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## A RUSSIAN VIEW OF HAWAII IN 1804

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On 7 August 1803, the ship *Nadezhda*, under the command of Ivan F. Krusenstern, and another ship, the *Neva*, under the command of Iurji F. Lisiansky, left Kronshtadt for a round-the-world voyage. The expedition was assigned to deliver various supplies to Russian America, pick up the furs stocked there, endeavor to initiate fur trade with China, and make arrangements for trade with Japan. The *Nadezhda* took aboard an embassy to Japan led by N. P. Rezanov (son-in-law of G. I. Shelekhov), one of the organizers of the Russian-American Company. Its main office instructed the head of the expedition, Krusenstern, to visit the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, where the ships were to part ways: the *Nadezhda* was to proceed to Japan while the *Neva* was to head to Kodiak Island.<sup>1</sup>

Books, articles, diaries, and letters left behind by the participants in the voyage contain valuable data on the history and ethnography of the countries they visited. The present paper is based on the data furnished by ten expedition staff members. The destinies of these data and the extent of their scholarly circulation are vastly different. While the books by Krusenstern<sup>2</sup> and Lisiansky,<sup>3</sup> translated into West-European languages shortly after publication, as well as the book by G. H. Langsdorff (subsequently a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a man renowned for his

<sup>1</sup>Instruktsiya Glavnogo Pravleniya Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii Gospodinu flota kapitan-leitenantu Krusensternu, 29 maya 1803 g. [Instructions, Main Office of the Russian-American Company to Lieutenant-Captain of the Navy Krusenstern, 29 May 1803], USSR Central State Historical Archives (TSGIA), f. 15, op. 1, d. 1, 1.150.

<sup>2</sup>Ivan F. Krusenstern, *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta v 1803-1806 godakh [A Voyage Round the World in 1803-1806]*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Imperial Marine, 1809-1812).

<sup>3</sup>Iurji F. Lisiansky, *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta v 1803-06 godakh [A Voyage Round the World in 1803-1806]*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: F. Drechsler, 1812).

extensive exploration of Brazil), published in German<sup>4</sup> and immediately reprinted in English, have been extensively used by scholars of many countries for many decades, publications by other participants in the voyage have been studied predominantly by Soviet scholars, normally outside the context of the history and ethnography of the Pacific Islands. Besides, some of these writings have handwritten versions, which are substantially different from the printed. For instance, the original diary of M. I. Ratmanov, one of the *Nadezhda* officers, is kept in the Central State Archives of the USSR Navy<sup>5</sup> while another version of it, which must have been compiled during the expedition's stay in Kamchatka, is to be found in the Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad.<sup>6</sup> The Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov, published in the fortnightly *Yakhta*<sup>7</sup> in 1876, are based on his original diary but exhibit substantial cuts and individual inserts. Similarly, the book by another fellow-voyager of Krusenstern, F. I. Shemelin,<sup>8</sup> a clerk of the Russian-American Company, has some details available in his handwritten journal<sup>9</sup> left out but contains extra data derived from different sources. Besides this, when the manuscripts by Ratmanov and Shemelin were being prepared for publication they were made subject to substantial editorial correction.

The records of Nikolai I. Korobitsyn, another clerk of the Russian-American Company, who sailed aboard the Lisyansky ship, had an interesting fate. They were accidentally discovered by researchers in 1940 and shortly published.<sup>10</sup> The disclosure of data left behind by participants in the voyage continued after the Second World War. For example, the

<sup>4</sup>G. H. Langsdorff, *Bermerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: F. Williams, 1812).

<sup>5</sup>Zhurnal Ratmanova [Journal of Ratmanov], The Central State Archives of the USSR Navy (TSGAVMF), f. 14, op. 1, d. 149.

<sup>6</sup>Zhurnal M. Ratmanova [Journal of M. Ratmanov], Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (ORGPB), f. 1000, op. 2, N 1146.

<sup>7</sup>Zapiski kapitan-leitenanta Ratmanova [Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov], *Yakhta* (1876), NN 16, 18, 24.

<sup>8</sup>Fedor Shemelin, *Zhurnal pervogo putestestviya rossiyan vokrug zemnogo shara* [Journal of the First Voyage of the Russians Around the World], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Meditsinskoi Topographie, 1815-1818).

<sup>9</sup>Zhurnal Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii . . . prikashchika Shemelina [Journal of the Russian-American Company . . . clerk Shemelin], ORGPB, F. IV. 59.

<sup>10</sup>Nikolai I. Korobitsyn, *Zapiski. Russkie otkrytiya v Tikhom okeane i Severnoi Amerike v XVIII-XIX verkakh. Sbornik materialov pod* [Records. Russian Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean and North America from the XVIII to XIX Centuries. A collection of materials.] ed. A. I. Andreev (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1944).

present author discovered in the USSR Central State Historical Archives a curious account of the expedition compiled by a fellow voyager of Lisiansky, Hiermonk Gedeon,<sup>11</sup> employing it in a work on the history of Hawaii published in 1964.<sup>12</sup> Fresh finds are still likely to be discovered.<sup>13</sup>

In Oceania, the first Russian round-the-world expedition visited two Polynesian archipelagos--the Marquesas and Hawaii. A ten-day stay off the Nuku Hiva Island coasts, enabled the Russians to collect a wealth of data on the ethnography of the Marquesas Islands, which still await an all-round evaluation. On 8 June 1804, the two ships approached the island of Hawaii and, without dropping anchor, made a three-day drift off its southeastern coast. In those three days they obtained very little in the way of provisions. The islanders who went aboard the *Nadezhda* explained that food was to be sought in Karakakua (Kealakekua) Bay, on the island's western coast.<sup>14</sup> But Krusenstern was in a hurry to reach Kamchatka in order to have his ship repaired and subsequently to sail on to Japan before the northeasterly monsoons set in.<sup>15</sup> After a farewell ceremony, the *Nadezhda* sailed out into the open sea while the *Neva*, on 11 June entered Kealakekua Bay. Here she made a six-days' stay where the Russian sailors visited the scene of Captain Cook's death. Lisiansky intended

<sup>11</sup> *Doneseniye ieromonakha Aleksandro-Nevskoi Lavry Gedeona . . . o plavanii na korable Neva v 1803-1806 gg.* [Report of Hieromonk of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery Gedeon . . . on the Voyage aboard the ship *Neva* in 1803-1806.] Manuscript in the TSGIA, f. 796, op. 90, 1809, d. 273. The second part of Gedeon's report describing his sojourn in the Russian settlements in America in 1804-07 and containing his correspondence of these years has been published in 1894 after a manuscript copy kept in the Valaam Monastery. See *Ocherk iz istorii Amerikanskoi pravoslavnoi dukhovnoi missii, Kadiakskoi missii 1794-1837 gg.* [An Essay from the History of the American Orthodox Church Mission (Kodiak Mission 1794-1837)]. (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1894).

