied with within a short time; otherwise the slowness of our government will only cause you regrets. The Bostonians may serve as an example. They

begged for a long time without results, until their determined demands finally overcame the resistance of the same ministers who, a few years before, would not and did not consent. They even found that it would be extremely useful, and that trading with a neutral power would insure the safe shipment of piasters from America to Europe in time of war."

"If only my Emperor takes an interest in my project," I said, "I assure you it will be carried out, but it is necessary that you, on your part, shall make a strong representation to your Viceroy."

"Certainly," he replied. "I will tell you my plan. Three missions have already sent me their petitions. Upon my return to Monterey petitions will be received from others. All these I shall send to the Viceroy in the original, with my remarks, explaining all the advantages which you have so clearly stated. I will continue that it will alleviate the needs of the territories to whose welfare I have devoted my life. I also ask you to second my letter to the Viceroy with one written by yourself."

"Gladly," I replied, and on the following day I handed my letter to him.

During all this time, through the missionaries and his friends, I endeavored to rouse the venerable Governor to greater enthusiasm, in order to induce him to embody in his report the strongest arguments. Every day conversations on the subject made him turn by himself to this matter.

"I am very thankful for your arrival," he once told me "as it provided me with the opportunity to renew my frequent representations in regard to trade, representations which on account of the remoteness of this territory were never considered and often were a source of grief to me, when my friends informed me of the more than unfavorable answers of the ministers: This California is a cursed land, that causes nothing but trouble and expense. As if I were responsible for its unprofitable institutions?"

"Tell me," I asked him, "what is the sum expended yearly?"

"Not less than half a million piasters."

"And its revenue?"

"Not a real."

"But you spoke to me some time ago of a tax of a tenth part on grain."

"That is collected from the invalids only. Even that is reserved for the use of the missions in case of crop failure and because of that officials are stationed in their granaries. In brief, the King pays the expenses of keeping garrisons, warships and missions. He provides funds to erect and beautify the churches, since his sole object is the propagation of the true faith and to help the people to be happy. Thus, as a true defender of the faith, he sacrifices his all to religion."

On hearing such a panegyric I almost burst with laughter. "This is very praiseworthy and soul-saving," I said, assuming a very pious demeanor, "but unfortunately we see that moral corruption has reached such a stage, that there are whole nations who do not recognize the true path to salvation and in their delusion prefer pleasures that are temporal to those that are eternal. From such outcasts of mankind your most sincere wishes to benefit them, and the most fervent prayers of your priests, are powerless either to protect your religion or yourselves."

"You are right," he said, "I have asked repeatedly for increase of our military forces, but when our apprehensions in regard to your proximity in the north were quieted, my requests resulted only in promises. At present, however, the audacity of the Bostonians has made us awaken and I have a promise that a frigate will be sent here to stop the ships from the American States, which continually smuggle along our shores and carry on a secret trade. As if this is not enough they leave us sometimes ten or fifteen men, desperate ruffians, who, since our garrisons are so small disturb our peace and corrupt morals. They bring women with them too and attempt to remain here permanently.

"Sometime ago I spoke of the Bostonian Captain O'Cain," the Governor said to me once, "he brought to us in 1803 about forty islanders from Unalaska with baidarkas. They hunted sea otters all winter, and where they went from here we do not know. You will oblige me very much by explaining this affair, which perhaps, I will have to report to the Viceroy."

Here I feel it my duty to inform Your Excellency as to this occurrence.

Captain O'Cain came in a ship of the same name to Kadiak. He made a contract with Baranov, whereby he received forty baidarkas to hunt sea otters, the profits to be divided equally. The hunting was supposed to have been done on a new island discovered by O'Cain. He promised in case he should land at any place where provisions could be obtained to allow the clerk to purchase them for the Company, he himself not to derive any profits from that. On receiving the men and baidarkas he landed them in California. Whether O'Cain deceived Mr. Baranov or whether the latter was to profit by O'Cain's deception, I leave to Your Excellency to decide, adding only that at that time they were dying of starvation and several barrels of flour brought by O'Cain saved their lives. A similar contract was to be made this year with Wolfe, to which I did not dare to disagree, however, and having bought his ship I did the same thing without any protests, and in large quantities.

I gave the Spaniards the following version of this affair. "I am very glad," I said "that you reminded me of this occurrence. The Bostonians are doing even more harm to us than to you. They land people on your territory, but they steal them from ours. Besides trading in our waters, this scoundrel of whom you speak seized a party of our Americans who went to distant hunting grounds. He carried away about forty Kadiak natives with their families. The following year Captain Barber, a man of the same type, brought back twenty-six of them to us on Kadiak, saying that he ransomed them on the Charlotte Islands where they were held prisoners and would not give them to us unless we paid 10,000 rubles, which sum humanity compelled us to pay. But where O'Cain took the others we do not know even now. Those who were brought back said that they had been in various places and on different ships, but the names of the ships and of the places where they had been landed we could not find out from them on account of their ignorance. I assure you that this and similar actions taught us to be more careful and we now are taking measures to drive these gentlemen off, but the innumerable sounds and straits in our waters prevent us from being very efficient in that."

"But," he said, "I can tell you that I have given such orders that they

will probably soon be driven off. Horse-patrols are guarding the coast, who when a ship is sighted on the horizon, report to the nearest presidio. At the same time they watch the course that the ship is taking, and as soon as a boat lands it will be seized."

And about five days later the governor showed me a report from San Diego. The Anglo-American brigantine *Peacock*, of 108 tons, six cannons and four falconets, under Captain Oliver Kimball, had approached the shore and sent off a boat with four men. They were taken, but the ship escaped. Those captured were the navigator, a Bostonian named Thomas Kilvain, the second quartermaster, Jean Pierre, from Bordeaux, and two sailors. They said that they had left Boston in September 1805, and on February 12th arrived at the Sandwich Islands. That only fourteen men remained of the ship's crew, and that their cargo consisted of arms and goods of various kinds which they had brought for fur trade in Russian-American possessions. According to them they had landed to get fresh provisions. The next day a letter from the captain to the navigator was found on the shore in which the captain advised the pilot to escape, promising to remain for several days near the coast. In the meantime the men had been put in irons and were to be taken to San Blas.

I congratulated the Governor on the success of his order, which pleased him very much.

At length, dispatches were received from Mexico, but, whether threatening or otherwise, they were no longer dreaded by me. Newspapers came with the dispatches, from which we learned that Napoleon had decisively beaten the Germans, and that our armies were recalled. A very unpleasant article with news from Hamburg, October 4th, 1805, stated that an unexpected revolution had broken out at Petersburg, but that they did not dare to say more until confirmation of this news. I was almost prostrated by this report, and though I tried to hide my grief, yet it was perceived. The Spaniards, one and all, said that never should they have expected that such a thing would happen to the Emperor, who was beloved not only by his own, but by all other nations, and whose goodness of heart all the newspapers emphasized and made others envy his

subjects. Such deserved praise, though very often heard from foreigners, was always especially pleasing to me, but at this time my heart was rent only the more because of it. "My God," I thought, "what has happened to my fatherland?" I could not remain quiet, and as the Governor did not show me the letter that he received from the Viceroy I surmised that he was withholding the last number of the newspaper from me. But, because nothing was hidden from me long, the letter from the viceroy was soon in my hands. He described in it in detail a desperate battle between their allied fleet and the English, sent him four issues of newspapers and concluded with extracts of letters received from France, which said that Napoleon had taken Vienna and compelled the Roman Emperor to retire to Moravia. The letter closed with a bitter joke reflecting on the allies. I found nothing else of importance and the newspaper reports had nothing in them compelling secrecy.

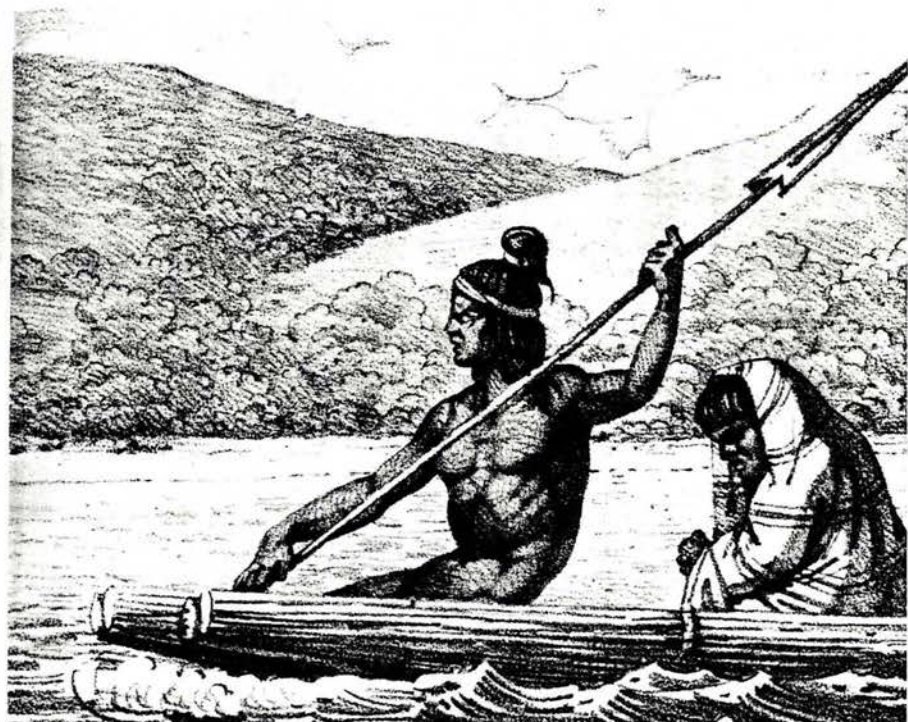
I asked the Governor how often he received news from Europe. "We receive official papers once a month by a packet-boat that runs from Cadiz especially for this purpose," he replied, "but the trading ships bring news more often. Besides the regular monthly courier, special messengers are sent from Mexico when important news has to be communicated."

I envied this system, and thought of our poor possessions, for it seemed as if they were not in the New World, but in the world of the dead. With the expansion of our commerce we may receive news twice a year.

"Should the packet-boat be taken by the enemy," I said, "then your dispatches will fall into enemy hands?"

"Never," he said. "The trunk with the papers has always a leaden weight attached to it, and in case of attack is thrown into the sea. The papers then are received with the next vessel, since in time of war not only documents but letters are sent in duplicate, or even in triplicate. If you wish to write to Europe," he added, "you may be assured that your letters will reach their destination." Accepting his offer I sent a report to His Imperial Majesty, a copy of which, along with one of my letters to the Viceroy, I have the honor of sending to Your Excellency

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San Francisco Bay Indians in tightly-bundled tule boat.
Detail, litho., pl. iv, Choris, 1826.

