

**MATERIALS OF M. VASILYEV'S EXPEDITION: A VALUABLE
SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE AND INTER-
CULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS**

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In July 1819 an expedition led by Lieutenant-Commander M. N. Vasilyev left Kronshtadt for a round-the-world voyage. The sloop *Otkrytie* was under the command of Vasilyev himself, while the sloop *Blagonamerennyi* was under Lieutenant-Commander G. S. Shishmarev. The mission of the expedition was to search out a seaway from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean to the north of either the American continent or Eurasia. The mission, unrealizable at the time, was not carried out. But Vasilyev's expedition made its contribution to the solution of this problem. Having twice penetrated into the Arctic Ocean, it described a considerable stretch of the Arctic coast of America, studied the navigational conditions in those latitudes, and gathered information on the local population. When exploring the Bering Sea, the expedition discovered Nunivak Island, mapped certain other islands or ascertained their locations, and gave much attention to ethnographic observations.

While in the Pacific, both ships also visited Port Jackson (Sydney), California, Kamchatka, and the principal settlements of Russian America. In April 1820 Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers discovered a group of coral islands which they described briefly and named the Blagonamerennyi Islands.¹ In March-April and in December 1821 the ships of the expedition called at the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.²

When the *Otkrytie* and the *Blagonamerennyi* returned to Kronshtadt (August 1822), reports appeared in Russian newspapers and journals praising both the scientific results of the expedition and the seacraft and courage of its participants. V. I. Khvostov celebrated this voyage in a poem. However, no report on Vasilyev's expedition was published, and for a long time it was supposed that a detailed description did not exist.

Actually, when Vasilyev returned to Russia, he was not granted a long leave for writing a work on his expedition, but was appointed to a command position in Kronshtadt. One of the documents kept in the Central State Archives of the USSR Navy in Leningrad (TSGAVMF) reads that "Vasilyev pleaded lack of time for describing this memorable voyage."³ Then A. P. Lazarev (brother of the famous seafarer, explorer of Antarc-

ca) who took part in the voyage with the rank of lieutenant aboard the sloop *Blagonamerennyi*, undertook that work.

In 1830, Lazarev completed the description of the expedition and submitted his composition to his superiors. But the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters refused to approve the manuscript, obviously still hoping that such a description would be prepared by the head of the expedition, in accordance with tradition. Consequently, Lazarev's account lay useless for fourteen years, after which the author retrieved it.⁴

Almost simultaneously with Lazarev's manuscript, K. K. Gillesem, the former warrant officer who had served on the *Blagonamerennyi* (lieutenant since 1820) submitted his travel notes about the same expedition to the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters. The committee did not choose to approve that manuscript either, and in 1831 it was returned to the author.⁵ It was only in 1849, two years after Vasilyev died, that a condensed version of Gillesem's notes appeared in one of the journals published in St. Petersburg.⁶

In 1852, the periodical published by the Naval Ministry carried an article titled "Information on the Chukchis" by G. S. Shishmarev,⁷ the commanding officer of the *Blagonamerennyi*. The materials which he had collected in 1821 during the explorations in the Bering Sea were published posthumously (Shishmarev died in 1835 with the rank of Rear Admiral). The Editor's Preface stated that the materials "were borrowed by us from G. Shishmarev's notes."⁸

After World War II a new stage in seeking out and publishing the materials of Vasilyev's expedition began. In 1948 Lazarev's manuscript was found in the Smolensk regional archives, and in 1950 it was published as a separate book.⁹ Unlike Gillesem, who only described part of the journey in the journal publication, Lazarev, drawing upon his own diary, made a systematic description of the expedition from the outset to the return to Kronshtadt. His "Notes" contain a wealth of interesting geographical and navigational information; they describe the localities visited and encounters with their inhabitants. Unfortunately, there were relatively few ethnographic observations (with the exception of a fairly detailed description of the culture and mores of the reindeer-breeding Chukchis).

A series of archive materials dealing with the preparation for the voyage and partly supplementing Lazarev's "Notes" were published in the same book as appendices. But even after that publication, the TSGAVMF stocks still contained quite a few documents of Vasilyev's expedition, as yet unknown to researchers, including ones of considerable interest to historians and ethnologists.¹⁰

First of all, it appeared that Vasilyev put in a lot of preparatory work planning, it seems, to write an account of the expedition. This work is reflected in his voluminous hand-written notes contained in several large-format notebooks. To all appearance, the notes were made hot on the trail of events, figuratively speaking, either during the voyage or shortly afterwards. The notes deal with the course of the expedition and include sketchy descriptions of a number of localities visited, including Kamchatka, California, and the Aleutian Islands, as well as scraps of information on the question that most interested him (e.g., whaling in the Pacific). One of the more detailed sections in his "Notes" is entitled "The Sandwich Islands."¹¹ Both in the abundance of ethnographic details and especially in the level of generalization, this section surpasses the corresponding sections in Gillessem's and Lazarev's publications.

In order to collect materials on the nature, population, and history of the Hawaiian Islands, Vasilyev compiled a questionnaire and instructed Lieutenant R. P. Boyle, one of the officers aboard the sloop *Otkrytie*, to fill it in. Boyle interviewed Hawaiian chiefs and other islanders and talked with foreign settlers through an interpreter (Englishman George Beckley who, by his own account, was the harbor-master of Honolulu). He not only replied to all questions put to him but also drew up a memorandum on the range of problems.¹² The materials gathered by Boyle were used by Vasilyev in writing the section of his notes having to do with the Hawaiian Islands. However, a comparison of these manuscripts shows that the head of the expedition was also in possession of other data obtained in the course of his own conversations and direct observations.

Intent on studying more profoundly various facets of the life of Hawaiians, Vasilyev instructed the officers of his sloop to compile a Russian-Hawaiian dictionary. This manuscript, also kept in TSGAVMF, contains a translation of about 800 words and word combinations and gives some information on the phonetics of the local language and its specifics on separate islands of the archipelago.¹³ In the same archive stock the present author came upon two letters by the American missionary Hiram Bingham, addressed to Vasilyev, and dated April 15 and December 30, 1821.¹⁴

However, the history of unearthing the materials of Vasilyev's round-the-world voyage did not end there. In 1968 the journal published by the USSR Geographical Society reported that the travel diary of another member of the expedition, warrant officer N. D. Shishmarev of the sloop *Blagonamerennyi* (the nephew of the commanding officer of the sloop), had been found.¹⁵ V. V. Kuznetsova, who discovered the diary, called the reader's attention to this manuscript with a view to studying the movements of Vasilyev's expedition in the northern latitudes.¹⁶ However,

Shishmarev's diary is no less interesting to specialists in the history and ethnography of the Hawaiian Islands.

