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CAPTAIN COOK AND THE RUSSIANS

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In 1778, Cook's two ships Resolution and Discovery entered the waters of the North Pacific. From that time on, Russia became the most important subject matter of Cook's third voyage, and this expedition, in turn, left an ineradicable imprint on the Pacific Ocean history of Russia. James Cook had made his first, indirect contact with Russians, however, long before his vessels approached the island of Unalaska. While making preparations for his third voyage in London, Cook had familiarized himself with Russian sources which described the discoveries of Russian navigators on the border line between Asia and America. Not a single member of Cook's third voyage knew Russian, so all Cook had at his disposal were translations of Russian geographical works and English editions of Russian geographical maps as follows:

First, An "Exact Chart of the Countries through which Cap. Bering travelled from Tobolski capital of Siberia to the Country of Kamchatka," composed in 1729 by warrant officer P. A. Chaplin, a member of the first Kamchatka expedition which formed part of a publication compiled by John Harris, dealing with different voyages and travels.[1] As the Soviet historian Alexei Yefimov has noted, this chart provided invaluable information about the northeastern extremities of Siberia and laid the foundation for all future cartographical works, begining with Ivan Kirilov's atlas, which exerted an enormous influence on European cartography.[2]

Secondly, "Description of the Land of Kamchatka" by Stepan Krasheninnikov (1775). This work appeared in an English translation in 1764 un-

[1]John Harris, *Navigantium at que itenerarium bibliotheca of Voyages and Travels*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London: T. Osborne, 1764), see volume II.

[2]A. V. Efimov, *Iz istorii velikikh russkikh geograficheskikh otkrytyi* (From the History of Great Russian Geographical Discoveries) (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), p. 216, an authentic Russian hand-drawn map, composed and signed by P. Chaplin, was published for the first time.

der the title History of Kamchatka.[3] In addition to Kamchatka, a description of the Kurile Islands and "America" (Alaska and the Aleutian Islands) was included in the first part of the book.

Thirdly, a description of sea voyages compiled by the Russian historian and cartographer Gerhard Müller, in which there was a detailed examination of the Vitus Bering-Alexei Chirikov second Kamchatka expedition (1741-1743). Müller's work appeared in 1758 in Russian and German and was translated into English in 1761. This English edition included a supplement, a map of Russian discoveries made on the northwest coasts of America, composed by Müller in 1758.[4] Of all the charts that had been published hitherto, that map provided the most accurate configuration of Siberia and those places visited by the second Kamchatka expedition.

Finally, "A Map of the Northern Archipelago discovered by the Russians in the seas of Kamchatka and Anadir" by the Russian historian and geographer Yakov Stählin, published in Russia, in the Russian language, in 1774 as a supplement to his work "Brief Report about the Newly Discovered Northern Archipelago" in *Mesyatsoslove istoricheskom i geograficheskom na* 1774 *god (Historical and Geographical Monthly* for 1774), which was also published in English the same year.[5] This map contained numerous errors and distortions--the northwestern extremity of the American mainland at 65° north latitude became a large, elongated east-north "Alaschka Is.," divided by two passages from Asia and America; the eastern group of Aleutian islands was stretched out along the meridian right up to "Alaschka Is."--an obvious absurdity, considering that their actual position between 53° to 54° north latitude had been pinpointed in 1768-69 by the expedition of Pyotr Krenitsin and Mikhail Levashov.

Therefore, Cook had at least three Russian charts, of which two--with a delineation of North America--were so contradictory that they could only be checked on the spot. And Cook scrupulously studied these sources, comparing the maps with the locality, trying to determine the geographical objectives discovered before him by Russian navigators. It can thus be said that in the waters of the Gulf of Alaska and of the Shumagin Islands, and in the north, in the passage which was named (as a

[3]Stephen Krasheninnikov, *The History of Kamchatka and the Kurilski Islands* (London: T. Jeffreys, 1764).

[4]Gerhard Müller, *Voyages from Asia to America for completing the Discoveries of North-West Coast of America. To which is prefixed a Summary of the Voyages of Russians on the Frozen Sea in search of a North-East Passage*. . . (London: T. Jeffreys, 1761).

[5]Jacob Stählin, *An Account of the New Northern Archipelago, lately discovered by the Russians in the Seas of Kamtschatka and Anadir* (London: C. Heydinger, 1774).

result of Cook's voyage) Bering Strait, Captain James Cook made geographical discoveries on the basis of guidelines already set by Russian navigators.

James Cook's third voyage (1776-80) was officially undertaken with the aim of finding a Northwest or Northeast Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic oceans. In the secret instructions Cook received from the British Admiralty, he was directed to plant the British flag in all countries which he would discover.[6]

On 7 March 1778, Cook's ships reached the North American coast at 44°20' (present-day Oregon). For three weeks Cook sailed north along the American coast but at some considerable distance from it. Because of this, he missed the wide mouth of the Columbia River and the passage between the mainland and Vancouver Island (Juan de Fuca Strait, the supposed relict of a through passage supposed to have been discovered by that Spanish navigator). Cook assumed that Vancouver Island was part of the mainland. On 29 March, the ships entered Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Cook was not aware that four years earlier the Spanish vessel of Juan Perez had been in the Sound. From Nootka Sound, Cook headed north-northwest along the outer, western side of the American coast, not suspecting that he was sailing along the huge Alexander Archipelago.