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 These, Your Excellency, are all my observations during my six weeks' sojourn in California. You will pardon me if at times I have too frankly expressed my personal feelings, and ascribe such expressions to a weakness common to all. Seeing the situation and conditions here as they are, I cannot speak of them with indifference. My experiences have been bound with such hardships, sacrifices and expenditure of strength, that I take the temerity to say to Your Excellency that hardly a man can be found who would live it all a second time. I have studied thoroughly the manners and customs not only of the aborigines but also of people who came from other countries and are visitors here, so to say. Taking into consideration the interests of both sides I have planned the reorganization of this territory, and have shown them ways of stopping the abuses, which are shameful in our time. I have spoken of trade, management, manufacturing and how to avoid shortage in supplies. I have spoken of law, order, exactions, charity. I have explained the benefits that the remote parts of Siberia will derive from this territory once it is organized, and have not omitted a single item of importance. In short I have made a complete plan of how the trading should be organized so that it will serve political aims. I have fought prejudices, convinced people with facts, and used stacks of paper for my reports, writing perhaps not in a very fine literary style, but sincerely and from the bottom of my heart. I have sent a great many of them to the Board of Directors, and what if it will not be taken as seriously as it should? What if my presentation of events from their bad as well as from their good side does not attract attention? Such mistrust of my work will be bitter and it will hurt me even more to feel that distressful consequences will make them acknowledge that I was right when it is too late

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 Excuse me, Gracious Sire, that I have mixed purely personal matters,

writing about them and of my personal adventures as they were happening. Perhaps I should not have done so, but I have no time to put everything in system and write separate letters to Your Excellency on each subject, so I have described here the chain of events in order of their occurrence. My romance began not in hot passion, which has no place at my age, but from entirely different motives and perhaps also under the influence of remnants of feelings that in the past were the source of happiness in my life. Considering the circumstances, remoteness, and my duties I acted carefully and made the beginning subject to conditions. Should fate decree its completion, I shall be in a position to render new services to my country by personally examining the harbor of Vera Cruz, Mexico and by a trip through the interior part of America. Hardly anybody but me could do it, the suspicious Spanish government forbidding such investigations. I should be able to inform you fully as to their trade, their surplus and their needs. Upon becoming acquainted with the Viceroy I could be of benefit to my countrymen by an attempt to secure entry for Russian vessels to the eastern ports, as I hope that during the reign of such a gracious Emperor the Russians will begin to trade from Petersburg with such natural and industrial products as can be used by the foreigners. At the same time upon visiting the American States I can investigate the prospects of trading with them, and seek to establish business connections for our Company. Here, Gracious Sire, is a new sacrifice of a man who has dedicated himself to serve others, and I only hope that my strength will equal my intentions.

I must also report to Your Excellency about our return voyage from California and of all events and circumstances there.

We sailed from the port of San Francisco on May 10th, at six o'clock in the afternoon. The Governor and all our friends went to the fortress to take leave of us. We saluted with seven shots, but they replied with nine. In sailing we first followed the longitude, and after crossing ten degrees we found a favorable wind with which we sailed to the island of Kaigan [Dall Island in the Alexander Archipelago]. Here we were held becalmed for ten days. During this time many shrouds gave way, and we had hardly



California Indians in ceremonial dress
near Mission San Jose.
Detail, pen & wash drawing by Langsdorff, 1806.

succeeded in mending them with yarn made from cable and rope ends when a very heavy gale arose, in which all our masts would have snapped off had not our repairs been made. We arrived at Norfolk Sound on June 8th, and saluted the fortress by firing, but as they delayed in replying and we saw no baidarkas and any human beings anywhere we became doubtful. It was still fresh in our minds that we had left them on the edge of the grave. Having ten good cannons we began to get ready for hostilities, when towards nightfall some baidarkas arrived and we regained our peace of mind in knowing that those whom we left at New Archangel still existed in safety. During the night we were towed into the harbor and at nine o'clock in the morning we anchored.

Our return voyage was favorable enough, except for some sickness. Fever and eruption from sarampion [a form of measles] broke out. The latter did not spare me either, but thank God we all recovered and arrived here safely.

Thus far I have had the honor to report to Your Excellency all the circumstances as they appeared to me. Now I will add to them the events which happened here.

At the time of my departure, scurvy raged both here and at Kadiak. Seventeen Russians died of it. At New Archangel, 60 persons were incapacitated. Our Americans [Indians or Aleuts] were also seized by the ailment, and many died. Fortunately the run of herring started on March 22nd. The men then had fresh food and began to recover. Now only six men are still in danger, and five walking on crutches. These we are trying to make stronger by bread and vegetables. At the time the herring began to run over one thousand Kolosh [Tlingit Indians] came here to fish. Some of them had guns, and precautions against them were doubled. They stayed until April 1st, when the Bostonian three masted ship *O' Cain* arrived, under command of Winship, an old friend of Baranov. Seeing the critical situation, he refused to trade with the Kolosh and notified them of the friendly relations that existed between him and Baranov. This made them leave sooner for the Straits. Thank God, they did not dare to attack when the garrison was so much reduced. They are afraid of Baranov and the

mere mention of his name holds the whole country in fear. But I must inform Your Excellency, that he will not remain here longer than May of the next year, and he has asked me decisively to inform the Board of Directors of that fact. It is a pity, a great pity to lose this excellent man. Upon his departure the best men will leave.

The Kolosh [Tlingit] lately have ten or fifteen of their men continually coming and going, watching our fortifications closely. Meanwhile, rumors are current that the Chilkhat and Khutznov Kolosh are ready to unite with the Sitkans and capture the port. Mr. Baranov has surrounded his hill with a stockade, with embrasures for the cannons, and is on guard all the time. True, our fortress is like an island, but against the Kolosh this measure of defense is sufficient, because no matter how determined they are, they will not dare to attack the hill. Our men do not go to the shipyards, nor to the forest to cut timber or burn charcoal, without loaded guns. Similar precautions are taken at all other kinds of work. The Kolosh now appear more friendly, they have begun to go about very much, but these monsters cannot be trusted or believed. No more treacherous people exist.

The ship *Alexander* arrived here from Kadiak on April 26th, and brought much bad news. Yakutat was captured by the savages in October, the fort burned and the people all killed with the exception of eight men, two women and three boys, who were not at the fort, but in a hayfield, and thus escaped. They are now held as prisoners by the Ugaliakhmuts, who demand a ransom which will be sent from Kadiak. The crime was committed by their own native employees, but these had evidently been bribed by the Akoi Kolosh.

News has also been received from Kinai Bay [Cook Inlet], and from Nuchek in Chugach Bay [Prince William Sound], that the Chugach and Copper River natives are threatening to exterminate the Russians. The Kinai people have begun to show indifference, and complain that they do not get enough tobacco. Malakhov and Repin who are in charge of these forts ask for assistance. Ten men were sent from Kadiak to reinforce them, as no more could be spared, but anyway, what is that? Only a few more victims!

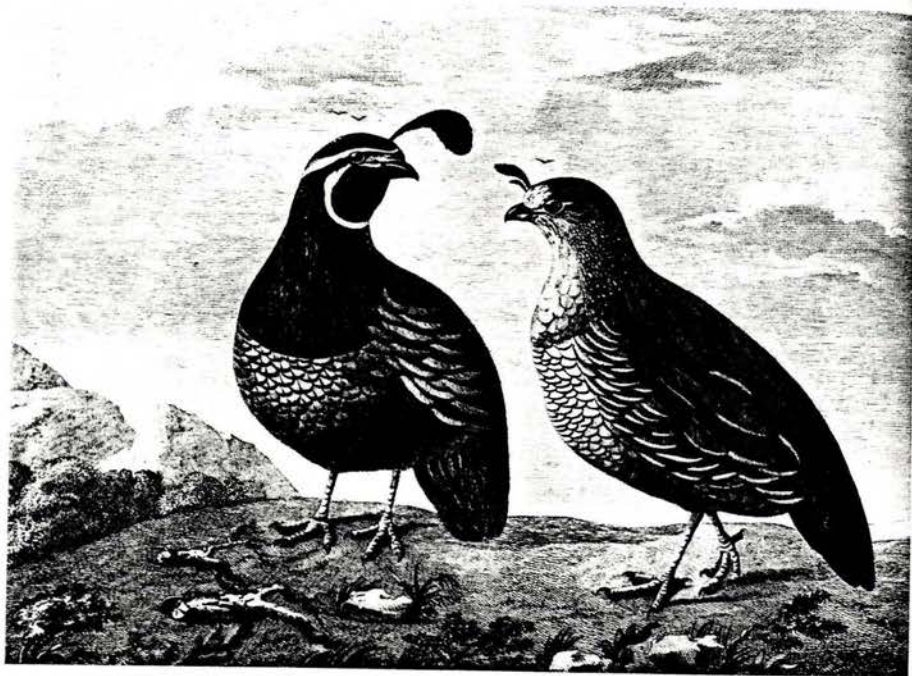
At Kadiak people suffered great hardships in transporting provisions and furs and many were drowned during a storm. Seaworthy boats should be built everywhere in our territories. They will cost more than baidaras but where human lives are concerned this proposition should be considered seriously

Captain Winship told Baranov that last autumn, sixty men went overland from the United States to the Columbia River to build a settlement there. It would have been easier for us to occupy the Columbia than for any other people. The American States claim the right to this shore, as the headwaters of the Columbia River are in their territory, but upon the same principle they could extend their possessions wherever there are no European settlements. But they will, I think, discontinue making settlements here, for the Spaniards have opened to them four ports on the east coast of America, but have included in the trade agreement that they are excluded from touching the west coast. This was done after Winship's departure from Boston, and it is unknown yet to the American vessels here.

Four Boston ships are now cruising and trading in our straits; namely Captain Hill, on the brig *Lydia*; Captain Porter (the brother of the one killed) on the ship *Hamilton*; Captain Brown, on the ship *Vancouver*; and Captain Ebbets on the ship *Pearl*.

We know that many ships come to trade at Kaigan; namely the *Model*, *Hazard*, *Peacock* and others. When and how are we going to get rid of these guests if we do not organize and keep a permanent fleet of our own? I have written about this matter in my report to the Board of Directors, and I refer Your Excellency to such reports. There you will learn the reasons why I do not find it necessary to enter into any negotiations concerning this coast with the Government of the American States. If you would strengthen this territory, they would leave the country of their own volition. I shall be sorry if the ministry does not look into this matter.