An examination of the diary shows it to be a copyist text prepared for publication. An annotation on the first page indicates that the manuscript "was delivered to the editorial board and addressed to S. V. Maximov."¹⁷ S. V. Maximov (1831-1901) is a well-known Russian ethnographer and publicist who, beginning in the mid-1850s, in the span of several decades, actively contributed articles to *Morskoisbornik*, a journal published by the Ministry of the Navy, and to some other periodicals. This warrants the conclusion that N. D. Shishmarev's diary was offered for publication already after the author's death in 1843. Reading the manuscript, one comes across abridgements and other editorial corrections, made in pencil. But this diary, unfortunately, was never published either.

Shishmarev made entries in his "journal" day after day, setting forth the more important events during the expedition from his assignment to serve aboard the sloop in May 1819 to the return to Kronshtadt. A young seaman who set out for a long voyage for the first time, he thoroughly and at the same time very vividly described whatever he saw. In a number of instances, his diary substantially supplements the works by other members of the expedition.

Materials of this voyage have also been discovered in the Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad (ORGPB). For example, kept there are parts of two copies of Lazarev's composition mentioned earlier, enabling one to follow the author's work on the text. One manuscript is a fragment of the copyist text of his travel diary (July-November 1820); the other is part of an intermediate version of his "Notes" (October 1820-May 1822) with numerous corrections.¹⁸ A comparison shows that some details concerning seafaring did not find their way into the final version; although few generalizations and separate factual details were added, the text was also subjected to considerable editing. Also found was *Slovar s rossiiskogo yazyka na sandvicheskiy* (A Russian-Sandwich Dictionary)¹⁹ compiled by Lazarev, containing over 700 words and word combinations and supplementing in part a similar dictionary compiled by the officers of the sloop *Otkrytie*.

To this day, the work of searching out the writings by Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers cannot be considered accomplished. The manuscripts by Gillessem and G. S. Shishmarev have not been found. Some other participants in the expedition may also have kept diaries. One should also consider the fact that E. M. Korneyev, a talented artist who, by his own account, made about 300 drawings²⁰ in the course of the expedition, was aboard the *Blagonamerennyi*. As is evident from Shishmarev's diary, the

artist executed several water-colors during the stay in the Hawaiian Islands.²¹ On returning to Russia he intended to publish an art album with prints depicting the round-the-world voyage. However, the Naval Minister prevented this publication on the plea that the prints should be published together with the description of the expedition by Vasilyev.²² When in 1930, Lazarev submitted his "Notes" to the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters, 171 drawings by Korneyev were appended to them.²³ The further fate of this collection, which is of great cognitive and artistic value, remains unknown. But the search for the materials of Vasilyev's expedition is going on and new finds can be made.

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers visited the Hawaiian Islands twice in 1821, a crucial period in the history of the archipelago. Kamehameha I, the founder of a united Hawaiian state, died in May 1819. During his reign, individual distinctive features of local culture continued to develop, the unification of the archipelago took place, and the transition from chiefdom to kingdom occurred; however, acquaintance with Western civilization not only afforded the islanders technical innovations but also inflicted upon them grave social adversities. Under the leadership of Kamehameha, the Hawaiian people successfully resisted the onslaught of foreigners (*haole*). However, even then there appeared the first signs portending the outcome of that unequal struggle.²⁴ After the death of the "Napoleon of the Pacific," the disintegration of Hawaiian culture and the subjugation of the islanders by foreigners who imposed their own culture rapidly continued.

In November 1819 Liholiho (Kamehameha II) who inherited the name and power, but not the talents of his father, proclaimed the old Hawaiian religion overthrown.²⁵ The first American missionaries arrived in the islands in April 1820. And it was then that the archipelago began to be converted into the main base for U.S. whalers in the Pacific. The missionaries and the whalers played a decisive role in the process of Americanizing the archipelago in the span of several decades that followed. But in the first years after the death of Kamehameha, when these *haole* groups were just starting their activities in the Hawaiian islands, "the sandalwood rush," a large-scale export of sandalwood from the islands, exerted a particularly profound impact upon all facets of life of the indigenous population.

The diaries and travel notes by participants in Vasilyev's expedition vividly and comprehensively convey the atmosphere then prevalent in the Hawaiian Islands, and herein lies the chief merit of their works for historians and ethnologists. But these sources also contain much interesting information on the distinctive culture of the Hawaiians and shifts in its dif-

ferent components that took place under the influence of the islanders' contacts with carriers of Western civilization.

The material culture and economic pursuits of the indigenous population are described by Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers in a detailed way. In this respect, their diaries and notes surpass perhaps the works of Yu. F. Lisiansky and other Russian navigators who visited the archipelago in the early 19th century.²⁶ Thus, the participants in the expedition report interesting information on crop farming, one of the principal sectors of the Hawaiian economy. They tell about the traditional crops, emphasizing the techniques of cultivating taro and describe other food resources of the archipelago (domestic animals, fish, edible algae, etc.).²⁷ Like Lisiansky, Shishmarev predicts a big future for sugar cane.²⁸ Reporting on the local cooking methods, Russian seamen also give a detailed description of the design of the local earth oven (*umi*) and the process of making the intoxicating ritual beverage kava (*awa*).²⁹

"The Sandwich islanders," stressed Shishmarev, "have a great ability and a good taste for handicrafts."³⁰ Members of the expedition describe the Hawaiian methods of making mats, boats, weapons, fishing tackle, kitchenware, and other household utensils and implements.³¹ Almost all the voyagers who wrote about the Hawaiians noted the high artistic merits of tapa (*kapa*) and described the methods of its manufacture.³² Significantly, Vasilyev and Boyle tried on every occasion to ascertain the material from which any particular object was made and tried to discover its local name.