Entering the waters of the Gulf of Alaska, Cook retraced Vitus Bering's route, guided all the way by Müller's chart. Here and there Cook surveyed inlets and bays which were not marked on the chart. On 1 May he was at the spot which Chirikov reached on the American coast and on 4 May he reached the point from which Bering saw Mount St. Elias on the horizon. Sailing past Yakutat Bay which Cook named Bering's Bay, on 10 May he reached Kayak Island on which members of Bering's expedition landed in 1741. Cook attempted to establish the landing site and the position of Cape St. Elias, discovered in the area, but did not come to any firm conclusion. Dubious that the position of Kayak Island corresponded to the island on which Bering's companions landed, Cook named it Keyes Island and left a bottle with a note and two silver twopenny pieces in it.

On 12 May the vessels entered a fairly wide bay which Cook named Sandwich Sound and which was later renamed Prince William Sound by John Douglas, the editor of the first edition of Cook's diaries. The ships dropped anchor there for a week, after which, on 19 May Cook sailed to Cape St. Germogen, shown on Müller's map. To the northwest of this

[6]J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1955-67), III, Part one, ccxxiii.

"cape," a large passage opened which was not marked on Müller's map. Cook entered it on 28 May and until 6 June conducted a survey of it. He erroneously concluded that this deep inlet represented the estuary of a large river. Even though the shores of this "river" were within the confines of the area of Bering's discoveries, and the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula had been discovered by Chirikov in 1741, they were "brought under" the jurisdiction of the English crown.

Following in Bering's wake, Cook passed the islands of Shuyak, Afognak and Kodiak, believing them to be part of the mainland, and to the south of Kodiak discovered Trinity Island, which in fact was a group of islands (Sitkinak, Tugidak and smaller islets), separated from Kodiak by a narrow strait. On 17 June, one of the islands in the Yevdokeyev group (Semidi Islands on modern maps), already well-known to Russian traders, was discovered and on the following day the ships reached the Shumagin Islands.

At dawn on 28 June, the vessels of the third expedition entered Samgoonoodha Harbor on the north side of Unalaska Island and spent almost five days there having replenished their supplies of fresh water, greens and fresh fish. Ahead of them lay the northern latitudes and each day of summer counted. It was obvious that five days were not long enough to explore the island and locate the Russian settlers who by all indications were somewhere in the vicinity. As soon as contrary winds were replaced by favorable weather, the ships headed northeast.

From Unalaska, Cook sailed northeast and discovered a bay on the American coast which he named Bristol. From the northwest tip of this bay, Cape Newenham, Cook turned into the Bering Sea and on 28 July reached St. Matthew Island, discovered by Russians in 1748. On 3 August he passed St. Lawrence Island.

On 9 August, Cook reached the northwestern extremity of North America, which he named Cape Prince of Wales, despite the fact that on Müller's map this spot is marked: "Coast discovered by surveyor Gvozdev in 173(2)." [When G. F. Müller's map was published in 1758 the date was wrongly given as 1730.] From this cape Cook sailed into St. Lawrence Bay in Chukotka, and from there returned to the American coast and sailed northeast along the northern coast of North America. Failing to notice the large Kotzebue Sound, Cook proceeded to the cape which on 17 August he named Icy Cape, located at 70°19' north and 161°41' west, and there he was halted by pack ice.

Turning back, Cook approached the north coast of Chukotski Peninsula and surveyed it right up to North Cape (now Cape Schmidt), where

Cook found himself on 29 August. And here too, the pack ice prevented him from sailing farther west.

Cook turned southeast, on 2 September rounded a cape (Dezhnev), and on 5 September passed St. Lawrence Island for the second time (imagining that he was discovering a new island; an error prompted by Stählin's map). From here he once again headed for the North American continent and between 6-18 September surveyed the shores of a large bay which he named Norton Sound which, it is thought, Ivan Fedorov and Mikhail Gvozdev visited in 1732.[7]

Thus, for the first time, Cook mapped a considerable part of the westem and northern coasts of North America and thanks to Cook, all of Alaska, at last and on the whole, acquired that configuration on geographical maps which is known to our contemporaries. It can be said with assurance therefore that James Cook's third voyage opened a new and important stage in the cartographical representation of Alaska.

From Norton Sound, Cook once again headed for Unalaska and on 2 October, the ships of the English expedition dropped anchor in Samgoonoodha Harbor. This time the Russians themselves located them, sending both English captains messages and a pie made of rye flour and salmon and seasoned with pepper, representing, no doubt, "bread and salt," the traditional sign of Russian hospitality.