The *Peacock*, of which I have already written, was dispatched by O'Cain to Mr. Baranov with goods, with the final object of selling the vessel, after



Male & Female California Quail.
Detail, pl. 36, from *Atlas du de Pérouse*, 1791.

which the crew will enter the Company's service. Mr. Swift told him that he did not send the promised cargo, having been informed that the *Neva* and *Nadezhda* had supplied us, but in the meantime he sent the *Hazard*, which sailed around Cape Horn in company with the *Peacock*, after which they parted. Swift and others of his friends at Boston are inviting Baranov to visit them, and he asks for permission to depart on one of the American ships next year, perhaps to proceed from there to Petersburg. I am waiting for the *Peacock* to arrive, and hope to buy her.

Though I have tried to condense this letter as much as possible, yet my conscience would be uneasy if I withheld any information from Your Excellency that could possibly be of interest to you.

The King of the Sandwich Islands, Toome-Ome-o [Kamehameha], has proffered his friendship to Baranov. This may appear very strange to Your Excellency, but first I will explain the personality of this king of the savages, and then inform you how it happened. Captain Winship says Toome-Ome-o treats all Europeans with the greatest consideration, and that they have begun to settle all over his islands. He engages in agriculture and cattle breeding with great success. The settlers are free to depart from his country whenever they please. He allows his subjects to serve on foreign vessels without pay, so long as they return as skilled sailors. He has bought fifteen one-masted vessels, has ordered a shipbuilder from Boston, is establishing a department to manage his fleet, and recently purchased from the Americans a three-masted ship. Mate Clark, who was on Winship's vessel, had been in the Sandwich Islands for two years, and has a wife and two children there and various business interests. He has been in these parts several times, and was received very hospitably by Alexander Andreevich [Baranov]. Knowing the wants of this country, he told the King so much that he was sent to negotiate a commercial treaty. If we should be allowed to accept this, Toome-Ome-o, notwithstanding the great distance, wants to come to New Archangel and lay the foundation for trade. He promises to send us taro, breadfruit, coconuts, breadstuffs, hogs and rope whenever there is a surplus, receiving from us calico, linen cloth, iron and lumber for shipbuilding. He proposes to begin this unusual

intercourse next year. But it is a pity we cannot keep Baranov here.

The vessel *Ermak* which was built by Baranov himself, and which was given in trade for the *Juno*, made the journey to the Sandwich Islands in forty-two days, in spite of the lateness of the season. Shipwright Moorfield has written to his partner Wolfe that he has known very few small vessels that were her equal, and that he intends to sail to Canton with her, and from there around the Cape of Good Hope to Boston. The builder is very proud and glad of his success. The *Rostislav*, another vessel built by Baranov, is now on its way to Okhotsk. Though Mr. Wolfe and his mate Mr. Podgash praise the vessel very much, I do not dare to trust all my dispatches to her. Mr. Moorfield writes that seven Bostonians, members of his crew, have become citizens of the Sandwich Islands.

With all the unpleasant news that awaited me here, I was somewhat gladdened in the fact that my advice to the people to assume a domestic life had been adopted and brought some results. Despite their feebleness and disease, I found here twice as many vegetable gardens planted with potatoes and other vegetables, which had been received from the Bostonians by Alexander Andreevich, and which were growing luxuriantly. This convinces me that if these territories are organized as they should be, all want and shortage can be avoided.

Pardon me, Gracious Sire, that, having no time to write to the Board of Directors separately at this time, I must respectfully ask you to read this letter to the committee and give them a copy of it, from which they can obtain all the information necessary. It may be also considered as a continuation of my reports. Since they are entrusted with state secrets, they may assuredly be entrusted with those of a private individual. I expect nothing from the honorable members but consideration, and I expect that my self sacrifice will not be misunderstood, nor my confidence violated. However, if I have not merited even that by my labors, I leave it to their consciences, feeling sure that in all things I have always kept in mind the welfare of my country, and that in no case have I prejudiced my honor, nor have I been guilty of any act unworthy of my countrymen.

The enclosed short report to His Imperial Majesty I ask you most hum-

bly to submit. Its contents you will find in the copy under the letter "B."

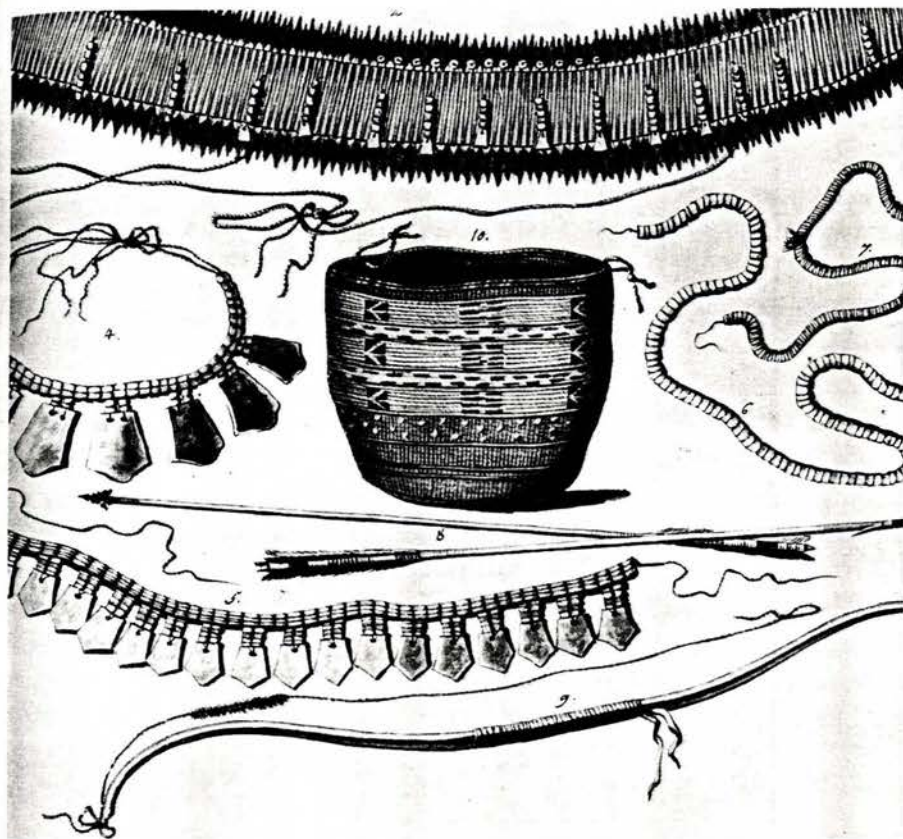
With entire respect and obedience I have the honor to be Your Excellency and Gracious Sire's

Humble servant,
Nikolai Rezanov.

You will laugh of course, Your Excellency, when I say that we are indebted for our safety to the gentler sex. Fourteen picked Kolosh, tall and looking like real cutthroats, came in a dugout canoe, went all around the bay looking over our establishments and finally landed in our settlement, with loud boisterous songs. Their close examination of all our buildings and especially of the fortress were suspicious in themselves, but a Kolosh woman who was living in our establishment warned Baranov that she had overheard that an attack upon us was planned. A strong wall of logs placed upright was immediately built around the fortress and in the same manner we fortified ourselves at the foot of the hill. Logs were ready so that the work was completed in four days.

A week later, while I was there, a toion [chief] called; he was one that we called "the fat one." He arrived with twelve men. He was supposed to be friendly to us and made a speech the gist of which was that he had lost many relatives and there was bitterness in his heart, but now that he saw how the place of his birth was flourishing and how embellished it was he found solace in that. This fine speaker asked to be admitted into the fortress, but was refused. After visiting us for three days he went back. Today new guests came, and with them several women, relatives of our girls. They were entertained and given drinks. They said that the people of Chilkhat, Khutsnov and Akoi had made an alliance with the Sitkans and numbering about three thousand had decided to attack us, and had sent the toion to find out about our defenses. When he returned and told of the new fortifications and precautions, the chiefs had a fight among themselves from vexation that they were too late and had lost the best time, and had disbanded and gone back to their villages in the Straits. How true the last part is, we do not know, and do not dare to believe. The attack was

planned for daytime when our men were all busy working. They decided to strike at the same time in three places: in the woods where our men were logging, and at the shipyards where they intended to cut off the workers from the fortress and to set fire to the ship, while a third detachment was to attack in boats and capture the fortress. During the night they sent scouts who climbed up trees, trying to find some place where our sentries were not on guard. Our continuous signals convinced them that we were on guard. Now we dare not go for a walk very far, I least of all, so as not to find myself a captive (my face is very familiar to them). Even though the shipyards are not farther than three hundred sazhen from the fortress, we always carry loaded guns. Sentries are on the lookout on the hill and now we have a cannon ready in the shipyards, so that they do not set the ship on fire during the night. This is how we have to live with armed savages and for all this we are obliged to the Bostonians. They supplied them with guns and powder to such an extent that they themselves do not dare now to sail in a three-masted ship with eight cannons alone, and now in Chatham Strait, two American ships are always together, not daring to separate. I have asked the Board of Directors to send mortars here and I repeat my request to Your Excellency. One bomb shot at them would lower the pride of these people, who after constructing fortresses of three rows of logs and having the best guns and falconets believe themselves to be invincible.



Various objects from New California
and Norfolk Sound Indians.
Pen & wash by Langsdorff, 1806.

Extracts from the Log of the ship Juno

on voyages from the port of New Archangel to California and back in the year 1806, by Lieutenant N. A. Khvostov.

January

24 Received oral instructions from His Excellency, Actual Chamberlain and Knight of His Imperial Majesty's Court and Plenipotentiary of the Russian-American Company, Mr. Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, to prepare the ship for a sea voyage about the end of February.

25 Began careening and caulking vessel. Until the 30th the weather remained warm and winds blew gently from E. to W. through S.

30 Because of heavy frosts, continuing to February 6, put aside fitting out and occupied ourselves with loading hold. Winds backed from N. to S. through W.

February

7 At 2 o'clock in the afternoon a bad squall blew from SW with hail and plucked round mooring lines.

8 Weather clear, wind gentle. Raised top masts, top gallant masts, lower and top yards.

9 Made sails.

10 Put through running rigging, attached cable to anchors. Wind between N. and E.

11, 12, 13 Placed water barrels in hold and took on various ship materials.

14 Reported to His Excellency [Rezanov] that the vessel is loaded and must be shifted to the east side of the fort to take on water from the river Koloshenska.