Vasilyev, Shishmarev, and Gillesem left detailed descriptions of the traditional Hawaiian dwelling consisting of several structures for ritual considerations. According to their observations, the houses of the chiefs (*alii*) and the king himself differed from the dwellings of the commoners (*makaainana*) mainly in that they were larger and had foundations of coral slabs and an interior decor and appointments.³³ However, Shishmarev reports, some chiefs, imitating the *haole* who had made their homes in such "huts," began to make "partitions separating the bedroom from the reception room, and they have beds, but no one ever saw them lie on them."³⁴ In March 1821 only Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha I, the co-ruler (*kuhina nui*) of Liholiho, resided in a two-story wooden house built for her by an American trader; in late 1821 a similar house was built for Liholiho.³⁵

All members of the expedition who wrote about the Hawaiians called attention to their clothes, hairstyle, and decorations. These observations have to do with the traditional everyday dress (women's skirts *pau*, men's loin-cloth *malo*, and the cape *kihei* made from tapa), as well as the cere-

monial attire of chiefs--the cloaks and the helmets made from red, yellow, and black bird feathers.³⁶ According to information gained by Vasilyev and Shishmarev, the making of those precious cloaks and helmets had virtually ceased; in place of them the king and other high chiefs, when meeting with *haole*, wore European clothes, and on particularly grand occasions (e.g., visits to foreign warships) they donned gold-embroidered full-dress "general's" and "admiral's" coats which the enterprising American traders provided them with at high prices.³⁷ The less renowned chiefs and *makaainana* usually wore the traditional clothes to which they added, on occasion, elements of European dress.³⁸ However, for Liholiho and other high chiefs, European dress still remained something alien and upon returning home after meetings with foreigners they gladly changed into the light traditional clothing.³⁹

Much the same can be said about the European dishes served at the official receptions. Vasilyev says that the king and other rulers "would arrive for dinner without ceremony, they were fond of our shchi [cabbage soup] and also liked pastries."⁴⁰ However, Gillesem and Shishmarev add that having tasted the outlandish delicacies the guests would end up eating their favorite taro "which they brought along" and that Liholiho "could not even sit on a chair and never used a spoon, a knife and a fork."⁴¹

On the whole, the participants in the expedition correctly grasped the nature of the social system of the Hawaiians in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and reported that there existed an early class-divided society in the islands with two principal social categories (the *alii* and *makaainana*) and an hierarchy of the chiefs themselves.⁴² Vasilyev's and Boyle's manuscripts provide fairly detailed descriptions' of the land relations that existed at the time and the multistage system of dependence, from the *makaainana* to the paramount chiefs, stemming therefrom. More specifically, and of considerable interest, are data presented by Boyle on the custom-regulated duties for the benefit of the *alii*, both in kind and labor, which the *makaainana* bore before the advent of the foreigners. Also, sundry "royal impositions" were reported which grew in numbers and diversified in step with the growing barter trade with the *haole*.⁴³ When compared with other sources, these materials make it possible to more profoundly understand the social organization of the Hawaiians shortly before the discovery of the archipelago by Captain Cook and its evolution in the initial period of contact with foreigners.

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers could not collect any detailed information on the old Hawaiian religion, although their diaries and travel notes contain references to different taboos (*kapu*) and statues of gods.⁴⁴

However, Boyle had the good luck to record a piece of interesting information about religious rites and ceremonies staged during the fertility festival *makahiki*; unlike Lisyansky, who left a detailed description of this festival, he succeeded in identifying its main social function: it was during *makahiki* that duties and levies were collected for the supreme chief, who in peacetime was believed to be an incarnation of the god Lono.⁴⁵

Boyle's information on the Hawaiians' matrimonial customs and his detailed description of a set of rites attending the burial of a chief merit the attention of specialists. Boyle notes that these rites were observed, in the main, in 1821 too; only human sacrifices were no longer made.⁴⁶

The writings by participants in Vasilyev's expedition contain data regarding the circumstances under which the old religion had been overthrown and how the uprising of its devotees under the leadership of Ke-kuaokalani, a nephew of Kamehameha I, the custodian of a sacred statue of the god of war, had been quelled. In Lazarev's words, this zealot of the ancestral faith "was supported, besides the priests, by a majority of the people."⁴⁷ But, on the other hand, the Russian navigators stress, the sacrilegious king was aided by foreigners and his army was well-armed, whereas the rebels had almost no firearms.⁴⁸

Lazarev and Shishmarev held that, as a result of the abolition of the taboo system, the demolition of sanctuaries (*heiau*) and the burning down of the statues that had stood there, the Hawaiians "were left totally without any religion."⁴⁹ But, as reported by the British missionaries D. Tyerman and G. Bennet, who visited the archipelago in 1822, the old beliefs were far from being eradicated.⁵⁰ "Even among those who outwardly conformed to the new order were many who secretly clung to their gods," wrote R. S. Kuykendall, summing up numerous eyewitness accounts. "The old gods of Hawaii had their devotees for a long time after 1819. . . . Many an idol secretly preserved was secretly worshipped."⁵¹

Certain materials of Vasilyev's expedition testify that Lazarev and Shishmarev's conclusion was a hasty one. As is evident from these materials, even Liholiho and his immediate entourage, who played the leading role in the official overthrow of "idolatry," were still largely under the sway of the old beliefs (possibly subconsciously). Besides the above indicated burial rites, this is attested to by a deep-rooted fear of pernicious magic. According to Hawaiian beliefs, a person could be doomed to death by sorcery if only his adversary could obtain his sputum or saliva. Therefore, Liholiho and other chiefs were at all times attended by trusted servants with small and thoroughly closed boxes "for nose-blowing and spitting."⁵²

G. Vancouver and A. Chamisso discovered in the Hawaiian Islands the beginnings of theatrical performances. "These solemn games by Owagians [Hawaiians--D.T.]," wrote Chamisso, who visited the archipelago in 1816-1817 on the Russian round-the-world voyage under O. Kotzebue, "call to mind the choruses of the Greeks and their tragedies in times before the dialogue was introduced into them."⁵³ Vasilyev and Shishmarev gave a detailed description of these syncretic performances, during which the chorus either related a legend or recalled a real-life event while the other participants depicted the story through dance (*hula*). During the first stay of the expedition in Honolulu, such "games" were staged daily at sunup and sunset in front of the royal "palace" or, sometimes, in the fortress. Up to 150 women and 30 men from "noble families" took part in them. Unlike Vancouver and Chamisso, the Russian navigators mention the leader of the chorus, i.e., a soloist.⁵⁴

An interesting observation by Shishmarev was that such performances retained, in a measure, their ritual character after the official overthrow of the old religion. He reports that upon completing their "games" the dancers would throw' the wreaths with which they adorned themselves, and the pieces of tapa which covered their nakedness, inside a small enclosure where there stood "two small poles."⁵⁵ Could it be that the "poles" symbolized the banned statues of gods? "We were told," writes Vasilyev, "that through their songs and dances they asked the supreme being to give them abundance in everything, preserve their ruler and deliver them from all woes and evils."⁵⁶

Despite the natural beauties of the environs of Honolulu and the entire southern part of Oahu having, in Gillessem's words, "the best climate of earth,"⁵⁷ the colorful "games" by chiefs, official visits and receptions, and merry-meetings, given by American shipmasters and traders in honor of the Russian seamen--nothing shut off from the participants in Vasilyev's expedition the grim realities of the day-to-day life of the Hawaiians upon which the "sandalwood rush"⁵⁸ laid a deep and sinister imprint.