<sup>12</sup> Daniel D. Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kionizatorov v "Krai vechnoi vesny"* [The Invasion of Colonizers in the "Land of Eternal Spring."] (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1964), pp. 72, 73, 82, and 180.

<sup>13</sup> A paper dedicated to the memory of V. N. Berkh, one of the *Neva* officers, which was published in *Zapiski Uchyonogo Komiteta Glavnogo Morskogo Shtaba* [Proceedings of the Scientific Committee of the Chief Naval Headquarters], 12 (1835), 332-335, among others, mentions his paper, "Journal of a Round-the-World Voyage which Complements the Journal Published by the *Neva* Commander," adding that it appeared "in a periodical." Hence, references to this paper in some works on the history of geographical discoveries and bibliographic publications. However, checking has revealed that Berkh's journal must have remained unpublished and if such a manuscript really exists, it remains to be located. The present author uses in his paper Berkh's paper entitled, "Some Data on the Sandwich Islands," [Nechto o Sandvichevykh ostrovakh], *Syn Otechestva*, 43 (1818).

<sup>14</sup> Journal of Ratmanov, 1.50.

<sup>15</sup> Krusenstern, I, 233.

to approach Oahu Island in order to meet famous Tomi-Omi (Kamehameha) who was making preparations for an invasion of Kauai Island. But the news about the deadly epidemic which had hit Oahu led Lisyansky to give up his plan. On 19 June, the *Neva* approached Kauai. Here the ship was visited by the local ruler Tamuri (Kaumualii). On the following day, the *Neva* left the archipelago and set sail for the Russian settlements in America.<sup>16</sup>

The *Nadezhda's* three-day drift off Hawaii coasts, which proceeded without disembarkation, did not allow for collecting any substantial information about the local population. The present author, however, feels it would be an error to ignore the contribution made by Krusenstern and his fellow-voyagers to the study of the Hawaiians. As they communicated with the islanders who visited the *Nadezhda*, the voyagers made a number of interesting conclusions. Besides, writings by some of Krusenstern's fellow voyagers--the books by Langsdorff and Shemelin and one of the letters of Rezanov--contain data on Hawaii derived from people who were well familiar with the islands. The point is that following the visit to Japan Rezanov and Langsdorff left the *Nadezhda* and proceeded to Russian America. During their several months' stay in Novo-Arkhangelsk (New Archangel, Sitka, southeast Alaska), in 1805-06, they met American sailors who had visited Hawaii. The sailors told them many interesting facts about the archipelago. Among their informers were John Dewolf of Bristol, Rhode Island, who had sold his ship the *Juno* to the Russian-American Company in October 1805 staying for the winter in Novo-Arkhangelsk, and Captain Jonathan Winship of Brighton, Massachusetts.<sup>17</sup> Shemelin reproduced in his book the data reported by L. A. Hagemeister who had spent three months in Hawaii in 1809 as commander of a Russian ship.<sup>18</sup> Another informer of Shemelin was a Hawaiian youth by the name of Kenokhoia (Kanehoa?), a sailor aboard the *Juno*. At Rezanov's invitation he went to Russia, where, Shemelin said, he was christened, "taught to read

<sup>16</sup>Lisyansky, I, 166-85.

<sup>17</sup>Langsdorff, I, 166; II, 83. Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806. P. Tikhmenev, *Istoricheskoye obozreniye obrazovaniya Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii i deistviy yeya do nastoyashchego vremeni* [An Historical Review of the Formation of the Russian-American Company and its activity until the present time]. 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: E. Veymara, 1861-63), II, 280. See also Frederick Howay, *A Listing of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1825*, ed. Richard A. Pierce (Kingstone, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1973), pp. 55, 64-65, and 70; Hector Chevigny, *Lord of Alaska. Baranov and the Russian Adventure* (New York: Viking Press, 1944), p. 210.

<sup>18</sup>Shemelin, I, 153.

and write in Russian” and subsequently “made a student of shipbuilding and other sciences.”<sup>19</sup>

But, of course, far more elaborate and diverse information about Hawaii is contained in writings by Lisiansky and his fellow-voyagers: Korobitsyn, Hieromonk Gedeon, and V. N. Berkh. Particularly valuable is Lisiansky’s own book, which justly ranks among the key sources of the history and ethnography of Hawaii of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. One can only wonder how Lisiansky succeeded in learning so much about the archipelago inhabitants in just a few days. Alongside direct observations, the navigator used in his book information obtained from the British sailor John Young, one of the closest advisers of Kamehameha, and some other foreigners who were staying in Kealahou Bay, from the local temple priest and two Hawaiian chiefs with whom he talked with the aid of interpreters as well as a young Hawaiian nicknamed George Kernick, who had spent seven years in Britain.<sup>20</sup> Korobitsyn’s records and Gedeon’s account effectively complement Lisiansky’s book. The article by Berkh holds a somewhat special place. Alongside recollections about the visit to Hawaii and speculations about their strategic position and international status, it contains some data obtained by the author in Canton in 1806 as well as those reported by a “friend” (possibly Hagemester), who later visited Hawaii.<sup>21</sup>

The first Russian round-the-world expedition visited the Hawaiian archipelago twenty-six years after its discovery by Captain Cook and twenty-five years after his death on the island of Hawaii. It will be remembered that as a result of Cook’s last expedition the merchants of western Europe and the United States learned about the formidable fur wealth of the northwest coast of America and the potential for profitable marketing of the furs bartered there in China. When maritime fur trade was launched in the North Pacific in 1785, Hawaii became a base for the ships which were party to this trade. As was pointed out by Langsdorff, the archipelago won this “honour” due to its beneficial geographic position on the sea routes between the northwest coast of America and China, excellent climate, an abundance of fresh food which kept off scurvy, and salt which was required for the primary processing of pelts.<sup>22</sup> By the nineteenth century, maritime fur trade in the North Pacific had been actually

<sup>19</sup>Shemelin, I, 149, 152, 158.

<sup>20</sup>Lisiansky, I, 166-67, 178, 180-81, 184-85, 202-03.

<sup>21</sup>Berkh, p. 161.