15 Received instruction from the Manager, Collegiate Counselor Baranov, to report on all matters directly to His Excellency, who is going with the ship. Receiving an order from His Excellency to shift the ship, weighed anchor at noon, raised topsails and jib. Passing the fort we placed

crew on stations. They shouted "hurrah!" and fired one gun, to which the fort replied with the same. At 1 o'clock the wind died down; dropped the bower anchor at a depth of 15 sazhen [a sazhen is a fathom or 6 feet], letting out 30 sazhen of rope. Determined position by bearings, to the fort flagpole N. 72° W., fairway middle of islet S. 40° W., middle islet S. 5° E. The ship's crew includes: captain, Lieutenant Khvostov; 2 sub-lieutenants; 2 sailors; 4 Englishmen; 14 hunters. Ship's armament: six 4½-pound cannon, two 12-pound carronades, four 2-pound falconets, two 3-pound copper howitzers on army gun-carriages. Boats: 1 longboat, 2 working boats, 1 ship's boat, and 2 three-man baidarkas. Fifty water barrels in hold, of which 25 filled . . . In the evening [I] reported to His Excellency of the successful shift of the vessel to the roadstead and of the loading situation.

16 Filled 10 casks of water and loaded the provisions, the nature and quantity of which I have the honor to report . . .

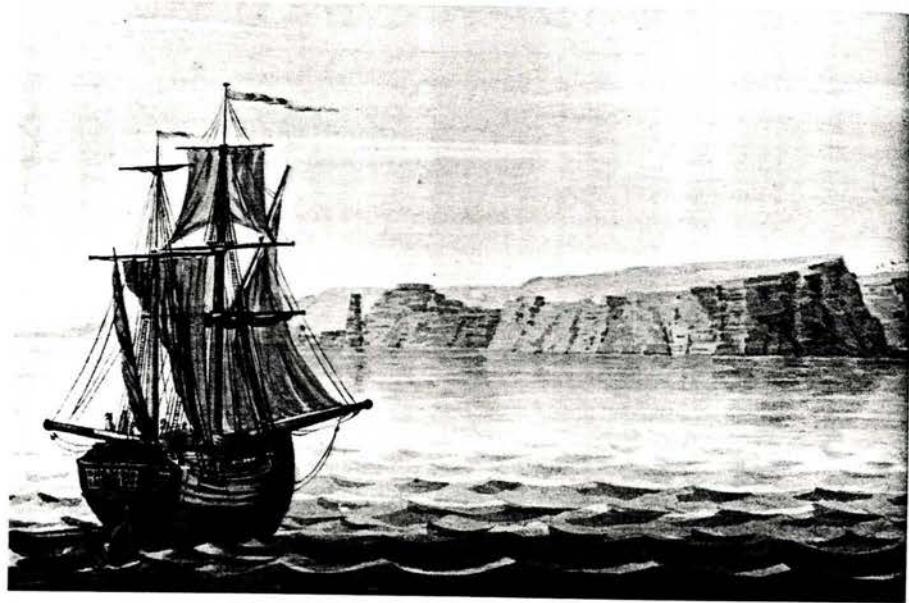
17 to 22 Frost, hail and snow prevented the taking on of water. Did some carpentry work on the ship. The ship's loaded draft is forward 10 feet 8 inches, aft 11 feet 4 inches; trim 8 inches by the stern.

23 Filled the ship's holds with 37 casks of fresh water; finished all minor blacksmith and carpenter repairs. All this time the wind has been E. to W. through S.

24 Set the topsails and tried a cannon. The wind changed in the afternoon to SSW. Midshipman Davydov and clerk Panaev have been added to the crew.

25 At 10 o'clock in the morning went to the commander to report readiness to put to sea. At 12 o'clock His Excellency Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov left to board. Upon his coming aboard 7 guns were fired from the fort. We replied with the same number and placed men on watch. At 12:30 p.m., with a gentle wind between N. and E., hoisted boats, weighed anchor, set topsails, topgallant sails, foresail, mainsail, jib, and spanker. Saluted fort with 5 guns, to which they replied with an equal number. At the same time, as commander of the vessel, gave His Excellency's order to proceed in a southerly direction on a course towards Mount Edgecumbe.

26 At midnight wind began to freshen so reefs were shaken out and



Island of St. George.
Detail, pen & wash drawing by Langsdorff, 1806.

topgallant sails taken in. Course SSE. By noon observation latitude $55^{\circ}30'$ [N.], longitude $224^{\circ}19'$ [E.]. Compass error $27^{\circ}30'$ E.

27 Wind at same force and with fog, at times with squalls, course S. by E. To ease pitching placed 4 guns in hold. By noon observation, latitude $53^{\circ}42'$ [N.], longitude $233^{\circ}58'$ [E.].

28 Nothing unusual occurred.

March

1 Wind gentle between S. and E. Came abeam Charlotte Islands.

2-3 Tacked with fresh topgallant wind from SE.

4 By noon observation latitude $50^{\circ}50'$ [N.], longitude $228^{\circ}27'$ [E.]. Compass error 23° E.

5 Through winds remaining SE. by E., the route of [the] voyage, which originally called for a stop at Kaigany Bay on S. shore of Charlotte Islands, was changed. Shaped course directly for Columbia River. Latitude $50^{\circ}53'$ [N.], longitude $229^{\circ}22'$ [E.]. Calculated compass error was $20^{\circ}30'$ E.

6 Reefed-topsail breeze from SE., weather cloudy. The number of men suffering from scurvy has been increasing daily; today it reached 15. As the equinox was approaching, all possible sail was set in order that the vessel might make the Columbia River.

7 Strong reefed-topsail wind with squalls. At 9 o'clock in the morning a strong wind from E. by S.

8 Heaved to under main-staysails, mizzen and main topsails. The vessel sprang a leak forward. Repairs undertaken. At noon observed position latitude $49^{\circ}57'$ N., longitude $230^{\circ}28'$ E. Compass error, 20° E.

9 Gentle topgallant wind from SE. by E., clear weather. At noon by observation latitude $47^{\circ}17'$ [N.], longitude 235° [E.]. Compass error $19^{\circ}30'$ E.

10 Strong reefed-topsail wind with heavy seas from east, fog on horizon. At midnight calm with heavy swell. Mainmast shroud, service strap and forestaysplit. At noon, position longitude $47^{\circ}58'$ N., latitude $239^{\circ}39'$ E.

11 Topsail wind ESE., sky clear. Today one of the hunters died of

scurvy. Toward evening the wind shifted from S. and increased to topgallant force. At noon position latitude $47^{\circ}29'N.$, longitude $235^{\circ}37'E.$

12 Wind of reefed-topsail force, with fog and drizzle. Distributed powder to each carronade and cannon, 20 bags and 12 pounds in horns for fuses. At 11 o'clock came into the wind to heave the lead and failed to find bottom. At noon latitude $47^{\circ}13' [N.]$, longitude $235^{\circ}44' [E.]$.

13 Fresh topgallant wind between S. and W. Let go topsail halyards and secured topsails. At midnight hove the lead; no bottom. Noon meridian latitude $44^{\circ}30' [N.]$. We found our point on shore, but did not see land.

14 Topgallant wind between S. and W. all day. Sighted land at dawn. All possible sail set, endeavoring to make landfall before evening. At 9 o'clock wind became stronger, so came about offshore, and at night tacked off the mouth of the Columbia River.

15 At 8 o'clock in morning saw breakers ahead, altered course 2 points, skirted reef. Having gone about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Italian miles; the water surface was smooth, but as the reef of the Columbia River extends farther, continued our course, approaching about 6 Italian miles, taking all precautions, until the lookout called from the crosstrees "Breakers ahead!" Immediately we went about, but as the tide was ebbing we were drawn toward the north shore, necessitating letting go the anchor. Gentle topgallant wind from the NW. sights at noon put the latitude at $45^{\circ}10'N.$, off the mouth of Gray's Harbor. To reconnoiter sent a baidarka ashore with two experienced hunters and Doctor Langsdorff. They went around the north bank, entered the mouth [of the harbor] and found depth of the bar all over not less than 5 sazhens, and channel depth not less than 12 sazhens, length of bar not more than 2 cable lengths. At 10 o'clock the baidarka returned with this news; hove up anchor and moved away offshore, setting our course towards the mouth of the Columbia.

16-17 Wind blew fresh, from the SE. and we tacked.

18 Sighted the mouth of the Columbia River. By order of His Excellency entered its mouth, but confused swells surrounded us from all sides, probably caused from a shoal to the right and the tide changing at the same time. We dropped anchor to take soundings of the channel. The

Bostonians [American skippers] all declare that one cannot enter the Columbia River except on a counter current, as confused swells are often experienced. The wind began to freshen. It was dangerous to let down a rowboat, so raised anchor and set course for port San Francisco.

19 Wind topgallant between S. and E. Overcast.

20-21 Wind topgallant between S. and E. Overcast.

22 Wind topgallant between N. and E., with position at noon latitude $44^{\circ}06' [N.]$, longitude $235^{\circ}44' [E.]$.

23 Light wind between N. and W. Noon position latitude $42^{\circ}08' [N.]$, longitude $234^{\circ}59' [E.]$.

24 Gentle topgallant wind; noon position latitude $40^{\circ}50' [N.]$, longitude $235^{\circ}08' [E.]$ abeam Cape Mendocino.

25 Light variable airs. At dawn sighted Cape Mendocino where according to Vancouver's chart there should be a ridge of rocks, but we saw only one. At noon took bearings of Cape Mendocino rock N. $20^{\circ}W.$ From the rock to N. cape N. $18^{\circ}W.$ and from it to the S. cape N. $15^{\circ}W.$

26 Variable topgallant wind. Noon position by observation latitude $39^{\circ}13' [N.]$, longitude $236^{\circ}10' [E.]$.

27 Wind very light with fog. At half past eight saw in mist on ESE. $\frac{1}{2}E.$ bearing three rocks close together, 2 Italian miles from us. At noon took bearings of these rocks, called the Farallones. Large rock bore S. $32^{\circ}E.$, next to it one from S., S. $46^{\circ}E.$ Between noon and half past two we passed the rocks. As we were midway between Port Bodega and San Francisco, His Excellency wished to call without fail at Port Bodega first, but because the wind was unfavorable for Bodega and favorable for Port San Francisco, and because half of our crew, including myself and His Excellency, were ill with scurvy, we decided to postpone this important call until a future occasion. Boldly disregarding the suspicious Spanish government, we laid our course directly toward the Fort, and profiting by the gentle westerly wind and the darkness of night we entered the bay. We feared that they might refuse us if we stopped and asked for permission. After sunset it became so dark that we could not see the shore and had to run on soundings. The depth was only $4\frac{1}{2}$ sazhens, so deciding not to take further chances, we dropped anchor.