Much is written in the diaries and travel notes by participants in the voyage about the exportation of the Hawaiian sandalwood (*iliah*), virtually monopolized by Americans, about the organization of this trade, and its linkage with the Pacific fur trade. They report the prices at which the "Bostonians" bought the *iliah* in the Hawaiian Islands and sold it in Canton. However, as Russian seamen emphasized, this price differential did not permit a correct assessment of the profits gained by American firms, for the "Bostonians" in settling with the Hawaiian nobility for sandalwood did not use money as a means of exchange, but various wares on which they set exorbitant prices.⁵⁹

In order to induce the king and the high chiefs, whom Liholiho permitted to engage in sandalwood trade, to sell this fragrant wood in a big way, the Americans did their best to bring more and more "novelties" to the islands capable of staggering the imagination of the Hawaiian *alii*--"prestigious" attire, fabrics, and decorations, all sorts of haberdashery, followed by chinaware, cutglass, Chinese silks, prefabricated houses, etc. Rum and other strong beverages were also an important import item.⁶⁰

The Hawaiian nobility were dazzled by the opening opportunity for enrichment which, according to traditional beliefs, was evidently equated with the association with the supernatural power (*mana*) wielded by the foreigners.⁶¹ Traders skillfully kindled this passion for acquisition and unobtrusively channeled it in a desired direction. They impressed it upon the Hawaiian *alii* that they should follow the example of "white gentlemen" in everything and palmed off their wares upon them. Vasilyev stressed that the chiefs "in justice have no need" for that merchandise.⁶²

An especially lucrative business was the sale to the king and high chiefs of old sea vessels, for each of which the enterprising Americans received a large lot of the precious *iliahi*. Whereas Kamehameha I had usually been overparticular in inspecting a vessel he was offered to buy, checking its sea-going qualities, Liholiho and his entourage were mainly interested in the interior decor of the cabins and in the freshness of deck paintwork. Having satisfied themselves that this was so, American firms began to buy up old vessels scheduled to be scrapped, hastily repaired them so they could endure another long voyage, and, having painted deck superstructures in bright colors and bedecked the cabins with carpets, sent them with a cargo for sale to the Hawaiian Islands. The vessels would usually soon become unfit for use.⁶³

As shown earlier, Liholiho and high chiefs adopted, though in a purely superficial way, individual elements of Western culture. But the easy enrichment in the years of the large-scale exportation of sandalwood, attended by the appearance of large stocks of alcoholic beverages, contributed to the moral degradation and degeneration of the ruling upper crust. Lazarev reports that, while the common people were enduring great privation laboring to fell and store up sandalwood, the chiefs

did nothing at all; but sometimes, bored by idleness they engaged in games which consisted in rolling stones; they played dice and guessed what stone was hidden beneath a pillow. Europeans brought into use playing cards among the chiefs at which they, men and women alike, play among themselves incessantly. . . . Besides playing cards incessantly, not a single Sandwich Islander,

given a chance to procure rum, will never let it slip, in order to get drunk. The king himself having this strong beverage in abundance and incessantly buying grape wines, as we were told, is no exception in this regard and often gets dead drunk after dinner.⁶⁴

In the writings by participants in Vasilyev's expedition, one comes across brief sketches of the characters of Liholiho and some high chiefs (Kaahumanu, Kalanimoku, Kuakini, Poki, Kaumualii).⁶⁵ These *alii* differed one from another in intellectual capacities, and in the breadth of their outlook and temperament. But, as is clear from the diaries and travel notes by Russian seamen, the members of the ruling elite had something in common: by adopting, even if outwardly, the way of life of the foreigners and falling, in a way, victim to Western civilization, they increasingly shut themselves off from the *makaainana*. Their national consciousness became more and more blunted, they gradually lost respect for the indigenous culture, and their desire for preservation of the independence of the archipelago diminished. "The luxury with which the Americans allure them," wrote Vasilyev, "has blinded them and stifled their natural good disposition, the abilities of the mind and has been leading them, it seems, to pernicious consequences [for] the entire people. They see this but do not know how to deliver themselves from this yoke."⁶⁶

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers report an incipient decline of the armed forces formed by Kamehameha for the defense of the archipelago against foreigners. Thus, the fortress in Honolulu built in the closing years of the life of the "Napoleon of the Pacific," in 1821, "although it had many guns had no one to serve them."⁶⁷ In reality it was only used for "solemn games" staged in the courtyard of the fortress.⁶⁸ Liholiho himself told Russian seamen that his army and fleet could not hold out against foreigners and were only fit for service against local "rebels."⁶⁹

As noted by the American James Jarves, who settled in the Hawaiian Islands in the 1830s, the wealth gained by the chiefs at the time of the sandalwood trade was "either wasted in riot and debauchery or destroyed by neglect."⁷⁰ Moreover, the Hawaiian *alii* were for many years caught in a debt trap set by American buyers of sandalwood.⁷¹ The common islanders had to "foot the bill" for everything.