Both captains--Cook and Clerke--and the officers of the two vessels entertained on board ship the Russians Gerasim Gregoriev Izmailov, a student navigator from the Russian settlement on Unalaska; Yakov Ivanov Sapozhnikov, the chief of the Russian factory on the island of Umnak; and Peter Natrubin, a *peredovschik* from one of the Russian vessels. At last, Cook was meeting the Russians face-to-face. The Englishmen wanted to know, above all, how long the Russians had been settled on Unalaska and their numbers on this island and the nearby ones; how far eastward the Russians had advanced and whether they had their settlements on the North American continent; how were the relationships of the Russians with the native inhabitants of the islands and how broad was the Russian sphere of influence; how frequently was the complement of Russian traders relieved, and on what type of ships did they travel; and how accurate were the charts in everyday use by the Russians?

All these questions were not idle ones. The rapid advance of the Russians towards the North American continent which followed the com-

[7]Yakov M. Svet, *Kommentarii k knige: Tretye plavaniye kapitana Jemsa Kooka. Plavaniye u Tikhom okeane v 1776-80 gg.* (Third Voyage of Captain James Cook. Voyage in the Pacific Ocean in 1776-80) (Moscow: Mysl, 1971), p. 615, No. 283.

pletion of the second Kamchatka expedition in 1743 had spurred the colonialist activities of Spain and England. The interests of these powers were incessantly stimulated by the reports of the Spanish ambassadors in Petersburg (Almadovar in 1750-64 and Herreria in 1766-68, Lacy in 1773-75). In Madrid, on the basis of these reports in which Russian activities in the Pacific Ocean were clearly exaggerated, decisive measures were taken immediately. Between 1760-80, Spain was awakening from two centuries of lethargy. In 1769, the Spanish founded San Diego in Alta California; in 1770, Monterrey; and in 1776, San Francisco. The Spanish established missions and settlements and built forts.

In 1768, a Spanish naval base was established at San Blas on the shores of the Pacific Ocean of the present Mexican coast. Between 1774 and 1792, twelve Spanish naval expeditions were despatched north from San Blas and Acapulco to survey the present territory of the states of Washington and Alaska and the province of British Columbia. One of them reached Unalaska, but a decade after Cook (the expedition of Esteban J. Martinez and de Haro in 1788).

Russian advances eastward in the last quarter of the eighteenth century also evoked apprehensions in England. Moreover, the English broke through to the northwest shores of America not from Hudson Bay, where since 1670 the English Hudson's Bay Company had operated, but from the south. Cook sailed into Alaskan waters in 1778 from the Hawaiian Islands. The search for a passage from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic' along the northern shores of the American continent were closely connected with British plans for expansion in North Pacific waters.

The written reports of members of Cook's third voyage have preserved unique, and the very earliest, information about the Russian settlement on Unalaska, *the first permanent Russian settlement* in Northwest America, which arose some ten to twelve years before the permanent settlements founded in 1784-86 by G. I. Shelekhov on Kodiak, Athognak, and on the Kenai Peninsula.[8]

Only three members of the English expedition visited the Russian settlement on Unalaska: surgeon's mate David Samwell, corporal of marines John Ledyard, and master of the Discovery Thomas Edgar. Their impressions served as a foundation for James Cook's notes, first published in

[8]Svetlana G. Fedorova, "Pervoye postoyannoye poseleniye russkikh v Amerike i Jems Kook," in *Novoye v izuchenii Australii i Okeanii* ("First Permanent Settlement of Russians in America and James Cook," in the book *New Developments in the Study of Australia and Oceania)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), pp. 228-36.

London by Douglas in 1784.[9] John Ledyard's notes, with a description of the trip to the Russian settlement on Unalaska were published in 1783.[10] The diary entries of Samwell and Edgar, including the more important ethnographical observations, were published in 1967 thanks to the efforts of the outstanding historian and geographer of New Zealand, J. C. Beaglehole, who prepared the materials of James Cook's third voyage for printing, and for the first time in a publication of this type, included the diaries of his companions.[11] The descriptions of the dwellings of the Russians on Unalaska, their food and clothing, which provide an idea of the cross-influences of Russian and Aleut cultures, are of great scientific value.

By collating the diary entries of the English travellers, one can conclude that one large party of Russians and Kamchadals had established themselves on Unalaska (seventy-five people) and another on Umnak (ninety-seven people), and that altogether on these and neighboring islands there were close to 500 Russians and Kamchadals. The Unalaskan party arrived in 1777. The trading parties were relieved every four or five years. Communications with Okhotsk and Kamchatka were maintained by sloops with a displacement of thirty to sixty tons. Russian attempts to settle on the American mainland did not produce the desired results.