28 At daybreak, at 4 o'clock, before the garrison of the fort could get our range, we weighed anchor, but unfortunately the tide was going out and the wind was light topgallant sail, so the ship could not make more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ knots. As we learned afterward, the current at full moon was $6\frac{1}{4}$ Italian miles per hour until 10 o'clock in the morning. At 8 o'clock, when we could see the fort and many people at the embrasures, the tide began to ease, the breeze grew stronger; so we set all the studding sails and went straight into the gate. The Spaniards, waving their fuses [as if ready to fire their cannon], shouted in a commanding manner to anchor the ship, whatever it was. But our speed was [now] over 7 knots, the current had changed; and the proud Spaniards were undecided whether to fire or to let us enter the harbor. Passing safely out of gun range, we took in the sails and anchored the ship so close to the shore that it was possible to lay hawsers. The [acting] commandant and a monk, accompanied by 15 armed cavalymen, galloped to our ship repeating their commands and trying to scare us, but being by that time out of danger we looked at them without concern. We lowered the ships' boat, and His Excellency sent Midshipman Davydov and Doctor Langsdorff to announce his arrival and to inform them that our intention had been to go to Monterey but the equinoctial gales had damaged our ship and the constant damp weather had affected half of our crew. The Viceroy of Mexico had already informed [the Governor] that two Russian frigates, with His Excellency, Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, should be in these waters. Soon [Rezanov] himself went ashore. A seven-gun salute was given at the departure of His Excellency, and watches were set.

29 By order of His Excellency we unrigged the ship and took our sick and the freight ashore, for which we were assigned a place opposite our ship.

April

2 We took five English sailors from our crew to an island as punishment for their disorderly conduct ashore and for their attempt to run away, which was discovered in time. We appropriately called that island the Island of Humility.

8 The ship is completely unrigged and its unloading is finished. In the afternoon Governor de Arillaga arrived from Monterey accompanied by the commandant of the fort of San Francisco, Gospodin de Arguello, several officers and horsemen and the commandant of Monterey. His arrival was announced with nine guns from the fort at the gate. We also noticed that five more shots were fired within the bay. His Excellency immediately sent Midshipman Davydov to greet the Governor upon his arrival and we, expecting the visit, manned the topmasts and armed the ship.

9 The Governor sent two monks to inform us that he was not well and that he would deem it a special honor to see His Excellency ashore. After some excuses Nikolai Petrovich decided to go. He was accompanied by Midshipman Davydov and Doctor Langsdorff. On the way His Excellency unexpectedly learned from the monks, who were loyal to us because they saw their profits from trade with us, that there was war between Russia and Spain. At that time we were already halfway between our ship and the presidio. In order to conceal our suspicion and fears, His Excellency ordered me in a joking tone to inform the crew of our ship about it and to make preparations. However, [Rezanov] by his smooth manners won the heart of Governor Arillaga. He seemed to like us even better than his own countrymen and very soon we discovered the secret about the arrival of the commandant of Monterey: he had a detachment of about 200 cavalymen which he kept in readiness about 30 Italian miles [from San Francisco].

12 We entertained the Commandant and Gospozha Arguello, his three sons and his four daughters at dinner aboard our ship. The music during the dinner helped us to become better acquainted with the entire family.

13-20 From the missions the Spaniards continued to bring various food supplies to the port; namely wheat, barley, beans, peas, lard, butter, flour, etc.

21 Two hunters ran away: Mikhail Kalinin and Peter Polkanov. We searched for them, but even with the assistance of the Spanish horsemen could not find them.

22 When enough food supplies were accumulated ashore, we began to load and to arm our ship.

24 Governor de Arillaga was invited to dinner. We saluted him with 7 guns; the fort responded with 9. During the dinner we drank the health of Our Emperor and of His Catholic Majesty and gave a 13-gun salute to which the fort responded with 15. For lasting friendship and trade relations between Russia and Spain, we shot 9 guns and the fort responded with 11 guns. At 7 o'clock the Governor left for the presidio and invited us to spend the evening [at his house].

25 Under the pretext of searching for the two runaway sailors, His Excellency secured permission to send two rowboats around the bay. In the evening the chief, Lieutenant Khvostov, sub-lieutenant Il'in and 8 men of the crew departed for the north side to [explore and] chart the bay. During the three-day trip, we compiled a chart. The north shore [of the bay] opposite the fort of San Francisco is much higher than the southern; it has two set-offs; nature so formed this promontory that forts may be built easily on both set-offs and each [fort] would be in a threatening position to the Spaniards, yet remaining entirely immune to any [retaliatory] shots, as this shore is much higher [than the land on which the fort stands]. The entire north side of the bay also abounds with large trees unknown to me; I recognized some chestnut trees, and I took with me a small branch of some other tree. Later I had the honor to present it to His Excellency, and I can vouch that it is remarkably hard and good for ship building. Proceeding farther into the bay we saw a long cove extending toward Bodega Bay. A map made by Captain Vancouver shows it to be about 25 Italian miles from the coast. The cove had sufficient depth; we entered it, but I could not see the end of it because having taken along food supplies for only three days, we were forced to return. I am not certain whether or not this cove is connected with the Bodega port by some small river, but I am sure that the isthmus is not large. If the lucky experiment of trade with California made by His Excellency continues, I may boldly state that, once established at Bodega, the Russians could use this small isthmus to extend their settlement to the north shore of San Francisco Bay. The

Spaniards, as [religious] fanatics, are not interested in industries; they do not even have a rowboat, and the frigates which deliver their supplies are not interested in the north shore either. Yet I saw cattle, many antelope, a great number of wild goats, bears and plenty of wild fowl; I also saw wild wheat, peas and beans growing, so it seemed, without cultivation from seeds evidently scattered a number of years ago for an experiment and left in the care of nature and the good climate.

29 The boat and a baidarka sent to make a description [of the bay] returned.

May

1-8 Armed and reregged the ship, loaded the remainder of the goods.

8 Finished the loading and brought the spars and the crew from the shore. Loaded about 4,250 poods of various kinds of grain. Weighed anchor and shifted ship to be nearer the entrance to the bay. During our stay in the port of San Francisco the NW. wind continued.

10 Received an order from His Excellency to depart for the port of New Archangel.

11 At 8 o'clock, with a strong topgallant sail wind from the NW., we weighed anchor and began to maneuver from the bay; at the fort the Governor, the Commandant with his family and the rest of the Spaniards watched us go. We saluted the fort with seven guns and it responded with nine. [The Spaniards], waving their hats and kerchiefs, wished us a safe voyage. Thus we left the port of San Francisco and shaped our course W., expecting that farther from the coast the winds would not be so steady.

18 We were not mistaken in our supposition. At longitude 224° 17' E. we found the wind from the SE.; it continued for two days.

20 The wind changed from SE. to NW.

22 Sighted Cape St. James of the Charlotte Islands.

28 Tacking all this time. The winds continued to be variable. I tried always to keep far from the coast, as I noticed that nearer the shore the wind was from the NW., whereas farther from the coast it was changeable, and if we went ten degrees farther we could find the SW. wind.

June

1 Wind WNW.; stiff reefed topsail breeze; one mizzen shroud stranded; in half an hour the mainsail and all the fore-shrouds, between bowsprit shrouds and top, broke; we boxhailed, tacked about, and put on stoppers and warps.

2 Inspected the rigging and found five rotten shrouds on the port side of the mainmast and four on the foremast. We put stoppers and warps on them for reinforcement.

8 Sighted Mount Edgecumbe on the north side of the bay in Norfolk Sound.

9 Dropped anchor at the west side of the port of New Archangel. The fort saluted His Excellency with seven guns and we replied with an equal number.



California Indian with ceremonial headdress.
Detail, litho., pl. xii, Choris, 1826.

Passages from the account of Dr. Georg von Langsdorff

27 March 1806

The wind freshened so much in the night, that it was judged prudent to take in some of our sails. Early in the morning we discovered to the south the cluster of rocks called *Los Fallerones*, and to the east the promontory of *Ponto de los Reys*, in latitude $37^{\circ} 59'$, near to which lies the harbour of St. Francisco. A current carried us at the same time two miles to the south. We now steered directly towards the harbour, and had the pleasure of finding Vancouver's charts and views so accurate, that they left nothing to be wished for. The regular soundings may serve every navigator as a secure guide to run into the harbour even in the dark; we, however, held it more prudent to come to anchor for the night at the distance of between two and three miles from the mouth of the harbour, in four fathom and a half water . . .

28 March

. . . on the twenty-eighth, at day-break, proceeded forwards to the place of our destination. Towards nine o'clock we reached the south-eastern point of the harbour, on which, while we were yet at a considerable distance, we perceived a fort. From this, as we approached it, we were hailed by means of a speaking trumpet, and asked who we were, and whence we came. In consequence of our answer we were directed to cast anchor in the neighborhood of the fort.

We had scarcely reached our destination, on the morning of the twenty-eighth of March, after a voyage of thirty-two days, when we saw fifteen horsemen come out from the fort of St. Francisco, and advance in full gallop to the shore near where our vessel was lying. By calling and by signs they made us understand that they expected a boat from us to come on shore, and shewed great impatience while we were hoisting one out. Lieutenant Davidoff and myself went in it as plenipotentiaries from the ship.

We were received by a Franciscan monk, and several military officers, when a well-looking young man, who was not otherwise distinguished from the rest but by a very singular dress, was presented to us as the commandant of the place. He had over his uniform a sort of mantle of striped woollen cloth, which looked very much like the coverlid of a bed, his head coming through an opening in the middle, so that it hung down over the breast, back, and shoulders. He, as well as the rest of

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the military officers, wore boots embroidered after a particular fashion, and extravagantly large spurs; most of them also had large cloaks. As not one of our party understood Spanish, the conversation was carried on, in Latin, between me and the Franciscan friar, this being the only medium by which we could make ourselves intelligible to each other.

The first question asked was who we were, and whence we came. We said that our ship belonged to a Russian voyage of discovery, and that the commander of it, the Chamberlain Von Resanoff, was on board; that our intention had been to go to Monterey, as the seat of government, but that owing to contrary winds and a scarcity of provisions, we had been under the necessity of putting into this harbour, as the nearest we could make; we therefore solicited the commander's permission to purchase the supplies we wanted, and do some necessary repairs to our vessel. To this we received for answer, that it was a long time since the commandant had received intelligence of this expedition, with an order from the King of Spain, that in case the ships should put into that port, they should be received in the most friendly manner, and be supplied with every thing they might want; that, in consequence, all kinds of refreshment which the country and the season afforded, should be entirely at our service. At the same time they observed, that, according to the information sent them, the expedition, when it sailed from Cronstadt, consisted of two ships, the *Nadeschda* and the *Neva*, the one commanded by Captain Krusenstern, and the other by Captain Lisiansky, and they wished to know what could have occasioned so great a change, as that the Chamberlain Von Resanoff (whose name seemed known to them) was now come with one ship only, and that neither of those abovenamed, and commanded by different officers.