Russian seamen wrote with indignation that the Hawaiian rulers sent thousands of *makaainana* into the mountains to fell and store up sandalwood and by this onerous obligation "exterminate the people,"⁷² as Vasilyev put it. The fact is that *iliahi* grew high in the mountains, where the climate is much colder than in the coastal lowlands, and the islanders in their light clothes suffered there from cold, succumbed to disease, and

all too often perished. And "the hard work of carrying sandalwood on their shoulders reduced them to exhaustion."⁷³

This matter had another sinister aspect. As stressed by Boyle, because the people were required to store up *iliah*, "the fields often remain unattended and uncultivated for a long time."⁷⁴ As if amplifying and substantiating this observation, Vasilyev recalls that in April 1821 the king brought to Honolulu from Maui Island about five thousand islanders "for felling and pulling down from the mountains the sandalwood unmindful as to how they should maintain themselves."⁷⁵ And Lazarev reports that when the ships of the expedition again came to Honolulu eight months later "a multitude of people" were sent for felling and storing up sandalwood and "the fields about the harbour became deserted. . . ."⁷⁶

The systematic divorce of many thousand Hawaiians from their customary pursuits--crop farming and fishing--significantly cut the food resources of the islands. Meanwhile, the king and the chiefs not only continued, but also increased, the sales of provisions for foreign vessels, which they exacted from the *makaainana*, as demand for provisions steadily increased in step with the conversion of the Hawaiian Islands into the main base of American whalers in the Pacific. Therefore, the food situation of the *makaainana* became fairly serious. Boyle wrote that the common islanders "can obtain subsistence only with great difficulty."⁷⁷

"The people, i.e. the lowest class," stressed Vasilyev, "lives in abject poverty, is constantly at work, and has nothing."⁷⁸ The dire plight of the ordinary Hawaiians fostered the development of prostitution in the islands. A host of women immediately reached the foreign ships that called at Honolulu, swimming or in boats.⁷⁹ Even little girls had to prostitute themselves. Here is a typical entry in Shishmarev's diary: "The father of two daughters, aged ten or eleven, offers them for a trifle."⁸⁰ Lazarev notes in this connection that foreigners "instead of evading this shameful trade encourage it."⁸¹

The development of prostitution was a factor in the spread of venereal diseases among the Hawaiians, brought to the islands by Cook's sailors. Vasilyev reports that without traditional mores, syphilis "has spread here with all its ferocity quickly almost all through the people."⁸²

Russian seamen could not fail to notice the progressing depopulation of the archipelago. The ruthless exploitation of the common islanders by the king and the chiefs, especially in connection with the "sandalwood rush," the dangerous development of alcoholism, the high incidence of syphilis, deadly epidemics brought on by foreign seamen--such were, in the opinion of the head of the expedition, the principal causes of the rapid decline of the Hawaiians.⁸³

The recruitment of young Hawaiians to serve on foreign ships also, in a measure, furthered depopulation. They quickly became excellent sailors and worked for board and clothes without getting, as a rule, any cash payment.⁸⁴ Downtrodden and oppressed in the islands, some *makaainana* did not want to return to the native places and voluntarily became sea wanderers,⁸⁵ living a life full of privations and dangers. However, there are data that "Bostonians" were at times not averse to selling recruited or kidnapped Hawaiians into slavery on the northwest coast of America in exchange for sea otter pelts, or to simply leaving them there if they no longer needed them. "Some of the Americans, we were told, were so inhuman," wrote Vasilyev, "that they sold for their benefit these kind Sandwich Islanders to Koloshs [Tlingits--D.T.] who bought them for offering."⁸⁶ The same had been earlier reported by F. I. Shemelin, a participant in the first Russian round-the-world expedition.⁸⁷

In the diaries and travel notes by Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers, one quite often comes across the names of American shipmasters and traders whose acquaintance Russian seamen made in Honolulu (Thomas and John Meek, John Ebbets, William Davis, John C. Jones, Thomas Brown, and others) and gains certain data on the household aspect of the life of "Bostonians" in the islands. Thus, Vasilyev and Shishmarev write that "the shipmasters and their agents, upon arriving in Wagu [Oahu--D.T.], live, for the most part, on shore, build for themselves huts similar to those of the indigenous inhabitants," only, usually, separating in them "the bedroom from the work room," and make windows with rolling shutters.⁸⁸ Shishmarev relates that Americans residing in the Hawaiian Islands for long marry native women and have children by them. He reports interesting details concerning such families.⁸⁹ The appearance in Honolulu of the first permanent retail shop, whose owner carried on a particularly brisk trade in rum, did not escape Vasilyev's notice.⁹⁰

Along with "Bostonians" engaged in the sandalwood business, Russian seamen met in Honolulu with captains of American whaleboats. Among them was Joseph Allen from Nantucket, the captain of the *Maro*, who was the first to discover large schools of sperm whales to the east of Japan. He told Lazarev in detail about the organization by Americans of whaling in the Pacific.⁹¹

Vasilyev and his officers censured "Bostonians" for thrusting on the Hawaiian nobility lots of merchandise which the *alii* did not need at all and thereby promoting the intensified exploitation of common islanders. He also noted that those shipmasters and traders deliberately accustomed the king and the chiefs to hard drinking.⁹² It was with obvious disapproval that participants in the expedition related how the Americans

tried "to prevent, with all their might, the Sandwich Islanders from learning to steer ships and learn navigation" and thwarted attempts by Liholiho to set up independent trade with Kamchatka.⁹³ But the main barrage of their criticism is directed against the white counselors of the king and high chiefs, among whom were sailors who deserted trade vessels, runaway convicts, and adventurers of every description, who not only did not keep the Hawaiian nobility from rash actions, but corrupted and deceived them, working in cahoots with the buyers of sandalwood.

"Among the woes inflicted by Europeans upon the good Sandwich islanders," wrote Vasilyev, "the main evil is that most worthless people, escaped convicts from Botany Bay, sailors of depraved behaviour who either fell behind their ships or were banished by their skippers have settled in their midst." Vasilyev added that he saw "those scoundrels" amid chiefs, the king, and their wives, "as the people closest to them."⁹⁴ "In the eyes of the king they appear to be fairly devoted," wrote Shishmarev in his diary about those advisers and "friends" of Liholiho, "but given a chance they are always ready to deceive him."⁹⁵

Frenchman Jean Rives and Spaniard Francisco de Paula Marin exerted a particularly pernicious influence upon the young king. Noting the successful experiments staged by Marin for cultivating European food crops in the Hawaiian Islands (which brought him a handsome profit), Vasilyev and Shishmarev at the same time spoke about this foreign settler with extreme disapproval. Thus, Vasilyev writes that the Spaniard gives his numerous daughters, by native wives, "to skippers as concubines, leads a stingy life, is anxious for gain in the extreme . . . and in all his actions shows himself to be a person of low qualities."⁹⁶

As for Rives, that ex-sailor posed as a doctor although he was totally ignorant in matters of medicine. Skillfully playing upon Liholiho's weaknesses, he managed to install himself as his interpreter and secretary and, in the name of the king, made various deals with American merchants, receiving substantial "considerations" from them. More particularly, Vasilyev learned, it was precisely this "quack" who was guilty of the fact that the "Bostonians" contrived to softsell to the king the old brig *Thaddeus*. That vessel was so badly damaged "in the submerged section at the keel having run aground in the Columbia" that it was hazardous even to make short voyages on it.⁹⁷ Gillesem recalls:

The post of the Minister of Finance was held by Spaniard Marini and Frenchman Rives who hoodwinked the king, as best they could. They found this to be fairly easy because there was

no one to take things into account, and no thought was given to expenditures and incomes. Marini engaged in the sale of sandalwood and salt and gave the king what he saw fit. He shared his gains with merchants so they would not expose his tricks. Rives was the state treasurer, so to speak. Cheating together with Marini, he showed less income than the actual figures.