On 19 October, Izmailov gave permission to Cook to copy two Russian hand-drawn charts. One of them showed the coastline of the Sea of Okhotsk and part of Kamchatka, the other, the Russian discoveries made to the east of Kamchatka toward America. On the latter, between 58° and 58°30' north, the American coast discovered by Chirikov was delineated, and in the Gulf of Alaska the point where Bering's companions landed was marked; the Kommander Islands and the Aleutian Islands were located between 52° and 55° north. When Izmailov showed Cook the chart, he remarked that it needed significant revision: he had "removed" about one-third of the islands marked on it and had located the positions of others more precisely. Izmailov told Cook about the voyages of Russian traders to the tip of the Alaska Peninsula, to the Shumagin Island and Kodiak Island. Judging by Cook's notes, the Russians realized that Alaska was part of the mainland, but Cook could not quite ascertain whether this name applied only to the land lying to the east of Unimak Island (the Alaska Peninsula), or to the whole of the northwest coast of the American

[9]James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . 1776-80,* 3 vols. (London: G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 1784).

[10]John Ledyard, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (Hartford: N. Patten, 1783).

[11]See Beaglehole, III, 1139-44 (Samwell), and 1351-54 (Edgar).

continent. Yakov Stählin's map, whose falsity, indeed, Cook did not doubt after the discoveries made by him on the northwest coast of North America, was now conclusively discredited.

As noted, Cook made a thorough study of Müller's map, comparing it with the locality. He strove to immortalize the memory of Vitus Bering on the map. With his inherent modesty, Cook did not bestow his own name on a single geographical objective (the so-called "Cook's River" shown on the English map instead of the inlet which Russians subsequently called Kenai, appeared much later, in London, in the course of editing the data collected by the third expedition).

New Soviet studies, based on the scrutiny of such important historical sources as log-books kept in Leningrad archives (and, in particular, the logs of the packet-boats *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* for 1741), show that Russian seamen discovered, calculated the positions of, and named innumerable geographical objectives in the waters of the Pacific Ocean.[12] A map showing the voyage of the *St. Paul*, executed with highly professional skill by navigation officer I. F. Yelagin under the supervision of Chirikov, is an authentic reflection of the discoveries made by the second Kamchatka expedition. Together with the ship's log, it was despatched by Chirikov from Kamchatka to Petersburg on 7 December 1741.[13] For a long time, however, this map remained unknown and was not published until 1893, and two of its variants only in 1964.[14]

Cook was forced to bestow his own names on unnamed (on the Russian maps in his possession) geographical objectives, as well as on places actually discovered by him. It does not seem quite fair to say that Cook renamed "places, lands and islands . . . previously discovered by Russians,

[12]A. A. Sopotsko, "Zabytyye sokrovischa znanyi--Kto pervym otkryl eti zemli. Dar etnografam, Orientir dlya zoologov i botanikov," (Forgotten Treasures of Knowledge--Who was the First to Discover these Lands. A Gift for Ethnographers, an Orienter for Zoologists and Botanists), in the book, *Transportnyye vozmozhnosti Tikhogo Okeana i ikh realizatsiya* (Transport Possibilities of the Pacific Ocean and their Realization) (Vladivostok: Far Eastern Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1976), pp. 84-136.

[13]V. I. Grekov, *Ocherki iz istorii russkikh geograficheskikh issledovanyi v 1725-65* (Essays from the History of Russian Geographical Explorations in 1725-65) (Moscow: Nauka, 1960), map on p. 166.

[14]V. Andreyev, "Dokkumenty po ekspeditsii kapitan-komandora Beringa v Ameriku v 1741" (Documents on the Expedition of Captain-Commander Bering to America in 1741), *Morskoy Sbornik*, 255 (1893), 5; also *Atlas geograficheskikh otkrytyi v Sibiri i v Severo-Zapadnoy Amerike v XVII-XVIII vv* (Atlas of Geographical Discoveries in Siberia and North-Western America, XVII-XVIII Centuries), compiled by A. V. Yefimov, M. I. Belov, and O. M. Medushevskaya. Edited with introduction by A. V. Yefimov (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), maps Nos. 97 and 98.

claiming them as his own discoveries," as was stated in the instructions given by the Admiralty Board to Rear-Admiral von Dezin, the compiler of a map being prepared for the first Russian circumnavigation of the globe, the expedition of Grigori Mulovsky planned for 1787 which never took place.[15] It is hard to refrain, however, from reproaching Cook over a matter which does seem rather to the point: in keeping with the inscription on G. F. Müller's map of 1758, "Coast discovered by surveyor Gvozdev in 173(2)," the northwestern tip of the North American continent should have been named in honor of the Russian geodesist, Mikhail Spiridonov Gvozdev, and not Cape Prince of Wales. For the sake of justice, it is worthwhile to mention yet another name forgotten on the maps--that of master-mate Ivan Fedorov, who together with Gvozdev discovered America on the side facing Russia in 1732. [The name was forgotten because I. Fedorov died in 1733, and the data collected by the expedition, subsequently edited by M. Spanberg, were received from the geodesist M. Gvozdev.]

According to the instructions received by Cook from the British admiralty, in case of failure to find a Northwest Passage, he was to proceed to the harbor of Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka to winter over, so as to resume the search the following year. However, on Unalaska Cook learned from Sapozhnikov how scarce provisions were on Kamchatka and how expensive. Cook decided to sail to the Hawaiian Islands where he met his death 14 February 1779 in a skirmish with the local inhabitants.