<sup>22</sup>Langsdorff, I, 166-67.

monopolized by the "Bostonians"--the reason why mostly American merchantmen visited Hawaii.<sup>23</sup>

The "invasion" of foreigners (haole) interrupted the independent evolution of Hawaii society touching off manifold changes in the islanders' way of life and bringing them harsh trials. The writings by members of the Krusenstern-Lisyansky expedition reflect this complex and contradictory period in Hawaiian history, when, on the one hand, the rate of social development sped and some technical achievements of Western Civilization were borrowed, and, on the other hand, adverse consequences of regular contacts with foreigners already began to make themselves felt.

The study of data of this expedition as well as of reports made by other voyagers who visited Hawaii at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century gives rise to a major problem: the scholar should see the difference between the traditional features which had existed back in the pre-contact period and the innovations which arose in the transitional period due to contacts with foreigners. These innovations are more easily discernible in the sphere of the Hawaiians' material culture and economic occupations while in discussing their social organization and relations between the commoners (*maka'ainana*) and chiefs (*ali'i*) scholars sometimes exhibit a trend toward transferring to the pre-contact period the situation which had developed at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

With an eye to this problem, an attempt will now be made to make a brief survey of the reports about Hawaii left by the participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition.

The works by these voyagers, notably the book by Shemelin, contain a number of data on agriculture, the fundamental branch of the Hawaiian economy. The voyagers discussed in particular traditional crops and other plants introduced by Europeans, irrigation structures, and methods of taro growing.<sup>25</sup> Langsdorff<sup>26</sup> and Lisyansky were right in predicting a great future to Hawaiian sugar cane. But in making this point Lisyansky assumed

<sup>23</sup>H. W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii. The Pioneers, 1789-1843*. (Berkeley: Stanford University Press, 1942), p. 13; Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov*, pp. 45-67.

<sup>24</sup>This problem is considered in M. Kelly's article, "Some Problems with Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture," Genevieve A. Highland and others, *Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1967), pp. 399-410.

<sup>25</sup>Shemelin, I, 152-55, 160. Korobitsyn, p. 171. Report of Hieromonk, 1.38. Berkh, pp. 164-65.

<sup>26</sup>Langsdorff, I, 169.

that the cane would “bring the islanders great wealth if they decide to turn it into sugar or rum.”<sup>27</sup> As is known, under the conditions of foreign domination sugar cane brought “great wealth” to American planters rather than the indigenous population.<sup>28</sup>

Discussing the domestic animals, pigs, dogs and hens which the Hawaiians had before the discovery of the archipelago by Captain Cook and mentioning the goats and sheep which were introduced here by foreigners,<sup>29</sup> the Russian voyagers emphasized the fate of the cattle which had been brought here by George Vancouver. In an effort to insure the animals’ safety in 1794, Vancouver obtained from the Kamehameha-headed council of chiefs a ten-year taboo (*kapu*) on all cattle he had brought. Left to their own devices, the animals soon grew wild. Moving to the mountain forests, they quickly multiplied. Protected by the formidable taboo, they did great damage to the islanders by freely descending to the valleys, trampling the fields, spoiling fruit trees, etc. As Korobitsyn put it, “they have grown so wild that they attack people like beasts.”<sup>30</sup> By the time the taboo was lifted large herds of wild cattle had roamed Hawaii Island. They had become immune as Kamehameha’s property. “The islanders do not kill this cattle and do not use it either,” wrote Shemelin. “Foreigners alone, with the king’s permission, sometimes kill several animals . . .”<sup>31</sup> Only in the Kamehameha estate, in the village of Kealakekua, did V. N. Berkh see a “tame cow with a calf.”<sup>32</sup>

Writing about the Hawaiians’ traditional food, Lisiansky and Shemelin touched on methods of cooking and preserving some foods and, in this connection, offered a fairly detailed description of the local earth oven.<sup>33</sup> More briefly, they gave accounts of the method of making the intoxicating ritual beverage kava (*‘awa*), whose drinking was a privilege of the chiefs.<sup>34</sup>

The writings by members of the expedition staff also contain data on the design and interior of the traditional Hawaiian dwelling, which, for

<sup>27</sup>Lisiansky, I, 213.

<sup>28</sup>See Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii. A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), ch. 12; Daniel D. Tumarkin, *Gavaiskiy narod i amerikanskiye kolonizatory, 1820-65 gg.* [The Hawaiian People and the American Colonizers, 1820-65] (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1971), ch. V.

<sup>29</sup>Shemelin, I, 152; Korobitsyn, p. 171; Report of Hieromonk, 1.38.

<sup>30</sup>Korobitsyn, p. 171. See also Lisiansky, I, 225-26.

<sup>31</sup>Shemelin, I, 152.

<sup>32</sup>Berkh, p. 165.

<sup>33</sup>Lisiansky I, 209-10; Shemelin I, 159-60.

<sup>34</sup>Shemelin, I, 154; Krusenstern, I, 236.

ritual considerations, consisted of six individual structures. As Lisiansky put it, the “palace” of Kamehameha in Kealahou “except for its large size, was exactly like the others” but each structure “stands on an elevated stone platform.”<sup>35</sup>

All voyagers who wrote about the Hawaiians discussed their appearance, clothes, haircuts, and decorations. In particular, attention is merited by the description of men’s and women’s haircuts.<sup>36</sup> In discussing the traditional everyday clothes made from tapa (the male loin-cloth *malo*, the female skirt *pa’u* and the cape *kihei* which was worn during heavy rains or in cool periods) as well as the chiefs’ ceremonial attires (the cloaks *‘ahu’ula* and the helmets *mahiola* made from bird feathers),<sup>37</sup> the Russian voyagers, at the same time, said that the Hawaiians had developed a fashion for foreign worn-out clothes.

While the chief who was in charge of the Kamehameha estate in Kealahou went aboard the Russian ship in canvas trousers and a satin waistcoat over his naked body,<sup>38</sup> ordinary islanders, said Korobitsyn, were dressed each in his own fashion: “having no shirts, trousers and shoes, some wore frock-coats, others caftans (very long male coats), still others sailors’ jerseys and hats.”<sup>39</sup> “An odd picture!” exclaimed Gedeon. “One walks out in a caftan alone without a shirt and trousers on, another in a camisole or waistcoat, a third in ordinary or sailor’s trousers alone.”<sup>40</sup> This fashion did not emerge of its own accord. It was introduced by foreign sailors, primarily the “Bostonians,” who strove to obtain necessary provisions for next to nothing. While nails, pieces of iron, beads and other European trinkets had already ceased to be a novelty and elicited barely any demand,<sup>41</sup> foreigners received large amounts of food and some other supplies in exchange for worn-out clothes.<sup>42</sup> There arose a substantial demand

<sup>35</sup>Lisiansky I, 172-73, 177, 208-09. See also Korobitsyn, p. 173.