Gillesem added that the islanders hated Rives and "on several occasions, during our stay on the island, they burnt down his hut thereby expressing their anger at him."⁹⁸

Among foreigners who had either settled in Honolulu or visited it on business, there were sharp rivalries and frequent quarrels and squabbles. Describing them, Vasilyev noted that "one slanders another in order to win confidence."⁹⁹ However, almost all those foreigners--from "respectable" skippers and traders to the lowest tramps and drunkards--actually acted in a united front against yet another group of *haole*--the American missionaries. "They found it profitable to themselves," explained Gillesem, "to have the residents of these islands continue living in ignorance, for fear that the teachings of missionaries will rectify the morality of this people, especially women, leading a rather depraved life, and that then it would be impossible for them to indulge their passions: voluptuousness and lust for enrichment by fraud."¹⁰⁰ In reply to the question why "some Europeans, that is Marin, Beckley, and others, and American merchants, did not like the missionaries," Vasilyev emphasized. that those foreigners regarded the Yankee clergymen as their dangerous opponents: "They do not like the life of an honest man in general, the more so since the missionaries want to wrest their victims from them."¹⁰¹

The participants in the expedition discovered that missionaries lived in an all but complete isolation. "All adults, and especially nobles," recalls Gillesem, "shunned the missionaries and not only did not want to adopt the Christian faith but would not even listen to admonitions."¹⁰² Hiram Bingham, the actual head of the mission, complained in a letter to Vasilyev about the extremely trying conditions under which it had to work and stressed that "still vices prevail in this polluted land to a great extent, and we find much ignorance, prejudice, & superstition . . . both in natives and foreigners."¹⁰³

Vasilyev and his fellow voyagers relate that at first the missionaries tried to preach Christianity in their native tongue, using three Hawaiian youths trained in the United States at missionary schools as interpreters. This proselyting was totally ineffective. Simultaneously, the members of

the mission began teaching English to scores of Hawaiians (adults and children) with the aid of the same interpreters, using the Bible and the Catechesis as teaching aids. "Even the king himself began going to the school to take instruction in the English language," writes Lazarev, "but since he was bored with this soon enough he sent two persons instead of himself who also followed his example and stopped attending school a few days later."¹⁰⁴ In December 1821 the school was attended by only fifteen persons, mostly "children of both sexes begotten by Sandwich Islands women consorting with Europeans,"¹⁰⁵ and it had to be closed soon afterwards.¹⁰⁶

Having pondered over the causes of their failures, the missionaries decided to tackle the matter from a different angle: to master the Hawaiian language, evolve a script for the islanders, translate religious books into the local language, and teach the "pagans" to read them. In December 1821 the Russian seamen watched the first steps being made in that direction. Vasilyev and Lazarev reported that Bingham and other members of the mission studied the Hawaiian language thoroughly, quickly developed an alphabet for it, and began preparing a primer for publication.¹⁰⁷ "Bingham also asked our painter," wrote Lazarev, "to prepare for him introductory pictures for children, which Karneyev [Korneyev--D.T.] excellently executed upon being granted permission from the head of the expedition."¹⁰⁸ Possibly, these pictures were used in the first missionary publications in the Hawaiian language.

Lazarev wrote a laudatory account about Bingham, calling attention to his restraint, gentleness and meekness.¹⁰⁹ But in 1824-1825, after the death of Liholiho, when Kaahumanu and other high chiefs decided for political considerations to enter into an alliance with the American missionaries and impose upon the Hawaiian people a new taboo system, this time Puritan bans, Bingham showed his true face. When O. E. Kotzebue again visited the Hawaiian Islands in September 1825, he found that the Calvinist clergyman, who had "bewitched" Kaahumanu, had become the de facto ruler of the archipelago.¹¹⁰

This forum does not allow for a total survey of the materials of Vasilyev's round-the-world expedition concerned with the study of the Hawaiian Islands. But what has been said, the author feels, testifies that the writings by its participants add up to a valuable source for the study of the cultural change and intercultural contacts in this Polynesian archipelago. It would be expedient to discuss the question of publishing these materials (possibly both in Russian and English) so as to make them available to a broader circle of researchers and to the general reader.

REFERENCES

1. That was, apparently, Nukufetau Atoll discovered, as established later, by the British captain A. De Peyster in 1819.
2. Both ships first approached the western coast of the Island of Hawaii where the king's residence had been located in former times. But on learning that it had just been transferred to Honolulu (on the southern coast of Oahu Island) the expedition went there. During both visits the Russian ships lay at anchor in Honolulu harbor, much favored by seamen.
3. TSGAVMF, Stock 205, Inventory I, Item 644, f.5.
4. TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.29-49.
5. TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.9-28; Stock 205, Inventory I, Item 258, f.1-17.
6. K. Gillsen. Puteshestviye na shlyupe *Blagonamerennyi* dlya issledovaniya beregov Azii i Afriki za Beringovym Prolivom s 1819 po 1822 god. [The Voyage Aboard the Sloop *Blagonamerennyi* for the Exploring the Coasts of Asia and America Beyond the Bering Strait from 1819 to 1822.]--*Otechestvennyie Zapiski*, 1849, nos 10-12. (The part concerning the Hawaiian Islands--No. 12, pp. 215-225.) In the case having to do with the examination of this manuscript in the Scientific Committee of the Naval Headquarters the detailed table of contents of its first part is wholly retained. (TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.32.) On examining this document one sees in the journal publication the omission of certain chapters and parts of chapters which were all intact in the manuscript. Archive documents and publications give different spellings of the officer's name--Gillesem, Gillsen, and Gellesem. Cited below as Gillesem.
7. G. Shishmarev. Svedeniya o Chukchakh (Information on the Chickchis)--*Zapiski Gidrograficheskogo departamenta*, part X, St. Petersburg, 1852, pp. 178-200.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
9. A. P. Lazarev. *Zapiski o plavanii shlyupa Blagonamerennogo v Beringov proliv i vokrug sveta dlya otkrytii v 1819, 1820, 1821 i 1822 godakh*. Pod redaktsyei, so vstupitelnoi statei i kommentariyami A. I. Soloviova [Notes on the Voyage of the Sloop *Blagonamerennyi* into the Bering Strait and Round the World for Discoveries in 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822. Ed. by A. I. Solovyov, with an introductory article and comments by him]. Moscow: Geographgiz, 1950. The text is published with insignificant abridgements specified by the editor. Cited below as Lazarev.
10. D. D. Tumarkin. Novyie arkhivnyie materialy o gavaitsakh [New Archive Data on the Hawaiians].-- *Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, 1960, No. 2, pp. 158-160.
11. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 104, f.16-70. Cited below as Vasilyev.
12. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 113, f.1-16. Cited below as Boyle. In the archive inventory this manuscript is ranked with compositions of "unidentified authors." By analyzing the content of the memorandum and comparing it with other materials I succeeded in establishing its authorship.
13. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 44, f.1-17.