Cook's mortally ill successor, Captain Clerke, led the expedition in another search for a Northwest Passage in June-July 1779. But before the English sailed north (from 29 April to 12 June) and once again on their return from the fruitless search (from 23 August to 8 October), the expedition put in at Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka.

Both those encounters exerted a considerable influence on the course of future developments at the frontiers of Asia and America and left a deep imprint on the history of Anglo-Russian cultural ties.

In April-June 1779, the third expedition was welcomed openheartedly and hospitably by the governor of Kamchatka, Lieutenant-Colonel Mag-

[15]V. A. Divin, *Russkiye moreplavaniya na Tikhom okeana v XVIII veke* (Russian Navigations in the Pacific Ocean in the XVIII Century) (Moscow: Mysl, 1971), p. 254; S. G. Fedorova, "Tretye plavaniye Jemsa Kooka v russkoy i sovetskoy literature" (Third Voyage of James Cook in Russian and Soviet Literature), *Materials of the First Symposium of Soviet Historians--Americanobgists,* 30 November-3 December 1971, 2 vols. (Moscow: Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1973), II, 166-72, translated in *Soviet Studies in History,* 14, No. 1 (Summer, 1975).

nus Behm. He supplied the Englishmen with provisions and marine stores (cordage, canvas, pitch, spars, wood, etc.) worth 2,256 rubles and ninety-seven kopecks but charged nothing for them.[16] In turn, Captain Clerke presented Behm with an invaluable collection of cultural objects and household implements of the peoples of Oceania and Northwest America. Moreover, Behm received a map of the discoveries made by the English expedition between 1776 and 1779.

The ethnographic collection was delivered to St. Petersburg, and it entered the Kunstkamera in 1780. In the course of time the collection was divided and thinned out, but the main part is still in the USSR Academy of Science's Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad. (See Appendix A.)

Kamchatka, however, left unhappy as well as happy memories in the hearts of the Englishmen. On the eve of the expedition's second visit to Petropavlovsk (22 August 1779), Cook's successor, the thirty-eight-year-old Captain Charles Clerke, died. Before his death, Clerke had expressed the wish to be buried in the church at Paratunka. However, it was not the Russian custom to bury the dead in churches. Therefore, Gore chose a spot on the high northern shore of the Petropavlovsk harbor near a new church that was being built and not far from the hospital and warehouses. The priest of the Paratunka church, Roman Vereschagin, took part in the funeral procession and the whole garrison attended the solemn ceremony. To the sound of a gun and artillery salute, the body of Charles Clerke was committed to the earth of Kamchatka. A birchwood paling was put up around the grave. Two oaken boards were prepared and the name and dates of the deceased were printed on one side and on the other. Clerke's family crest was drawn. One board was hammered to the tree growing at the head of Clerke's grave, the other was taken to the Avachinskaya Church of the Birth of Most Holy Mother of God in Paratunka. In 1787, Lapérouse noticed that the board nailed to the tree had rotted and he nailed a bronze plate in place of a cross at the head of the grave. In 1805, I. F. Kruzenstern visited the grave and erected a wooden pyramid. In 1827, Captain Frederick Beechy learned that the monument put up by Kruzenstern had been "removed to the governor's gardens for safe-keeping". In 1913, representatives of the British Admiralty erected a granite monument to Clerke, which in the process of Petropavlovsk's ex-

[16]Yakov M. Svet, "Novyye dannyye o prebyvanii na Kamchatke Tretei ekspeditsii Jemsa Kooka, 1779" (New Information about James Cook's Third Expedition's Stay on Kamchatka, 1779), in the book *Novoye v izuchenii Avstralii i Okeanii* [footnote 8 above], pp. 219-27.

pansion, is now located in the heart of the city. The land of Kamchatka preserves the memory of Cook's third voyage.

The map showing the discoveries of the third expedition, which was presented by the English to Behm on his departure from Kamchatka to Petersburg, had its own story. In Irkutsk, in 1779, governor Franz Klichka took the map away from Behm. On the basis of this map, Major Mikhail Tatarinov of the Irkutsk navigation school composed three maps.

The first of these, "Map of whole Arctic Ocean near North Pole with shewing of explorations in the Arctic Ocean as well as in the Pacific sea of gentlemen naval officers Russian, English and Hispanic," was composed by Tatarinov in 1779. At its foundation lay the somewhat altered (the North American continent stretched to the North Pole and merged with Greenland) circumpolar map drawn up by Mikhail Lomonosov in 1763. But the configuration of the Northwest coast of the North American continent acquired names and approximate outlines borrowed from the English map.[17]