<sup>36</sup>Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, 1.171-78; Shemelin I, 143, 151; Lisiansky I, 204-05; Report of Hieromonk, 1.37; N. P. Rezanov, “Pervoye puteshestviye rossiyan vokrug sveta [The First voyage of the Russians around the world],” *Otechestvennye Zapiski*, 24 (1825), 249.

<sup>37</sup>Lisiansky, I, 205-06; Shemelin I, 155; Korobitsyn, p. 171; Journal of M. Ratmanov, 1.50.

<sup>38</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.37.

<sup>39</sup>Korobitsyn, pp. 169-70.

<sup>40</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.37-38.

<sup>41</sup>Lisiansky, I, 207; Krusenstern I, 239; Report of Hieromonk, 1.38; Letter of F. Romberkh to his friends, 16 August 1804, ORGPB, Collection of A. A. Titov, N 791, 1.37. Romberkh (Romberg) was one of the *Nadezhda* officers.

<sup>42</sup>Lisiansky, I, 206; Korobitsyn, p. 170. [A practice Lisiansky and his men continued, “we parted here with all our rags, in exchange for provisions and other articles which we were in want.” Editor’s comments].



for wool cloth: some islanders had begun to make cloth *pa'us* and *malos*.<sup>43</sup>

As was pointed out by some of the voyagers, tattoo was not widespread among the Hawaiians and was far less sophisticated than on Nuku Hiva,<sup>44</sup> but, curiously, its motifs also reflected the changes which had taken place in Hawaii. Rezanov and Langsdorff said that the islanders who had visited the *Nadezhda*, alongside geometric ornaments, lizards, and fishes, had had goats and guns with bayonets tattooed on their bodies.<sup>45</sup>

Of the Hawaiian handicraft items, the Russian voyagers noticed above all tapa (*kapa*), artistically decorated, sturdy bark-cloth. Lisyansky left behind a fairly elaborate description of how it was manufactured.<sup>46</sup> "The local people would appear to have a great ability and taste for handicrafts; all things they make are extremely good; but their gift for cloth-making simply surpasses the imagination," he writes about the Hawaiian tapa. "The blend of colors, excellence of design and perfect observation of proportions would earn fame to any manufacturer even in Europe."<sup>47</sup> The members of the expedition staff also noted the craftsmanship of the Hawaiian canoe builders.<sup>48</sup> But they must have failed to notice that in those years the Hawaiians had successfully begun to master Western crafts.<sup>49</sup>

The manifold changes in the islanders' life due to the development of contacts with foreigners could not leave the power structure unaffected. When Captain Cook's expedition was staying in Hawaii there were four small potestarian (pre-state) formations with centres on Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. Shortly, an internecine struggle broke out on all these islands which became far more bloody due to the emergence of firearms. As Vancouver wrote, the foreign sailors and traders deliberately whipped up and supported the strife in order to secure profitable sales of the arms and ammunition they brought.<sup>50</sup>

The succession of wars which for many years convulsed the archi-

<sup>43</sup>Krusenstern, I, 234; Report of Hieromonk, 1.38; Journal of Ratmanov, 1.28; Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov, N 24, p. 1332.

<sup>44</sup>Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, 1.186-87; Report of Hieromonk, 1.37; Langsdorff, I, 164.

<sup>45</sup>Rezanov, p. 250; Langsdorff, I, 164.

<sup>46</sup>Lisyansky, I, 214-15.

<sup>47</sup>Lisyansky, I, 213-14.

<sup>48</sup>Krusenstern, I, 237; Journal of M. Ratmanov, 1.49; Langsdorff, I, 165.

<sup>49</sup>See John Turnbull, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1800-1804*, 3 vols. (London: Richard Phillips, 1805), II, 58; Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World from 1806-1812* (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1816), p. 199.

<sup>50</sup>George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, 3 vols. (London: Robinson & Edwards, 1798), I, 186-87; II, 190-91.

pelago was won by fearless energetic Kamehameha, who, during the visit of Captain Cook, was the ruler of one of the districts on the island of Hawaii. By 1796, he had gained possession of all islands except Kauai and Niihau. The history of the internecine wars which were waged in Hawaii between 1782 and 1795 is fairly elaborately discussed in Lisyansky's book,<sup>52</sup> but the use of these data is impeded by the distorted transliteration of the names of the parties to the strife.

Kamehameha's victories were more than successful conquest campaigns (temporary unification of several islands under the rule of a victorious chief had also been observed in the pre-contact period). They marked a turning point in the formation of statehood, a transition from chiefdom to kingdom. This complex process to some extent is reflected in writings by members of the first Russian round-the-world expedition. Lisyansky, for instance, noted that the king wielded "autocratic power" in Hawaii while his possessions were "deemed to be hereditary" but he made the reservation that "it seldom happens that the strongest man makes no claims after the king's death" adding that in strength and influence some of the chiefs were equals of the king.<sup>51</sup>

Gaining possession of one island or another, Kamehameha destroyed the local rulers<sup>53</sup> and effected an overall redistribution of lands. Leaving some of them in his personal possession, he allotted large plots of land to his closest followers who in turn allotted land to the lower-rank *ali'i* who depended on them.<sup>54</sup> Such a system of land distribution and the resulting system of multistage dependence<sup>55</sup> were the development and adaptation of the customs which had existed before the arrival of the Europeans in the new situation.<sup>56</sup> But the rise of "viceroys" and "viceregents" who were completely dependent on Kamehameha and obeyed his orders<sup>57</sup> in individual islands and districts was an obvious innovation and one of the hallmarks of the formation of a centralized state in Hawaii. The system of organization of state power in the more developed form in which it existed in the closing years of Kamehameha's life is surveyed by the Russian

<sup>51</sup>Lisyansky, I, 190.

<sup>52</sup>Lisyansky, I, 916-22.

<sup>53</sup>Berkh, p. 160.

<sup>54</sup>Shemelin, I, 155.

<sup>55</sup>Lisyansky, I, 191, 227-28; Shemelin, I, 155.

<sup>56</sup>E. S. C. Handy, "Government and Society," in *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1965), p. 37.