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14. TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 116, f.2-6.
15. *Zhurnal 1819, 1820, 1821 i 1822 godov na shlyupe Blagonamerennom* [The Journal for 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822 aboard the sloop *Blagonamerennyi*].--TSGAVMF, Stock 203, Inventory I, Item 73r., f.1-264. Cited below as Shishmarev.
16. V. V. Kuznetsova. *Novyie dokumenty o russkoi ekspeditsii k Severnomu polyusu* [New Documents on a Russian Expedition to the North Pole].--*Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, 1968, No. 3, pp. 237-245.
17. Author unable to be contacted for missing footnote.
18. ORGPB, Stock XVII. 106.11, f.213-257; I. T. Pomyalovsky's Collection, No. 72, f.1-140.
19. ORGPB, Stock XVII. 106.11, f.16-34.
20. N. N. Goncharova. *Khudozhnik krugosvetnoi ekspeditsii 1819-1822 gg. E. Korneyev* [The Artist of the Round-the-World Expedition in 1819-1822 E. Korneyev].-- *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, 1973, No. I, p. 70.
21. Shishmarev, f.117r.-118.
22. N. N. Goncharova. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
23. TSGAVMF, Stock 162, Inventory I, Item 44, f.32.
24. See: R. S. Kuykendall. *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854. Foundation and Transformation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938, Ch. 2-3; D. D. Tumarkin. *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov v "Krai vechnoi vesny"* [The Invasion of Colonizers in the "Land of Eternal Spring"]. Moscow: Nauka, 1964, Ch. 2-5; D. D. Tumarkin. A Russian View of Hawaii in 1804.-- *Pacific Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2, Spring 1979, pp. 117-119, 122-131.
25. On the prerequisites and causes of this "cultural revolution" see for example: R. S. Kuykendall. *Op. cit.*, pp. 65-70; D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod i amerikanskiye kolonizatory, 1820-1865*. [The Hawaiian People and American Colonizers]. Moscow: Nauka, 1971, pp. 83-87; M. Sahlins. *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities. Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981, pp. 33-66. Sahlins' book appends a long list of literature on the problem.
26. D. D. Tnmarkin. *A Russian View . . .* , pp. 114-117.
27. Vasilyev, f.28-30, 32, 50; Boyle, f.13r.; Shishmarev, f.120-121r.
28. Shishmarev, f.121r.
29. Vasilyev, f.28r.-29, 32; Shishmarev, f.119r.-120; Lazarev, p. 268; Gillesem, p. 219.
30. Shishmarev, f.121r.
31. Vasilyev, f.31r.; Boyle, f.13, 15; Shishmarev, f.106, 120r., 188.
32. Vasilyev, f.30r.-31; Boyle, f.14; Shishmarev f.121r.-122. Gillesem, p. 222.
33. Vasilyev, f.23-24; Shishmarev, f.111, 118r.-119; Gillesem, p. 218.
34. Shishmarev, f. 119
35. Gillesem, pp. 218, 221; Shishmarev, f.119r.

36. See, for instance: Vasilyev, f.31-32r.; Boyle, f.7r.-8, 13r.-14; Shishmarev, f. 108r., 117-118.
37. Vasilyev, f.35r.; Shishmarev, f.108, 111r., 112r., 193-194; Lazarev, p. 256, 259-260; Gil-
leseem, pp. 222-224.
38. Vasilyev, f.33; Shishmarev, f.108r., 112r.; Lazarev, p. 256; Gilleseem, p. 224.
39. Vasilyev, f.33r.; Gilleseem, p. 222.
40. Vasilyev, f.54.
41. Gilleseem, pp. 222-223; Shishmarev, f.120r.
42. Vasilyev, f.34r.-35; Boyle, f.2r.-3r., 9; Shishmarev, f.114r.; Gilleseem, p. 221.
43. Boyle, f.2r.-3; Vasilyev, f.35-36; Shishmarev, f.116; Gilleseem, p. 223; Lazarev, p. 337.
44. Boyle, f.4-4r., 9; Shishmarev, f.116, 120; Lazarev, p. 272.
45. Boyle, f.9-9r.; D. D. Tumarkin. *A Russian View . . .*, pp. 120-121.
46. Boyle, f.8-9, 12r. See also: Vasilyev, f.32r.-33.
47. Lazarev, p. 272.
48. Vasilyev, f.49r., 60; Boyle, f.5r.; Lazarev, pp. 272-273. According to Vasilyev and Boyle,
Liholiho gained the decisive preponderance after the shipmaster of the American vessel
Arab sold 800 rifles to the king at the crucial moment.
49. Lazarev, p. 273; Shishmarev, f.115r.
50. D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. *Journal of Voyages and Travels*. Vol. 1. London: Westley
and Davis, 1831, pp. 370-372, 382, 485-486.
51. R. S. Kuykendall. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.
52. Vasilyev, f.41r.; Shishmarev, f.111; Lazarev, p. 256.
53. A. Chamisso. Nablyudeniya estestvoispytatelya ekspeditsii [Observations by the Expedi-
tion's Naturalist]. In the book: O. E. Kotzebue. *Puteshestviye v Yuzhnyi okean i v Beringov*
proliv v 1815-18 godakh [A Voyage to the Southern Ocean and to the Bering Straits . . . in
1815-18]. Vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1823, pp. 311-312.
54. Vasilyev, f.54-55r.; Shishmarev, f.109r.-110. See also Lazarev, p. 270; Gilleseem, p. 224.
55. Shishmarev, f.110.
56. Vasilyev, f.55r.
57. Gilleseem, p. 225.
58. On the causes of the "sandalwood rush" see: H. M. Bradley. *The American Frontier in*
Hawaii. The Pioneers, 1789-1843. Berkeley: Stanford University Press, 1942, pp. 60-61; D.
D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod . . .*, pp. 32-34.
59. Vasilyev, f.21r.-22r., 24r.-25, 36, 67; Boyle, f.3r.-4; Shishmarev, f.121; Lazarev, p. 258;
Gillesem, p. 223.