The second, "Mercator's projection map of part of the Arctic and Pacific oceans with depiction of the coasts of Kamchatka and part of the coasts of North America on the basis of past descriptions and new of the English gentleman captain-commander Cook in 1778 and 1779." Below in cartouche, there is another inscription: "By command of his excellency, gospodin major-general, cavalier of several orders, governor of Irkutsk Franz Nikolayevich Klichka, composed at the Irkutsk navigation school by Major Mikhail Tatarinov in 1780." The routes of both ships of the second Kamchatka expedition and of the Krenitsyn and Levashov expedition are traced on the map. In the form of an insert, a plan of the Petropavlovsk harbor is given, executed by Charles Clerke in 1779. Another insert shows the harbor plan at Unalaska, made by navigator Yakov Schebanov when Mikhail Levashov's vessel wintered on the island in 1769. The map was never published.[18]

Thirdly, "Map belonging to the journey of Cossack lieutenant Ivan

[17]Svetlana G. Fedorova, "Issledovatel Chukotki i Aliaski kazachii sotnik Ivan Kobelev" (Explorer of Chukotka and Alaska, Cossack Sotnik Ivan Kobelev), *Letopis Severa,* 5 (1971), 156-72.

[18]Central State Archives of the USSR Naval Fleet (Leningrad), stock 1331, description 4, case 108. Hand-drawn copy of the eighteenth century.

[19]A variant of his map was published in 1971. See Svetlana G. Fedorova, *Russkoe naselenie Aliaski i Kalifornii. Konets XVIII veka-1867g.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), drawing 1. Translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California Late XVIIIth Century-1867* (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1973).

Kobelev, 1784"[19] was first published by P. S. Pallas in "Historical and Geographical Monthly for 1784." The story of how this map came to be drawn up, as well as its fate, is closely interwoven with the history of James Cook's third expedition. The Cossack lieutenant Ivan Kobelev was dispatched in March 1779, from Gizhiga Fortress to Chukotka, in the vicinity of Bering Strait, in the official version "for the collection of tribute from the Chukotsk people for the treasury and of their census."

Only after the publication in 1967 of a new British edition of James Cook's third voyage, have the true aims of Ivan Kobelev's expedition to Chukotka emerged more clearly. In this edition for the first time two letters are published dated November 1779, from the English ambassador in St. Petersburg, James Harris, to the secretary of state, Lord Weymouth. Harris conveyed the text of a report from the governor of Kamchatka, Lieutenant-Colonel Magnus Behm, which he had been given by G. Potemkin. The report was based on information received from Gizhiga commandant, Timofey Ivanov Shvalev, who reported what Koryak and Chukot elders had said about the appearance in the summer of 1778 of two foreign vessels in Chukotsk waters.[20]

Before April 1779 (before the ships of Cook's expedition visited Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka), the Russian authorities did not have definite information as to the nationality of the ships involved. At the same time, both in Kamchatka and in St. Petersburg, there were fears that Maurice Benyovsky, a Polish confederate exiled to Kamchatka who escaped from there by sea and got to France, would turn up in Russian waters. In Russia they were worried that he might be able to arm a few ships at the expense of the French government and mount an attack on the defenseless shores of Kamchatka. So it was quite natural that Shvalev, having received information at the end of 1778 about the appearance in Chukotsk waters of unknown ships, decided to immediately send the Cossack lieutenant Ivan Kobelev to Chukotka.

As a result of this journey, a "description of all those places he [Kobelevl bad been and a map which he drew without knowledge of the compass" were sent to Irkutsk. On the basis of those materials and the map received from the English, Tatarinov composed the aforementioned map of Cossack lieutenant Kobelev in 1779.

[20]Yakov M. Svet, "Dokumenty otnosyaschiyesya k Tretei ekspeditsii Jemsa Kook," in the book *Tretye plavaniye kapitana Jemsa Kooka. . . ,* pp. 571-79. See the translation, *Cook and the Russians.* An Addendum to the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovey, 1776-80,* edited by J. C. Beaglehole (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1973).

Kobelev landed on the Diomede Islands in Bering Strait and from what he heard from American Eskimos he encountered, collected information about mainland America lying just across the water. The American ethnohistorian Dorothy Jean Ray believes that Kobelev's map is unique because before him nobody had shown on a map any part of the Alaskan hinterland, its rivers and also many inlets and islands "discovered' much later by navigators. Moreover, the map is unique because it shows the locations of sixty-one Eskimo settlements on the American shore, settlements which were not investigated until the twentieth century.[21]

It must also be noted that the Kobelev-Tatarinov map of 1779 revived the old legend about an early Russian settlement on some river called "Cheuveren." In 1791, Kobelev, together with a Chukchi named Nikolai Daurkin (both were members of the expedition of Joseph Billings and Gavriil Sarychev), made an attempt on kayaks made of skins to go up a river flowing from the inner regions of the American continent into the Bering Strait in order to locate this Russian settlement. The Cheuveren River made its way onto the Billings-Sarychev map and was preserved on many maps right up until the first two decades of the nineteenth century.[22]

Thus, the map of Cook's third voyage and Kobelev's map, united by Tatarinov, gave an impetus to new ideas, explorations and Russian discoveries. The map of the third voyage had a decisive influence on all subsequent Russian cartography of the northern basin of the Pacific Ocean.