To this inquiry we replied, that the original ships engaged in the expedition were, from a variety of circumstances, under the necessity of returning to Europe from Kamschatka, and that his Majesty the Emperor of Russia had ordered the Chamberlain Von Resanoff to remove on board the *Juno*, under the command of Lieutenants Schwostoff and Davidoff, for the purpose of visiting the settlements of the Russo-American Company upon the Aleutian Isles and the north-west coast of America, from whence he had proceeded to that port. With this answer they seemed perfectly satisfied, and begged the Chamberlain to come on shore, saying that they would wait there for him, and conduct him to the Presidency, into the habitation of the commandant. We returned immediately to the ship to communicate this agreeable invitation, and being joined by the Chamberlain and Lieutenant Schwostoff, proceeded with our guides towards the Presidency, as the military settlements in California are called. On our way thither, we were informed that the proper commandant, Don Arguello, was absent, and that his son, Don Louis



California Indians.
Detail, litho., pl. 6, Choris, 1826.

Alferes Arguello, with whom we were then talking, supplied his place till his return. In somewhat more than a quarter of an hour we arrived at the Presidency, where we were received in the most polite and friendly manner by Madame Arguello, wife of the commandant, and her family.

The whole settlement of St. Francisco has the appearance of a German *Metairie* [tenant farm]. The low wooden houses consist of one quadrangular room. The habitation of the commandant is small and mean. A sort of parlour, with only white-washed walls, very scantily furnished, and about half the floor covered with straw-matting, served as the apartment for receiving company. After being heartily welcomed, we were presented with refreshments, and invited to partake of as good a dinner as their kitchen and cellar would furnish. It was not very long before it was served, and to our great surprize, considering the humble nature of the rest of the furniture, in as handsome a service of plate as could be seen: this costly American metal is indeed to be found in the most remote Spanish possessions. Friendship and harmony reigned in the whole behaviour of these worthy kind-hearted people; indeed, in such a spot, they have scarcely any pleasures or amusements but what proceed from family union and domestic cordiality.

The simple artless attachment which every part of this amiable family seemed to feel for the other, interested us so much, that we soon wished for a farther acquaintance with them, and were very desirous of learning the name of each individual. Madame Arguello had had fifteen children, of whom thirteen were at this time living; some of the sons were absent upon the military service, others were at home. Of the grownup unmarried daughters, Donna Conception interested us more particularly. She was lively and animated, had sparkling love-inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form, and a thousand other charms, yet her manners were perfectly simple and artless. Beauties of this kind are to be found, though not frequently, in Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

The son and *locum tenens* of the commandant, Don Louis Arguello, imparted to us the news that England had declared war against Spain, and told us, that when our vessel was first seen, it was supposed to be an English one, and an enemy, but that they were extremely happy when they found their mistake. After dinner, he dispatched a courier to the governor at Monterey, to announce our arrival, and to request his farther instructions with regard to us: M. Von Resanoff also sent a few lines by him. Besides Father Joseph Uria, the Franciscan, who had received us at our landing, we were also introduced to Father Martin, and received from both an invitation to visit the mission of St. Francisco on the next day: this is an ecclesiastical establishment, lying at the distance of a short German mile, eastward of the Presidency. In the evening, we returned to the ship, much delighted with the day we

had passed, when we received the pleasing intelligence that the commandant had sent so large a supply of refreshments, that there was sufficient to feed our poor diseased Promüschleniks for several days; among other things were four fat oxen, two sheep, onions, garlick, sallad, cabbages, and several other sorts of vegetables and pulse.

29 March

On the twenty-ninth, at eight in the morning, according to agreement, the horses were ready for us upon the shore, and Father Joseph Uria came himself to be our conductor. Messrs. Von Resanoff, Schwostoff, Davidoff, and myself, were of this party of pleasure. As we were to pass the Presidency in our way, we just called in to wish the worthy family of Arguello a good morning, and were regaled with chocolate, after which we proceeded towards the Mission. The road is bad either for horses or for walking, consisting almost every where of a loose sand. The surrounding country is in general naked, and the hills, covered in some parts with low shrubs, afford but little variety. The birds were almost the only things to attract our attention; I saw several sorts unknown to me, besides eagles, cranes, curlews, ducks; there were also a few rabbits and hares.

In about three quarters of an hour we arrived at the Mission. Father Martin, to whom we had been introduced the day before at the Presidency, received us at the door with a third ecclesiastic, called Father Raymond, to whom we were presented; both gave us a very kind and friendly welcome. We were carried immediately to the church, where a short prayer was put up for us; after which we were shewn all that was thought deserving of attention in the chapel and sacristy; to say the truth, these curiosities consisted in little more than the ecclesiastical paraphernalia. Our cicerone, Father Joseph Uria, who was, generally speaking, an intelligent and well-informed man, and who seemed to have a sound and accurate judgment upon most subjects, understanding that I was a naturalist, took me by the hand when we were in the chapel, and made me take notice of a painting, which represented the *Agave Americana*, or large American aloe, from the midst of which, instead of a flower-stem, rose a holy virgin, by whom, as he assured me, many extraordinary miracles were performed in the sequel. This he related with an air of such firm belief in the story, that I could not help thinking if the belief was really not assumed, this was the greatest miracle the Virgin could have wrought. From courtesy, however, I joined in his admiration of the circumstance, expressing at the same time my extreme envy of the painter, who had seen so great a natural curiosity with his own eyes . . .

The Spanish Government is well known to be extremely suspicious, and, prop-

erly speaking, does not allow the vessels of other nations to run into any of her ports in either North or South America. If, however, a foreign ship is obliged to put in from want of water, wood, or other necessaries, or from damage received in a storm, immediately on its arrival a guard is sent on board, the ship is examined, and if the circumstances do not appear pressing, the assistance asked is sometimes refused. All kinds of trade or barter for things which have not passed through the Spanish Custom-house is strictly forbidden, under pain of confiscation of the goods; tobacco, in particular, which is considered as crown property, is obliged to pay a very heavy duty. The American ships are guarded very strictly, and the freedom of all the sailors who are not native Spaniards is so extremely restrained, that none can come on shore without particular permission. Even the English, in Vancouver's most amicable expedition, were equally restrained, and we should most likely have experienced the same treatment, had we not made use of the orders given by the Spanish Government relative to the expedition under Captain Krusenstern.

It was to this circumstance alone that we owed our friendly reception, and being suffered to remain without any examination. At length, when we hoped that the good-will of the ecclesiastics, Father Joseph and Father Martin, was entirely gained, we ventured to disclose the distresses of the Settlement at Sitcha, which was the real occasion of our visit, and to propose an exchange of many objects we had brought with this view, for a supply of corn, and other articles of the first necessity to us. But however willing the fathers were to comply with our wishes, they were afraid of venturing upon any kind of traffic, without the consent of the government. They assured us that they had no doubt of obtaining this consent, and expressed much satisfaction in the prospect of being able by this means to supply themselves with many European articles, of which they were greatly in want. They had heard that there were many things on board our ship which would be of the utmost use to them, and while they were waiting for the governor's answer, they came to visit us and our merchandise, accompanied by Don Louis Arguello. They were much pleased with some coarse and fine linen cloths, Russian ticking, and English woollen cloth, which we shewed them. They inquired very much after iron and iron wares, particularly tools for mechanical trades and implements for husbandry, household utensils, shears for shearing the sheep, axes, large saws for sawing out planks, and iron cooking vessels. Copper kitchen utensils tinned they did not like. They also inquired for casks, bottles, glasses, plates, fine pocket and neck handkerchiefs, and leather of all sorts, particularly calf-skins and leather for the soles of shoes. We had a number of shoes and boots ready made, and round hats, with different articles of clothing, which were very acceptable to them.

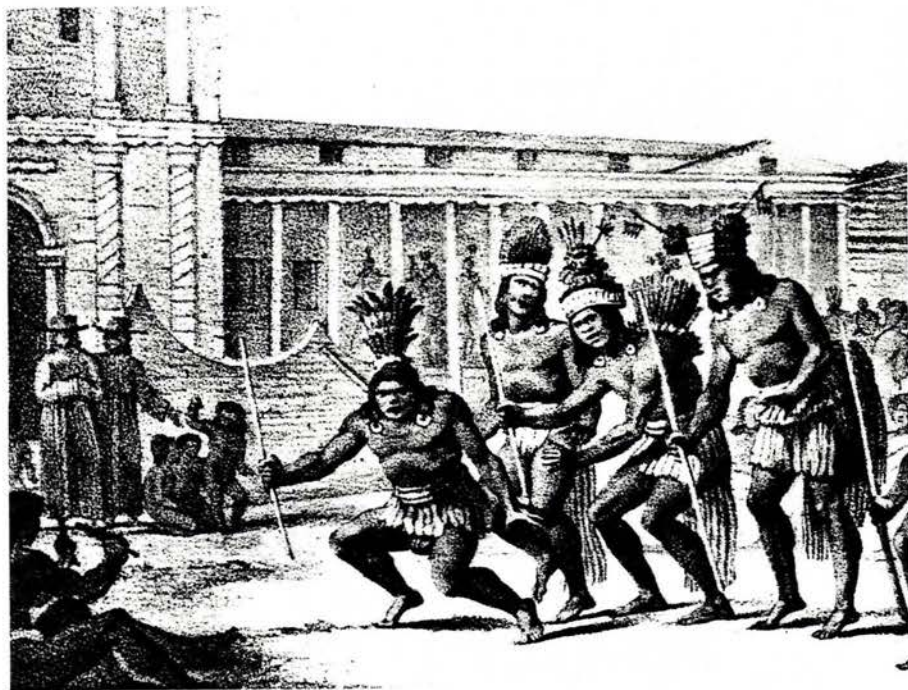
The ladies of the presidency inquired for cotton and muslin, shawls of three ells and a half long and an ell broad, as well as for fine plain and worked muslins, printed cottons, and striped ribbands. In the hope of securing the friendship and goodwill of our visitors, and to inspire them with an opinion of our disinterestedness, Don Louis Arguello was presented with an English fowling-piece, and each of the fathers with a piece of fine English cloth; to the latter was also presented a piece of gold stuff for the ornament of their church: these presents seemed to give very great satisfaction.

2 April

On the second of April, Don Louis Arguello came on board in his full-dressed military uniform, to pay his respects in the name of the Governor of Monterey to the Baron Von Resanoff, to offer him all possible assistance, and to request some official documents which would satisfy him that we were really what we gave ourselves out to be; also to ask what was become of the rest of the ships belonging to the expedition, with their commanders, and to inquire how long we proposed staying at St. Francisco.

The Chamberlain on this shewed several letters and recommendations which he had received from other powers at his setting out on the expedition, and excused himself that he had none from the Spanish court, which, he said, had not arrived at St. Petersburg before his departure. He had, notwithstanding, as he said he could assure the Governor, been received in the most hospitable and friendly manner in some other of the Spanish possessions, particularly at Teneriffe, by the Marquis de la Casa Cabigal. Don Louis expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with these assurances; and soon after remitted to the Chamberlain a very polite answer in writing from the Governor of Monterey, Don Arrelega, in which the latter promised to be at St. Francisco in a few days, to expedite, by his presence, the furnishing us with the supplies we desired.