<sup>57</sup>Lisyansky, I, 224; Report of Hieromonk, 1.37; Korobitsyn, p. 172.

navigators Otto E. Kotzebue and Vasilii M. Golovnin<sup>58</sup> who visited the archipelago between 1816 and 1818.<sup>59</sup>

Gradually creating a new apparatus of coercion, the emerging royal power continued to make extensive use of the traditional forms and methods of social regulation and of insuring the rule of chiefs, especially those related to religion. “All local civic and religious enactments are taboos,” wrote Lisyansky. “This word has different meanings but, properly speaking, it designates bans. The king is free to impose a taboo on anything he wishes. However, some taboos are subject to his own observation.”<sup>60</sup> “Among the sacrifices are fruit, pigs and dogs,” continued Lisyansky. “Of people only prisoners, general trouble-makers and government opponents are killed in honor of the gods. The latter sacrifice bears a political rather than religious character.”<sup>61</sup>

As Lisyansky and his fellow-voyagers pointed out, taboos (*kapu*) controlled all aspects of Hawaiian life. In particular, there were a number of bans on women.<sup>62</sup> But at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, taboos were primarily a tool of oppression by the nobility of the commoners (*maka‘ainana*). The well-known poet and naturalist A. Chamisso, who visited Hawaii together with Kotzebue, justly saw the taboos’ main social function in the fact that they “separate one social category from another creating impregnable obstacles between the classes of people.”<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Otto 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], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Gretsh, 1821-23), pp. 38-39; Vasilii M. Golovnin, *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta . . . v 1817-19 godakh* [A Voyage round the world . . . in 1817-19], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Morskoi, 1822), I, 308, 314, 324, 334, 349-50.

<sup>59</sup>The American researcher M. Kelly assumes that the “resemblances to European feudalism” noted in Hawaii by William Ellis and Sheldon Dibble in the 1820s and 1830s were mainly due to the fact that “Western feudal forms had been used as the patterns after which Kamehameha’s government was structured according to descriptions provided him by agents of Western culture,” primarily Vancouver (pp. 402 and 407). The present author, however, assumes that it was not so much due to the advice taken from foreigners as to the regularities in the development of Hawaiian society, which had exhibited a trend toward the formation of feudal-type relations even before the archipelago was discovered by Captain Cook. The islands’ unification under Kamehameha’s rule and the resulting changes stimulated the maturing of feudal relations and a relevant power structure.

<sup>60</sup>Lisyansky, I, 194.

<sup>61</sup>Lisyansky, I, 197.

<sup>62</sup>Korobitsyn, p. 172; Lisyansky, I, 210-11; Report of Hieromonk, 1.38.

<sup>63</sup>A. Chamisso “*Nablyudeniya i zamechaniya yestestvoispytatelya ekspeditsii* [Observations and notes of a naturalist of the expedition],” in Kotzebue, III, 395.

Communication with foreigners who freely violated the taboos gradually eroded the prestige of the old faith in the islanders' eyes. This began to take distinct forms in the closing years of Kamehameha's life.<sup>64</sup> But when the archipelago was visited by the first Russian round-the-world expedition, this process must have been in its infancy. This explains why the voyagers wrote nothing about it.

Lisyansky and his fellow-voyagers failed to grasp the dogmatic aspect of Hawaiian religion, but they noted its inherent polytheism and faith in afterlife. They made fairly elaborate descriptions of temples with their statues of gods. "Some of them," said Lisyansky, "represent the gods of war, others of peace, still others of glee and amusement, etc."<sup>65</sup> According to Lisyansky and Korobitsyn, besides priests, who enjoyed major influence and adhered to the chiefs, there were sorcerers who practiced evil magic; they were hired in order to doom the enemy or offender to death. Both voyagers quite materialistically attributed the effectiveness of this magic to the fact that the victim was informed about the fate which awaited him: "On learning this, his rival, without waiting for retribution from the gods for the offence he committed, loses his peace of mind and even goes insane, due to which many of them . . . take their own lives."<sup>66</sup>

On discussing the Hawaiian calendar, Lisyansky listed the main religious rites and ceremonies which fell on different months<sup>67</sup> offering in this connection details about the fertility festival *makahiki* which partly resembled ancient Greek Olympic Games. Data on this celebration are also contained in Gedeon's account.

The Russian voyagers said that *makahiki* fell on the twelfth Hawaiian lunar month, beginning in October.<sup>68</sup> "The people spend a whole month," said Lisyansky, "engaging in all possible entertainment like songs, games and sham battles. The king, wherever he stays, must inaugurate this celebration himself. Before sunrise he dons a richly decorated cloak and . . . sails off from the shore so as to enable himself to return by sunrise. One of the strongest and most skilled warriors is appointed for meeting the king. During the king's alongshore sailing he follows the royal canoe. As soon as it reaches land and the king steps ashore and throws off the cloak the war-

<sup>64</sup>Kotzebue, II, 247; Chamisso, pp. 307-08; Golovnin, I, 357.

<sup>65</sup>Lisyansky, I, 197, 173-76; Korobitsyn, p. 173.

<sup>66</sup>Korobitsyn, pp. 173-74. See Also Lisyansky, I, 197-98.

<sup>67</sup>Lisyansky, I, 194-97.

<sup>68</sup>David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951), p. 141. According to more exact data, which were registered later, *makahiki* lasted four lunar months. The Hawaiian year began in November.

rior, staying not further than 30 steps away, throws a spear at him with all his might, which the king either must catch or be killed, for in this case, Hawaiians explain, there is not the slightest dissembling. On catching the spear, the king turns its blunt end up and, holding it in the armpit, continues on his way to the *heiau*, or the main temple of the gods.”<sup>69</sup> “After this,” Gedeon extended Lisiansky’s account, “the high priest meets the king, takes his spear and, by the sounds of festive exclamations of the whole people, takes it to the above-mentioned *heiau*. When he reappears therefrom and the whole ceremony is completed military fun begins.”<sup>70</sup>

Although they gave the first account of this ancient ritual which opened the annual *makahiki* in that period, too, and correctly interpreted some features of the celebration, Lisiansky and Gedeon failed to disclose its main social function. The fact that *makahiki* included the collection of taxes in favor of the paramount chief, who was held to be the embodiment of Lono, the god of fertility, in peacetime escaped their notice. According to Hawaiian beliefs, the offerings to the sacred ruler (he shared them with his retainers and priests) were supposed to insure plentiful crops in the following year.<sup>71</sup>

While the members of the Cook expedition, as they themselves admitted, failed to discover anything definite about the Hawaiians’ matrimonial customs,<sup>72</sup> Lisiansky and his fellow voyagers also attempted to collect relevant data. “There are no wedding rituals here,” said Lisiansky. “When a man and a woman take a fancy for each other they begin to live together and do so until they quarrel. In the case of mutual displeasure they part all this having nothing to do with the government. Every islander may have as many wives as he is able to support. But usually a king has three of them, a nobleman two, and a commoner one.”<sup>73</sup> As if correcting this statement, Gedeon wrote, “When they are about to marry the bride gives her groom a shell which she normally wears on her hand while the groom gives her a *mara* or *mana* (*pa’u?*), a word in their language which means a piece of some varicolored fabric, and also presents to her relatives.”<sup>74</sup> From these desultory data which are confirmed by other

<sup>69</sup>Lisiansky, I, 194-95.