James Cook's third voyage was also a floating academy which produced ten captains and two admirals. One of the "graduates" of this academy, Joseph Billings, in 1785 was appointed chief of a large Russian geographical and astronomical expedition to the Arctic and North Pacific oceans. He has a firm place in the history of explorations of Russian possessions in America, in particular--Chukotka.

In 1955-67, the New Zealand geographer and historian J. C. Beaglehole performed a truly scientific feat by consecutively publishing the ma-

[21]D. J. Ray, *The Eskimos of Bering Strait, 1650-1898* (London: University of London Press, 1975), p. 45.

[22]M. B. Chernenko, "Puteshestviye po Chukotskoy zemle i plavaniye na Alyasku kazachyego sotnika Ivana Kobeleva v 1779 i 1789-91 gg" (Travels in the Land of Chukotka and Voyage to Alaska of Cossack Lieutenant Ivan Kobelev in 1779 and 1789-91), *Letopis Severa,* II (1957), 121-41; S. G. Fedorova, "K voprosu o rannikh russikikh poseleniiakh na Alaske" (Concerning the Question of Early Russian Settlements in Alaska), *Letopis Severa,* 4 (1964), 97-113.

terials of all three voyages of James Cook on the basis of hitherto unknown original sources.

Within the last two decades, new meetings with Cook have taken place--meetings of Soviet readers with the Captain! In 1960, 1964, and 1971, the publishing house Mysl issued the journals of the first, second, and third voyages of Cook. The publications of J. C. Beaglehole served as the foundation for this work.[23]

This year, 1978, marks the bicentennial anniversary of Captain James Cook's voyage in the waters of northwest America and Chukotka. In summing up his discoveries in this part of the world, we especially note the close connection between the activities of Russian seafarers and the discoveries of the remarkable English navigator.

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[23]His third volume portfolio, containing eighty-eight reproductions of original charts and views drawn of the three voyages. Yakov M. Svet, "The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery. The Voyage of the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, 1776-80," *Sovietskaya etnografiya*, 5 (1968), 163-65.

APPENDIX A

Inventory of Artifacts collected by Captain James Cook on his third voyage of Discovery, delivered by Lieutenant-Colonel Behm from Kamchatka, 1780.

In the Leningrad archives, Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, we found a manuscript "Inventory of Objects Delivered by Lieutenant Colonel Behm from Kamchatka, 1780," Stock 3 (Chancellery and Commission Academy of Sciences, Eighteenth Century), Inventory 8, Case 27 (On Receipt of Kunstkamera of materials, 1776-1803), sheets 43-44. This is the earliest historical source containing primary information about the Cook collection as a whole. We have not seen, however, any references to this manuscript Inventory in the scholarly works describing the ethnographic collection received from James Cook's third expedition.[1] Moreover, the *Inventory* contains a list of [some] objects which have never been in the Kunstkamera collection. The Inventory contains forty-eight ordinal numbers. Under Number 1 are enumerated prints depicting the inhabitants of various islands of Oceania: Tahiti, New Caledonia, Tierra del Fuego, New Zealand, as well as views of coastlines of the Marquesas, Tierra de1 Fuego, and the island of Tongatapu (Tonga). The prints were undoubtedly executed from the drawings made by the artist William Hodges who was a member of James Cook's second voyage. Numbers 2-48 give brief descriptions of various objects and details of clothing of the inhabitants of the island of Tongatapu [Of course, not all are Tongan] and that of Unimak (Aleutian Islands) and Kamchatka (one must assume

[1]For example, see the studies done by L. G. Rozina, "Kollektsiya Jemsa Kooka," *Sobranii Muzeya antropologii i etnografii,* 23 (1966), 234-53. [An English translation of this article appears in Adrienne Kaeppler, *Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 3-17. See the "Editor's Forum" on p. 94 for a discussion of the value of this document.] See also "Kultura i byt narodov stran Tikhogo i Indyiskogo okeanov," (Culture and Life of the Peoples of the Lands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans), *Nauka* (1966), 234-53; L. G. Rozina, "Kollektsiya Tretei ekspeditsii J. Kooka, khranyaschayasya v Muzeye antropologii o etnografii im. Petra Pervogo" (Collection of J. Cook's Third Expedition Kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology named after Peter the First), in the book *Tretye plavaniye Jemsa Kooka. Plavaniye v Tikhom okeane,* (Third Voyage of James Cook. Voyage in the Pacific Ocean), 578-94; S. A. Ratner-Sternberg, "Muzeinyye materialy po tlingitskomu shamanstvu" (Museum Materials on Tlingit Shamanism), *MAE Coll.* 6 (1927), 79-114, and 8 (1929), 270-301. R. G. Lyapunova, Yukov V. Ionova, Yukov V. Maretin, and L. G. Rozina, *The Ethnographic Collections on the Pacific Peoples in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography* (Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1966).

that the Kamchatka objects were the gift of Magnus Behm himself). It must be noted that the Inventory not only gives the place of origin of the objects, but groups clothing details according to social position. For example, Numbers 12-17, 47, and 48: "Attire of chief of Friendly Island, there called king;"Numbers 18-26: "Attire of warrior from same island." One expects that the *Inventory* will give researchers the opportunity to attribute more accurately individual objects of this unique ethnographical collection. The following is a transcription and translation of the manuscript:

INVENTORY OF OBJECTS DELIVERED BY
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BEHM FROM KAMCHATKA, 1780

No.	Name of Object	Origin
1	Fifteen prints depicting inhabitants of various islands, as:	
	1 Ottagetsk [Tahitian] lady.	South sea
	2 Ottagetsk [Tahitian] king.	17.5° to south
	3 Ottagetsk [Tahitian] inhabitants.	
	4 Inhabitant of Amsterdam in the Friendly Islands.	21° south latitude
	5 Caledonian inhabitant.	23° south latitude
	6 Inhabitants of Maquisade [Marquesas].	13° south latitude
	7 Lady from same island.	13° south latitude
	8 Inhabitants of New Zealand.	40° south latitude
	9 Inhabitant of Fuego Land.	50° south latitude
	10 Picture showing view of Marquisade [island].	
	11 Picture showing view of Fuego Land.	
	12 Picture showing view of Friendly Island.	
	13 Maiden of Vostochnaya Eilandia [Easter Island?] The description is written in German.	22° south latitude
	[What 14 and 15 signify is written in pencil in English.]	

No.	Name of Object	Origin
2	Kamchadal festive and best dress, which is worn by both men and women.	Kamchatka
3	Skin of Kamchatka sea animal, seal, skinned in such a way that it can be inflated.	Kamchatka
4	Fishing net of bast [tapa] used by inhabitants of Friendly Island which is located	below 22° from north to south and does not belong to any power.
5	A wooden head-rest on 4 legs, resembling a bench.	Friendly Islands
6	Stone axe with wooden handle.	Friendly Islands
7	Large fan of long black feathers resembling a broom.	Friendly Islands
8	Large, round, motley fan of small red and yellow feathers.	Friendly Islands
9	Flat feather fan.	Friendly Islands
10	Stick for them with round wooden knob.	Friendly Islands
11	Wooden dagger, decorated on top with tail of an animal. Attire of chief of Friendly Island, called their king.	Friendly Islands
12	Morion of small black feathers, decorated with yellow.	Friendly Islands
13	Feather collar.	Friendly Islands
14	Feather Mentle [mantle or cape].	Friendly Islands
15	Wooden mace with carving.	Friendly Islands
16	Feather front-piece edged with white fur-like fringe.	Friendly Islands
17	Wooden dagger. Attire of warrior from same island.	Friendly Islands

No.	Name of Object	Origin
18	Morion of small yellow and red feathers.	Friendly Islands
19	Mantle of small yellow and red feathers.	Friendly Islands
20	Collar of same feathers.	Friendly Islands
21	Belt woven of roots.	Friendly Islands
22	Front-piece of blue feathers, edged with white fur-like fringe.	Friendly Islands
23	Mushelnyi [mussel] armlet.	Friendly Islands
24	Armlet of small red feathers with traced figures in yellow.	Friendly Islands
25	Armlet of animal fangs.	Friendly Islands
26	Wooden dagger with blade set with sharp teeth.	Friendly Islands
27	Fourteen pieces of fabric resembling printed sackcloth of bast [tapa].	Friendly Islands
28	Wooden roller used to make these fabrics.	Friendly Islands
29	Mat of woven leaves.	Friendly Islands
30	Double-weave for cape of dark red and yellow bast [tapa].	Friendly Islands
31	Three zephyrs [fans] of red and yellow feathers.	Friendly Islands
32	Coral string [beads].	Friendly Islands
33	Women's mother-of-pearl front piece.	Friendly Islands
34	Two reed and third wooden combs.	Friendly Islands
35	Five rods [hooks] of which one is large, of wood, four of bone, smaller.	Friendly Islands
36	Black wooden spade.	Friendly Islands
37	Instrument similar to comb, used by inhabitants of Friendly Island to carve [tattoo] various patterns on their face as to terrify.	Friendly Islands

No.	Name of Object	Origin
38	Kisa [purse].	Friendly Islands
39	Several strings of different beads,	Friendly Islands
40	Small round black stone on which paints are powdered.	Friendly Islands
41	Two musical instruments made of reed pipes.	Friendly Islands
42	Woman's woven grass epanechka [sleeveless shift with straps]	Friendly Islands
43	Rope woven of sinews.	Island of Unimak,
44	Aleut shirt made of bladders.	which lies across
45	Two knives made by Mr. Behm from Kamchatka iron by way of test.	from American cape Alyaska.
	In small box:	
46	Model of Aleut Kayak.	Unimak Island.
	In long case:	
47	Royal spear.	Friendly Islands
48	Royal hunting arrow.	Friendly Islands

Leningrad Department of USSR Academy of Sciences Archives, Stock 3 (Chancellery and Commission of Academy of Sciences, Eighteenth Century), Inventory 8, Case 27 (On receipt by Kunstkamera of materials, 1776-1803), sheets 43-44.