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60. Vasilyev, f.22r., 36, 69r.; Shishmarev, f.119r.; Lazarev, p. 337; Gillesem, p. 223. See also: F. W. Beechey. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait . . . in the Years 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828*, Vol. II. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1831, p. 417; H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-62, 69-70. Vasilyev (f.133r.) notes that Liholiho distributed part of the clothes and fabrics purchased from foreigners among chiefs of the lower rank close to his person.
61. M. Sahlins. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.
62. Vasilyev, f.23.
63. Vasilyev, f.48r.-49r.; Boyle, f.4, 6r.; Shishmarev, f.111r., 192r.-194; Lazarev, pp. 258-259; Gillesem, p. 221. See also: D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 463-464; R. S. Kuykendall. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.
64. Lazarev, p. 270.
65. Boyle, f.4, 5, 10r.; Shishmarev, f.106r., 114, 116, 120r.; Lazarev, pp. 253-254, 270; Gillesem, pp. 220-223.
66. Vasilyev, f.46r.
67. Lazarev, p. 275. See also: F. W. Beechey. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 131.
68. Vasilyev, f.42r.-43; Shishmarev, f.110.
69. Vasilyev, f.43; Lazarev, p. 275.
70. Cited from: H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.*, p. 70. See also: S. M. Kamakau. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Kamehameha School Press, 1961, pp. 251-255.
71. *Ka Moolelo Hawaii. Histoire hawaiienne redigée par des élèves de la grande école (de Lahainaluna), mise en ordre par un de professeurs*. Paris: Clave, 1861, pp. 193-199; D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod . . .*, pp. 38-44.
72. Vasilyev, f.23.
73. Vasilyev, f.21r.; Gillesem, p. 224. See also: D. Tyerman and G. Bennet. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 415; W. Ellis. *Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii or Owhyhee*. London: Fisher and Jackson, 1828, pp. 402-403; G. Simpson. *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*, Vol. II. London: H. Colburn, 1847, p. 13.
74. Boyle, f.3.
75. Vasilyev, f.23.
76. Lazarev, p. 337. "The sandalwood rush" began to decline already in 1823. But the large-scale storing up of *iliah*i, which became increasingly burdensome in step with the extermination of sandalwood groves, continued until the onset of the 1840s--mainly in order to repay the "debt" the Hawaiian chiefs owed to American traders. By then virtually no sandalwood suitable for export remained in the islands.
77. Boyle, f.3r. See also D. D. Tumarkin. *Gavaiskiy narod . . .*, pp. 38-43.
78. Vasilyev, f.23.
79. Shishmarev, f.109; Gillesem, pp. 220-221. See also: D. D. Tumarkin. *A Russian View . . .*, pp. 128-129.

80. Shishmarev, f.106r.
81. Lazarev, p. 271.
82. Vasilyev, f.18r.
83. Vasilyev, f.18-23
84. Vasilyev, f.25; Shishmarev, f.120r.-121.
85. H. T. Cheever. *The Island World of the Pacific*. N.Y.: Harpers & Brothers, 1855, p. 396; S. M. Kamakau. *Op. cit.*, p. 404.
86. Vasilyev, f.27.
87. D. D. Tumarkin. *A Russian View . . .*, p. 130.
88. Vasilyev, f.23r.; Shishmarev, f.119, 189. It was only for John C. Jones, who was appointed US consular agent in the Hawaiian Islands, that a wooden house was being built in late 1821 (Shishmarev, f.119r.). Lazarev reports that Jones "remained totally idle because the king did not know the meaning of the word 'consul,' and only traded in company with Brown" (Lazarev, p. 337).
89. Shishmarev, f.116r.-117, 119.
90. Vasilyev, f.24r.-25.
91. Lazarev, p. 254, 264-266. In those years Japanese ports were banned to foreign vessels due to the policy of isolation pursued by the Tokugawa dynasty. Therefore, the whalers operating in close proximity to the coasts of Japan chose the Hawaiian Islands to be their main base. See: C. S. Stewart. *A Visit to the South Seas in the U.S. Ship Vincennes, during the Years 1829 and 1830*. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1933, pp. 366-367.
92. Vasilyev, f.22r.-23; Lazarev, p. 253.
93. Vasilyev, f.45, 65-66; Shishmarev, f.188r.
94. Vasilyev, f.19. Botany Bay, on the eastern coast of Australia (in the environs of what is now Sydney) was the site of a penal colony set up by the British government in the late 18th century.
95. Shishmarev, f.115-115r. See also: Boyle, f.4r.-5; Lazarev, p. 263.
96. Vasilyev, f.43r.-44. See also: Shishmarev, f.115-115r., 122r.
97. Vasilyev, f.44r.
98. Gillesem, p. 224. See also: Shishmarev, f.119.
99. Vasilyev, f.46r. See also: Shishmarev, f.15.
100. Gillesem, p. 220.
101. Vasilyev, f.61.
102. Gillesem, p. 220.
103. Bingham to Vasilyev, April 15, 1821--TSGAVMF, Stock 213, Inventory I, Item 116, f.4-4r.

104. Lazarev, p. 262. See also: Shishmarev, f.190.
105. Lazarev, pp. 262-263. See also: Vasilyev, f.60r.-61r.; Shishmarev, f.190.
106. H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.
107. Vasilyev, f.63; Lazarev, p. 263.
108. Lazarev, p. 263. In January 1822 printer E. Loomis, a member of the mission, put out a small pamphlet which was to serve as an ABC book (H. W. Bradley. *Op. cit.*, pp. 134-135).
109. Lazarev, p. 263.
110. O. Kotzebne. *A New Voyage Round the World*, Vol. 2. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830, pp. 256-257.