<sup>70</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.38-39.

<sup>71</sup>John P. Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1959), pp. 75-76.

<sup>72</sup>J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1955-1967), III, 596, 624.

<sup>73</sup>Lisiansky, I, 211.

<sup>74</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.38.

sources, it follows that the dominant form of marital relations among the *maka'ainana* was pairing marriage while the *ali'i* was usually polygamous. To this it can be added that, according to Golovnin, there were cases of polyandry in Hawaii. It was the privilege of women who stood at higher states of the social hierarchy.<sup>75</sup>

The writings by participants in the expedition contain some data on the Hawaiians' burial rites. "Mourning for a dead person," said Lisyansky, "is expressed here by knocking out the front teeth, cutting the hair and scratching the body until blood shows in different places."<sup>76</sup> The *Neva* commander provided details about the burial ritual of the paramount chief, at different stages of which human offerings were made.<sup>77</sup> This was followed by a suspension of all sexual taboos and something like a return to promiscuity. "When the king dies all his subjects walk about naked," Lisyansky wrote reporting an account by a Kealakekua temple priest, "and indulge in debauchery for a whole month."<sup>78</sup> "No woman, not even the noblest category," said Gedeon, "can refuse the most shameful request to the least islander."<sup>79</sup> Something like this took place in individual districts when the local *ali'i* died but it lasted only several days.<sup>80</sup>

Although, as has been pointed out, the epidemic prevented the members of the first Russian round-the-world expedition from meeting Kamehameha, their writings contain a fairly large amount of data about this Hawaiian ruler whom the British navigator John Turnbull compared to Napoleon during his visit in 1803.<sup>81</sup> These data characterize Kamehameha's personality and activity while they also shed extra light on the situation in Hawaii at the close of the century.

The members of the expedition staff primarily noted Kamehameha's outstanding personal qualities. Lisyansky, for instance, said that "according to all data I have collected, he is deemed to be a man of rare gifts and great boldness."<sup>82</sup> "Tomoomo (Kamehameha)," Langsdorff observed, "exhibited a great deal of intellect, foresight and efficiency,"<sup>83</sup> saying that Kamehameha exercised concern for the spread of new production skills

<sup>75</sup>Golovnin, I, 300.

<sup>76</sup>Lisyansky, I, 204; see also Korobitsyn, p. 174; Journal of Ratmanov, 1.49-50.

<sup>77</sup>Lisyansky, I, 201-03.

<sup>78</sup>Lisyansky, I, 202.

<sup>79</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.38.

<sup>80</sup>Lisyansky, I, 202.

<sup>81</sup>Turnbull, II, 30-31.

<sup>82</sup>Lisyansky, I, 189.

<sup>83</sup>Langsdorff, I, 168.

and occupations among the Hawaiians. Shemelin added that he “does not think it beneath him to learn knowledge befitting his title.”<sup>84</sup>

Kamehameha and his followers from the very beginning had seen the danger which threatened the Hawaiians on the part of the foreigners. They decided to establish friendly relations with the captains of foreign vessels in order, first, to prevent, as much as possible, clashes in which all advantages were on the foreigners’ side and, second, to obtain more fire-arms which were necessary for the conquest of the whole archipelago and its subsequent protection from the foreigners themselves. According to Lisiansky, Kamehameha secured a situation in which foreign sailors felt that they were completely safe in his possessions and absolutely confident that they would find all necessary supplies here.<sup>85</sup> As a result, the majority of the maritime captains preferred to visit the Kamehameha-ruled islands avoiding contacts with his rivals. Lisiansky added that up to eighteen American ships annually called at Kamehameha’s possessions while Kamehameha (the ruler of Kauai and Niihau) complained that “nobody comes to his lands.”<sup>86</sup>

This policy brought Kamehameha major benefits. “Ten years before this iron in Oweeghee [Hawaii] was so rare that a small piece of it was regarded as the best present but now nobody will so much as look at it,” observed Lisiansky. “. . . The United American States provide him with cannons, falconets [small guns], rifles and other ammunition. All these things are therefore no longer a surprise to them.”<sup>87</sup>

As Rezanov pointed out, Kamehameha encouraged foreigners to settle in his possessions.<sup>88</sup> He offered the foreigner “useful” land, sometimes whole estates, with gratuitous labor of the local islanders.<sup>89</sup> At the first stage, needing foreigners for training his troops and building European-type ships, Kamehameha offered employment to any foreigners, which did a lot of harm to the islanders. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he took a more selective approach to the foreigners who wanted to settle in the state he was creating. According to Langsdorff, Kamehameha began to offer employment “only to well-behaved people with good recommendations of their captains.” Particular welcome was accorded to

<sup>84</sup>Shemelin, I, 151-52.

<sup>85</sup>Lisiansky, I, 189.

<sup>86</sup>Lisiansky, I, 184, 207.

<sup>87</sup>Lisiansky, I, 190.

<sup>88</sup>Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, in Tikhmenev, II, 280.

<sup>89</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.37. [Lisiansky reports that Kamehameha had fifty Europeans in his service. Editor’s comments.]

sailors who were skilled at carpentry. Kamehameha continued to attach immense importance to the construction of a European-type fleet.<sup>90</sup>

But then, Kamehameha must have realized that not only fugitive convicts and other foreign vagabonds but all foreigners, including the most “well-intentioned” ones, were dangerous to the Hawaiians. This led him to take a number of measures in order to prevent them from striking deep roots in the islands. Although heeding foreigners’ advice, Kamehameha refused to be led by them. This feature of Kamehameha’s policy, which was vividly emphasized by Golovnin<sup>91</sup> had barely been reflected in writings by participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition possibly because their main informers had been John Young and other foreigners. The essence of the matter was no doubt well expressed by the Russian captain M. N. Vasilyev, who visited Hawaii in 1821: “Aware of the advantages of the Europeans, he [Kamehameha] gave them welcome treatment in order to provide education for his people but gave foreigners no power.”<sup>92</sup>

Kamehameha fairly well adapted himself to the new situation which had arisen from the development of trade with foreigners and made efforts to turn these relations to maximum account. As mentioned above, while the Krusenstern-Lisyansky expedition was staying in the archipelago, the common islanders especially strove to obtain from the foreigners their clothes and wool cloth. Meanwhile, Kamehameha, according to Lisyansky and Shemelin, bartered mostly what was necessary for his fleet.<sup>93</sup> Besides, he comparatively soon grasped the functions of money and the price of silver and now frequently took only Spanish dollars and piasters in exchange for some supplies.<sup>94</sup> Kamehameha paid this money for a “Bostonian” three-master,<sup>95</sup> the first of several big ships he acquired in subsequent years.<sup>96</sup> His stores were full of various foreign goods.<sup>97</sup>

In an effort to increase his income while uniting the archipelago, Kamehameha concentrated in his hands the sale of pigs and sandalwood to

<sup>90</sup>Langsdorff, I, 167-68.