The news of our arrival, and of the purpose for which we were come, spread in the meantime through the country: among other places it reached the mission of St. Joseph, an establishment to the south-east of St. Francisco, first founded about eight years before. Being exceedingly in want of many articles which we were reported to have for sale, one of the ecclesiastics of the institution, Father Pedro, was sent as a deputy to negociate with us. He made us friendly offers of the services of himself and his mission; and when he had been shewn by the Commissary of the Russo-American Company many articles of our merchandise, he entered into a treaty with him, by which it was agreed that in return for four pieces of English blue cloth, and seven pieces of linen, he was to send us a hundred and four measures



Ceremonial dance at Mission Dolores, San Francisco.
Detail, litho., pl. vi, Choris, 1826.

of the best wheat; the bargain, however, to be subjected to the Governor's consent.

The deportment of this monk was very different from that of Father Joseph Uria. He was always gay and cheerful, and was indeed a most agreeable companion; it appeared that this was by no means the first time of his being engaged in trade. As we expressed a wish of having a very considerable quantity of flour, with the proper sacks for stowing it on board the ship, he frankly told us that he had not the means of furnishing all that we required, either of the one or the other; yet he engaged to employ the Indians of his mission as much as possible, day and night, to grind corn for us, and hoped by this means to be able to deliver forty-two arrobas [an arroba is about 25 pounds] of flour per week in proper sacks. If he could not furnish all the latter of cloth, the remainder should be made of horse, cow, or ox-hides.

7 April

On the seventh we were informed that the Governor from Monterey, Don Arrelega, with the Commandant of St. Francisco, Don Arguello, and some other officers, were expected that day at the presidency: towards evening their arrival was announced by a discharge of cannon from the fort. On this occasion we heard not only the guns of the fort with which we were already acquainted, but a discharge from behind another point of land within the harbour, which was at the entrance of a little creek to the south-east. We were not a little surprised at this, as we had never seen any fort there, nor had an idea that such a thing existed; it was in fact not visible from our anchoring-place, for it is so situated as to be quite concealed by the projecting point of land. An enemy's ship attempting to run into the harbour, deeming itself quite safe by steering out of reach of the fort at the entrance, might be very much surprised at being saluted with a discharge of artillery at the moment when such a salutation was least to be expected. On the contrary, a vessel keeping to the northern shore, and north-eastern part of this spacious bay, is secure from all danger. (Whoever is particularly interested upon this subject, and wishes to have a clear idea of the harbour of St. Francisco, must consult the chart, No. 33, of the Atlas to La Perouse's voyage. In the neighbourhood, and north of the island of los Angeles, and the Ponta de St. Antonio, an enemy's ship may be perfectly secure against all attacks from the Spaniards.)

As soon as we were informed of the Governor's arrival, Lieutenant Davidoff was sent on shore to welcome the party, and make our warmest acknowledgments for the friendly manner in which we had been received.

9 April

On the following morning, when we expected our visit to be returned, came an

ecclesiastic with the Governor's apologies; that being advanced in age, and of an infirm constitution, he hoped he should be excused coming on board the ship, at the same time requesting the Chamberlain's company, with that of all the officers, to dine with him at the presidency. This invitation was accepted, and we were introduced to a very polite respectable man, who had come a distance of no less than twenty-five German miles on horseback, solely for the purpose of shewing respect to us, of furthering our views, and of making our stay as agreeable as possible.

The principal object of negotiation between the Chamberlain Von Resanoff and the Governor, was the supplying the Russian settlements with provisions and other necessaries. The Chamberlain thought that an intercourse might be established between the Russian settlements and this Spanish province, which would be a reciprocal benefit to them, and that it might be carried on by vessels passing from the one to the other at stated periods. The Governor, however, did not consider himself as endowed with sufficient powers to establish such an intercourse, although he perfectly concurred in considering it as a thing advantageous to both parties. He said that even the Viceroy of Mexico's powers were too much limited for him to enter into any arrangement, but he promised that the proposal should be submitted to the cabinet of Madrid.

13-20 April

Not the least difficulty was made about furnishing us with the supplies wanted for our present necessities. The Governor, on the contrary, dispatched messengers to all the surrounding missions, desiring them to send corn, flour, meat, salt, and other objects that we wanted; permitting us, as we had not the means of paying for them in money, to furnish an equivalent in the objects of merchandise that we had to dispose of. And that there might be no dissatisfaction with us, no envyings or jealousies with regard to the quantities furnished by each, he desired from us a regular catalogue of all that we wanted; and at the same time required catalogues from the several missions of their stores, and then ordered himself the portions which were to be furnished by each. With regard to the purchase of a complete ship's lading of corn and other provisions, which M. Von Resanoff urged very much, some difficulties were started, and it was not till after a long negotiation, and a great deal of entreaty, that the Governor consented to our being furnished by the missions with the cargo we desired; but he said the Commandant of St. Francisco, Don Arguello, must receive the merchandise we were to give in exchange on account of the Crown, and it must be kept as a deposit till leave could be obtained from the Governor-General of Mexico for it to be consigned to our real creditors. By this arrangement our wants were satisfied, and the missions were pleased, as

they flattered themselves that the Governor-General of Mexico would not refuse his sanction to the transaction. The Governor of Monterey, Don Arrelaga, hoped at the same time, that, by such a proceeding, he had sufficiently guarded against any danger of incurring the displeasure of his court.

During the time that the horses, oxen, and mules, of the several missions were employed in going backwards and forwards to bring us our cargo, the Governor, with his train, and the numerous family of the Commandant, did every thing in their power to make our stay agreeable to us. Almost every morning horses were upon the shore ready for us as soon as we chose to land, that we might take a ride about the neighbouring country; and we had free permission to go every where except to the forts.

We often amused ourselves with shooting the crested partridges and the rabbits which abound upon the sand hills near the shore. One day we went, accompanied by twelve people, and conducted by thirty or forty Indians, to catch hares and rabbits by a sort of snaring, when, in three hours, without firing a shot, we had taken seventy-five, and most of them alive. We sought in vain several times for lions, tigers, and bears; of the latter there had been formerly a great abundance, but they were now become much more rare. On the northern shore of the bay the roe abounds, and the chase of it is very amusing and productive. In a number of aquatic excursions, I found most of the birds, with which I had become familiar at Sitcha, as pelicans, guillemots, ducks, particularly the *anas perspicillata*, and the *anas nigra*, sea-pies, and others. There were also seals of various sorts, and above all things, the valuable sea-otter was swimming in numbers about the bay, nearly unheeded. Some of us were almost every afternoon at the presidency, and the society was generally enlivened by dancing and music.

The seriousness of Father Joseph, who, as well as ourselves, was an almost daily visitor at the presidency, was admirably contrasted by the vivacity of Father Pedro; he also half lived with the family of Arguello. When the first spoke, all was silence and profound attention, but scarcely did the latter open his mouth without a laugh being immediately produced throughout the whole company: he was full of wit and humour, and entertained us all in the most agreeable manner.

The favorite dance here is called the *barrego*. It is performed by two couple, who stand opposite to each other. They hum a tune, and stamp the measure with their feet, making the figure of a half chain, then *balancer* opposite to each other to a slow time, and then recommence the dance. We took some pains to teach the ladies English country-dances, and they liked them so much, that we afterwards commonly danced them; they seemed particularly pleased that the whole party could be dancing at the same time. Some soldiers of the garrison, who would play on the violin and guitar, were our musicians.



California Indians
Detail, litho., pl. 7, Choris, 1826.

Don Arguello had talked much to us, from the first of our arrival, of the combats between animals which form a part of the amusements of the place, and on the tenth of April he sent out eight soldiers on horseback, to endeavour to catch a bear alive, and bring it to the presidency to fight with a wild bull. The same evening they returned, having taken a large dark brown bear by means of ropes and slings. He lay upon an oxhide, which was stretched over several branches of trees bound together, and had been drawn in this way for some miles by a pair of oxen. He was muzzled, and his claws were bound fast together: this confinement, with the manner in which he had been drawn, and the rage he felt, had heated him exceedingly. When the convoy arrived at the presidency, the poor creature's bands were very much loosened, and water was thrown over his body, which seemed to refresh him very much: at length he was tied by his hind legs only to a stake driven into the ground, close by a pool of water. Here he soon began to drink of his own accord, and to splash about in the water to cool himself. No one dared venture near him, for he growled, gnashed his teeth, and seemed very indignant at the treatment he received.