<sup>91</sup>Golovnin, I, 333, 340, 343-44.

<sup>92</sup>M. N. Vasilyev, “Zapiski o prebyvanii na Gavaiskikh ostrovakh [Notes on the sojourn in the Hawaiian Islands],” TSGAVMF, f.213, op. 1, d. 104, 1.34-35.

<sup>93</sup>Shemelin, I, 157; Langsdorff, I, 168.

<sup>94</sup>Shemelin, I, 157; Langsdorff, I, 167.

<sup>95</sup>Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, in Tikhmenev, II, 280.

<sup>96</sup>Bradley, p. 56.

<sup>97</sup>Shemelin, I, 157.



foreigners.<sup>98</sup> Attempts to introduce such monopoly may have been made already in 1804. This is evidenced by the ban Lisiansky mentioned on the sale of pigs without the knowledge of the “viceregent” to the Russian expedition.<sup>99</sup>

A remarkable feature of Kamehameha’s economic policy was his urge to remove dependence on American merchants who had actually monopolized trade with Hawaii. With this in view, he had begun independent trade with the northwest coast of America, Kamchatka, and especially China.<sup>100</sup> Rezanov and Langsdorff said that in 1806 Kamehameha had applied to A. A. Baranov, the chief manager of the colonies of the Russian-American Company, with a proposal for establishing regular trade having in mind barter of Hawaiian food for cloths, iron, ship-timber and furs.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, as Rezanov then wrote, “Toome-ome-o himself wants to come to Novo-Arkhangelsk in order to launch the trade.”<sup>102</sup> Prospects for establishing direct relations between Hawaii and the Russian settlements in America must have alarmed the “Bostonians.” They took steps to initiate a quarrel between Kamehameha and Baranov.<sup>103</sup> Later, the Americans succeeded in foiling Kamehameha’s attempt to begin the export of sandalwood to China aboard his own vessels.<sup>104</sup>

According to Lisiansky, traditionally, the high chief relied on his bodyguard. Besides, he could order all *ali’i* with their *maka’ainana* subordinates to report for war, what Lisiansky described as a militia.<sup>105</sup> In creating a new type of armed forces, Kamehameha leaned on these traditions. As the archipelago was being united more and more, detachments of skilled warriors joined his bodyguard. Aided by foreigners, Kamehameha trained them in handling firearms and thus gradually created something like a standing army. A special role in the armed forces was now

<sup>98</sup>Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811-14*, trans. and ed. J. V. Huntington (New York: Redfield, 1854), p. 60; Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), p. 204.

<sup>99</sup>Lisiansky, I, 169.

<sup>100</sup>Turnbull, II, 78-82.

<sup>101</sup>Resanov to Rummyantsev, 17 June 1806, II, 280; Langsdorff, I, 168.

<sup>102</sup>Rezanov to Rummyantsev, 17 June 1806, II, 280; Langsdorff, I, 168.

<sup>103</sup>See Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov*, p. 138.

<sup>104</sup>K. Khlebnikov, “Zapiski o koloniyakh v Amerike Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii [Notes about the Colonies in America of the Russian-American Company],” Archives of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of History of the USSR, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, collect. 115, ed. khr. 447, 1.94-95; James J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, 2nd ed. (Boston: J. Munroe & Co., 1844), p. 205.

<sup>105</sup>Lisiansky, I, 191-92.

played by the “Guards” who took over some functions of the traditional bodyguard. They always stayed with Kamehameha.<sup>106</sup>

In 1804, Kamehameha concentrated on Oahu a large force which, Lisiansky wrote, “can be deemed to be invincible between the South Sea islanders.”<sup>107</sup> According to John Young, as quoted by Lisiansky, Kamehameha had there 7,000 warriors and fifty armed foreigners; his artillery numbered sixty pieces and his fleet consisted of hundreds of large war canoes and twenty-one European-type schooners with a displacement of ten to thirty tons.<sup>108</sup> But the reorganization of the armed forces was then far from completed. Alongside the increased bodyguard which must have formed the nucleus of this army, it included a host of militiamen who were predominantly armed with traditional weapons. Apparently, this is pointed out in statements by Lisiansky and Berkh who say that the 7,000 army had only 600 rifles, that Kamehameha had ordered storing stones for slings and, most important, in an unambiguous phrase of Berkh saying that “Tomi-Omi’s huge militia, due to diseases which had hit it, had to be disbanded without any action.”<sup>109</sup> Subsequently, the permanent army became Kamehameha’s main fighting force. The militia was no longer called. But in order to maintain the morale and perfect the military skill of his subjects, Kamehameha now and then held exercises and reviews on all main islands.<sup>110</sup>

Lisiansky and his fellow voyagers left an account of a meeting with Kaumualii whose armed forces were in every respect a great deal inferior to Kamehameha’s army concentrated on Oahu.<sup>111</sup> “He explained to us with tears in his eyes,” recalled Berkh, “that any minute he could be attacked by Tomi-Omi and, because he had poor forces, he feared he might become his victim.”<sup>112</sup> According to Berkh, Kaumualii “tried to persuade us most forcefully to remain here for a while in order to protect him.”<sup>113</sup> The same point is made in Gedeon’s account.<sup>114</sup> Korobitsyn even said: “He wished our ship would cast anchor at his island for protecting it from King Tomi-Omi, for which reason he would agree to cede his island to

<sup>106</sup>Lisiansky, I, 191; Franchère, p. 68.

<sup>107</sup>Lisiansky, I, 189-90.

<sup>108</sup>Lisiansky, I, 221-22.

<sup>109</sup>Berkh, p. 161; Lisiansky, I, 221. The Emphasis is mine.

<sup>110</sup>Golovnin, I, 316; Campbell, p. 207.

<sup>111</sup>Lisiansky, I, 185.

<sup>112</sup>Berkh, p. 160.

<sup>113</sup>Berkh, p. 160.