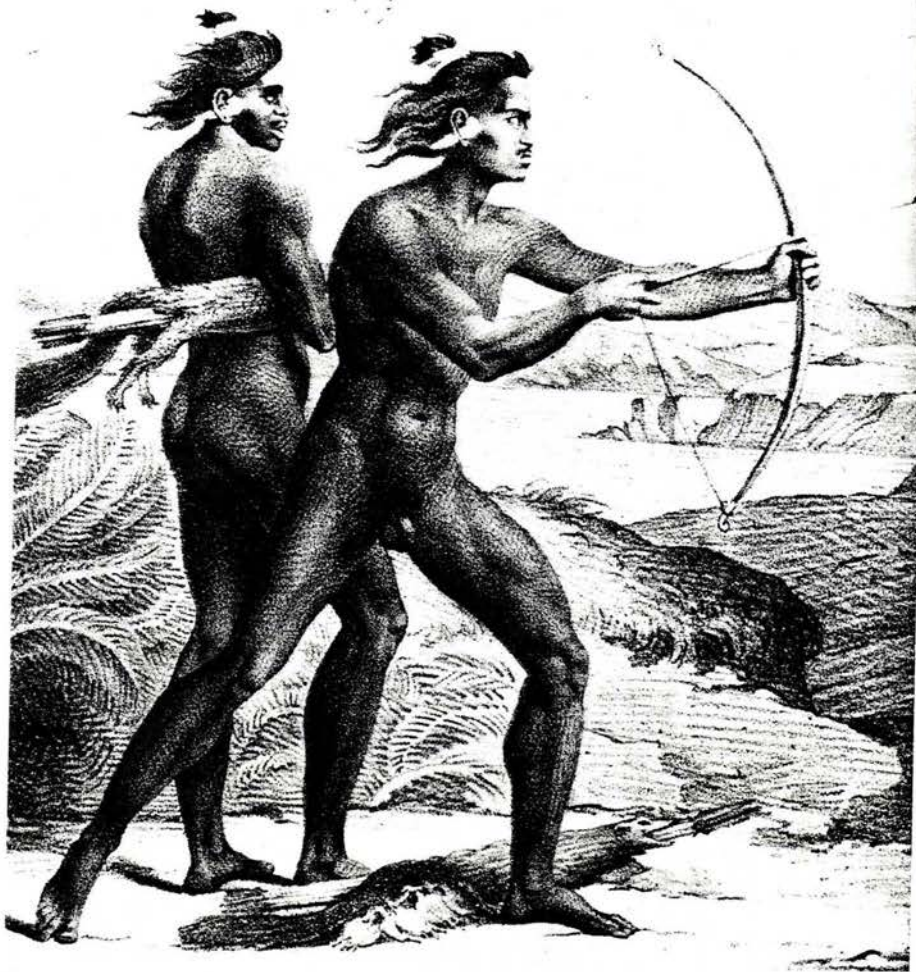
An order was now given to catch some wild bulls to fight with the bear, and the next day was fixed for the combat. We expected the time with impatience, and watched eagerly for the horses at the appointed hour; but when they arrived, we learnt, to our great sorrow, that our curiosity was entirely disappointed, for the poor bear had died in the night. (According to what we were told by the Spaniards, the bear in these combats generally comes off with the worst.) To make us some amends, the Commandant promised to give us a bull-fight, and this promise was performed the same afternoon. Several soldiers, both on foot and on horseback, killed one bull after another with their spears, but the animals did not fall till after receiving a great many wounds. As these bull-fights are well known to make a part of the national amusements among the Spaniards and Portuguese, and have therefore often been described, it would be needless here to repeat the description, especially as none of the combatants displayed any particular address and dexterity. I must, however, observe, that I could not help being struck at seeing, that the fathers, who in all their instructions to their converts, insist so strongly upon their cultivating tenderness of heart, and kind and compassionate feelings, never oppose these national amusements, though it cannot be denied that they are very cruel and barbarous. Perhaps, accustomed as they are from their infancy to the pastime, all idea of cruelty is lost, and they are no more affected by seeing this useless slaughter of animals, in a way revolting to those unaccustomed to it, than the Nukahiwans are by eating human flesh.

In the same light must be considered the cock-fights, which are frequently held

among the Spaniards in New California, and which, it must be owned, are no less cruel and repugnant to humanity. Of these we saw no more than the little knives, which are fastened in the way of spurs to the legs of the animals, when they are to fight.

Our constant friendly intercourse with the family of Arguello, the music, the singing, the sports, and the dancing, awakened in the mind of the Chamberlain Von Resanoff some new and very important speculations, which gave rise to his forming a plan of a very different nature from the first, for establishing a commercial intercourse between the Russian and Spanish settlements. The bright eyes of Donna Conception had made a deep impression upon his heart; and he conceived that a nuptial union with the daughter of the Commandant at St. Francisco would be a vast step gained towards promoting the political objects he had so much at heart. He had therefore nearly come to a resolution to sacrifice himself by this marriage to the welfare, as he hoped, of the two countries of Spain and Russia. The great difficulty in the way of such a union was the difference between the religion of the parties, but to a philosophic head like the Chamberlain's, this was by no means an insurmountable one. As the Governor, however, represented to him the political situation of things in Europe, and the suspicious nature of the Spanish government, and gave him little hopes of support in his commercial speculations, the Chamberlain assured him, that, immediately on his return to St. Petersburg, he would go to Madrid as ambassador extraordinary from the Imperial Russian court, to obviate every kind of misunderstanding between the two powers. From thence he would proceed to Vera-Cruz, or some Spanish harbour in Mexico, and finally come on to St. Francisco to reclaim his bride, and settle all matters relative to the commerce he so much wished to promote. It will be seen from this detail, that the Chamberlain was no less spirited in forming his projects for the accomplishment of his wishes, than ardent and active in carrying them into execution.

The principal object which he had in view in this trade, was the insuring to the Russian possessions in North-America and the islands, quite to Kamschatka and Ochotsk, a regular supply of corn and flour from New California. How practicable soever the undertaking must be allowed, there are, in my opinion, many obstacles in the way of its being accomplished, even supposing the idea to meet with a favourable reception at the Spanish court. The possessions of the Russo-American Company are already so widely extended, and so far removed one from another, that in the present state of their navigation it is very difficult to keep up any general communication among them; and the want of ships and sailors must be doubly felt, if a regular commercial intercourse with New California should be attempted. But, even supposing them to have ships and sailors, how could they pay for the



San Francisco Bay Indians
Detail, litho., pl. xii, Choris, 1826.

articles they are to purchase but with money, or such objects of merchandize as the Spanish colony has occasion for, and how are these to be carried from the Aleutian Islands, from Sitcha, or Kamschatka? The wants of New California consist of manufactured goods, sugar, chocolate, wine, brandy, tobacco, iron and iron tools, &c. &c., and of these the Russian settlements are no less in want, perhaps even more, than the Spanish.

If, to obviate this objection, ships were to be sent regularly from Europe to New California, to purchase, either with money, or by barter, the provisions in corn, flour, and salted meat, wanted for the Russian possessions, and above all, to collect sea-otter skins, according to my view of the thing, this would be to procure them at a much greater expence than if the Russo-American Company were to draw the supplies directly from Cronstadt. Besides, that corn is much dearer in New California than at Cronstadt, the ships must run extremely out of their way, and suffer a great loss of time in going there.

As to collecting sea-otter skins, in which, without doubt, a very advantageous trade might be established, it is a great question whether the Spaniards would ever be brought to consent to such a trade. I do not believe they would. It is expressly forbidden by the Spanish Government, for ships of any nation, under pain of the vessels themselves being forfeited, to catch sea-otters within thirty leagues of their coast, and the Governor one day complained very much to us of the sailors of the American States, that they not only supplied the inhabitants of the north-west coast of America with guns, and powder and shot, but even carried their audacity so far, as to bring a great number of Aleutians with them to catch sea-otters on the coast of California. He related, as if it had been a matter unknown to us, that a certain Captain Orcan [O'Cain] had, some years before, come with thirty men and four women from Oonalashka, secretly to catch these animals within the limits of his government. Since that time an order had been sent from the Spanish government for two ships from Acapulco to cruize constantly about the coast, for the purpose of preventing such illicit proceedings. Indeed, during our stay, information was brought that an American ship, having been detected in the fact, was stopped and carried into St. Diego.

If Russia would engage in an advantageous commerce with these parts, and procure from them provisions for the supply of her northern settlements, the only means of doing it is by planting a colony of her own. In a country which is blessed with so mild a climate as California, where there is such plenty of wood and water, with so many other means for the support of life, and several excellent harbours, persons of enterprising spirits might, in a few years, establish a very flourishing colony. With the assistance of the able mechanics who are to be found at Sitcha,

wind and water mills might soon be constructed, looms established, and manufactories for burning brandy. Large and small vessels, and granaries for corn, would then be built; vast herds of cattle would be raised, and sea-otters in abundance taken; thus, in time, Kamschatka and Eastern Asia would be amply supplied from hence with all kinds of vegetable and animal productions for the support of life. The Russo-American Company have already sufficient sources of wealth in their present possessions from the extensive fur-trade they yield, nor has any occasion to aim at increasing it by foreign dealings. Their settlements only want a better administration to rise with fresh vigour from their ruins; but to effect this, their strength must be concentrated, and they must abandon the mistaken policy of extending them to such a degree as to weaken every part . . .

8 May

Our Commander, the Baron Von Resanoff, at length, after much trouble and negotiation, succeeded in getting on board the Juno four thousand two hundred and ninety-four measures of corn, with a large quantity of flour, pease, beans, and maize, together with a few casks of salted meat and a small provision of salt, soap, tallow, and some other articles. For all this he gave in exchange merchandise to the amount of twenty-four thousand Spanish dollars. I was somewhat surprized that, instead of so very large a proportion of corn, he did not rather take more salted meat, as it was of an excellent quality, and much cheaper. It is however a certain fact, that a Russian always prefers a piece of bread to a proportionate quantity of meat, and M. Von Resanoff probably thought that in procuring the means of having plenty of bread he had superseded all other wants.

The Promüscheniks [hunters], who are accustomed at Sitcha to feed only on fish, and the fat of sea-dogs and whales, on berries and saranna, with sometimes a little rice, found their health very much recruited from being fed with wholesome meat and pulse, and were soon entirely cured of the scurvy. A fat bullock was sufficient to support the whole crew for three days, and it cost only four Spanish dollars; indeed, so great was the abundance of cattle in New California, that it was found much cheaper to feed the sailors and Promüscheniks with meat than with vegetables or pulse; even bread was dealt out to them so sparingly, that they at last grew tired of having nothing but meat, and began to long for pease, beans, or other pulse, by way of variety.

It was, in truth, not a little astonishing to see the rapid effect produced in our people by a change in their diet. Even those who when they left Sitcha had the scurvy to the most frightful degree, soon after our arrival at St. Francisco, began to have healthy countenances, and in a fortnight or three weeks their colour and

strength was so perfectly restored, that nobody could have supposed them the same people who had left the settlement such miserable, pale, lean, emaciated figures. A short time before our departure from St. Francisco, some of them were attacked in a slight degree with inflammatory rheumatic fevers, so that when we sailed, we had fifteen of the crew ill; but the illness was of very short duration; they were soon able to resume their business.

11 May

On the tenth of May, old stile, we quitted the harbour of St. Francisco, full of gratitude to the amiable family of Arguello for all the kindness and hospitality we had received from them, and which remained undiminished, notwithstanding the length of our stay. To the excellent Governor Don Arrelaga, who had so kindly forwarded our views, we were no less indebted; nor must I omit to acknowledge the friendship shewn us by the missionaries. Among them I must particularize Father Joseph Uria, and pay him a more especial tribute of acknowledgment for the many instances of benevolent attention that he shewed us. If sometimes there might be an appearance as if he acted from interested motives, this was a feature in his character which, under the circumstances of his situation, was rather to his honour than otherwise, since any advantages he might derive from his intercourse with us could not be for himself personally, they could be only for the children of his adoption, the Indian converts.

It was about four in the afternoon that the anchor was raised, and we got under way. In passing the fort, we saluted it with seven guns, and the salutation was returned with nine. The Governor, with the whole family of Arguello, and several other friends and acquaintance, had collected themselves at the fort, and wafted us an adieu with their hats and pocket-handkerchiefs.

We now considered ourselves not only as on our return to Sitcha, but to Europe, and this idea increased in no small degree our spirits and animation. At our departure we were obliged at first to steer directly westward, on account of the wind being steady to the north-west. The weather was variable, sometimes clear, sometimes cloudy and foggy; the sea was very dull, and for the first three or four days of the voyage we scarcely saw a single bird, or any other living creature.

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