<sup>114</sup>Report of Hieromonk, 1.39.

Russia.”<sup>115</sup> If the latter statement was true this episode can be viewed as something like the prehistory of the notorious Schäffer Adventure.<sup>116</sup>

The epidemic which dreadfully thinned the ranks of Kamehameha’s army (he barely missed losing his own life) disrupted the conquest of Kauai and Niihau.<sup>117</sup> However, Kamehameha’s superiority was so obvious that, without waiting for the invasion, Kaumualii agreed to become his vassal. The final reconciliation took place when Kaumualii arrived in Oahu in order to declare his obedience to Kamehameha in 1810. Such was the conclusion of the unification of Hawaii.<sup>118</sup>

No doubt Kamehameha’s activity generally met the objective requirements of the development of Hawaiian society and, most important, impeded the seizure of the archipelago by foreign powers. But it should be borne in mind that he was a despotic ruler, that the creation of his Europeanized army and fleet, the conquest campaigns and the employment of “useful” foreigners were a heavy burden to the common islanders. This feature of the situation in Hawaii was justly observed in Shemelin’s book.

“The situation of the land cultivator is extremely poor and onerous here,” wrote Shemelin, “for the king, despite everything, sometimes confiscates up to two-thirds of the taro and [sweet] potatoes he grows. There are many people who, keeping plenty of their own pigs and dogs, have

<sup>115</sup>Korobitsyn, p. 175.

<sup>116</sup>On the Schäffer adventure, see Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov*, pp. 134-66. [The Schäffer adventure 1815-17 was an attempt by Georg Anton Schäffer to gain control of as much land on Kauai and Oahu as possible and to monopolize the sandalwood trade on Kauai for the Russian-American Company who had sent him to Hawaii to investigate a Russian ship that had wrecked on Kauai. He allied himself with Kaumualii who promised him “one-half of the island of Oahu for his help against Kamehameha.” The Russians disavowed his actions and Schäffer was forced from the island by both the Americans and the islanders. Ed.] See also Richard Pierce, *Russia’s Adventure 1815-17* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), and N. N. Bolkhovitinov, “The Adventure of Doctor Schäffer in Hawaii, 1815-19,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 7 (1973), 55-78.

<sup>117</sup>Berkh, p. 161, says that “superstition” alone had kept Kamehameha from making another attempt to invade Kauai. “On his first expedition,” he wrote, “he took along a multitude of idols, which on return, for failure to promote his success, he burned down in front of everybody in a square. The priests interpreted this act to his disadvantage therefore preventing his bold attempt to make another expedition.” As far as I know, this statement by Berkh is not confirmed by other sources. Besides, Berkh did not know that Kamehameha had first attempted to invade Kauai and Niihau back in 1796. But on that occasion, a storm intensely damaged his fleet and a riot raised by several chiefs forced him to return to Hawaii. See W. R. Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . . in the Years 1795-98* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1804), pp. 70-71.

<sup>118</sup>Ii, pp. 79-83; R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1948), pp. 50-51.

never had an occasion to partake of, let alone eat, their meat. The present king, in addition to a heavy tribute, imposes the following burden on his subjects: he frequently gathers cultivators even from distant parts of the island, some for tilling his land, others for aiding in the construction of row boats [canoes], sometimes for building houses, sheds, etc., for which he not only pays them nothing but does not even feed them.”<sup>119</sup> Shemelin should have added that this was paralleled by more harsh oppression meted out to the commoners by the local nobility for, with the development of trade with foreigners, the *ali'i* were enabled to exchange the surplus product of the labor of the *maka'ainana* subordinated to them for foreign goods, which gave a powerful impetus to the stepping up of the exploitation.<sup>120</sup> It was precisely the deterioration of the common islanders' situation that, as Shemelin put it, resulted in the “difficulty of keeping oneself alive and hunger, which has taken the toll of many lives even in our time.”<sup>121</sup>

The unification of the archipelago under Kamehameha's rule and his wise policy toward the foreigners limited their freedom of action on the island and to some extent relieved some adverse consequences of the Hawaiians' acquaintance with Western Civilization. For instance, the internecine wars which had been fanned up by the foreigners and which became much more severe following the introduction of firearms, actually ceased in 1796.<sup>122</sup> However, the activity of this outstanding ruler, as follows from the accounts of navigators, including the participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition, failed to keep the islanders from the baneful effect of contacts with foreigners.

The European navigators who first visited Hawaii said that a host of women had reached their ships swimming or in boats.<sup>123</sup> This “pilgrimage” must have been something like a manifestation of hospitable hetaerism, which is shown by many peoples that stand at a similar stage of social evolution: at least in the first period, the Hawaiians looked upon the for-

<sup>119</sup>Shemelin, I, 156.

<sup>120</sup>The American missionaries Dibble and Richards who lived in Hawaii in the second quarter of the nineteenth century said that even before the archipelago had been discovered by the Cook expedition, the commoners had received not more than one-third of their output, the rest being grabbed by the chiefs and priests. Shemelin's statement reveals that, more probably, this took place at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century when various changes touched off by foreign invasion had set in on the islands.

<sup>121</sup>Shemelin, I, 156.

<sup>122</sup>Morgan, p. 25.

<sup>123</sup>Beaglehole, III, 486; George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World . . . in 1785-88* (London: George Goulding, 1789), p. 252.

eign seamen as visitors from unknown distant lands. Taking advantage of this custom and the relative freedom of extramarital sexual relations that prevailed on the islands, foreigners encouraged women by gifts to visit their ships gradually turning these visits into a vicious trade.

Already at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century “prostitution” here assumed fairly large proportions. The *Nadezhda* and the *Neva* had scarcely arrived at the southeastern coast of Hawaii when boats with women approached the ships.<sup>124</sup> “One elderly islander brought a very young girl, apparently his daughter, offering her in return for profit,” wrote Krusenstern. “Bashful and modest, she appeared to be completely innocent; but her father, unsuccessful in his intention, was greatly vexed at having brought his merchandise in vain.”<sup>125</sup> Lisyansky wrote that in the Kealakekua Bay the *Neva* had been surrounded by a venerable army but he had not allowed a single woman to come aboard the ship.<sup>126</sup> A factor behind the development of “prostitution” was intensified exploitation of the common islanders by the local nobility. Refuting the claim that the Polynesian women were “naturally wicked” Korobitsyn referred to the “dire plight of these peoples, which forces women to abandon all feeling of shame over the slightest trifle.”<sup>127</sup>

According to records made in Captain Cook’s journal, he attempted to prevent the spread of venereal disease to Hawaii but failed in his efforts.<sup>128</sup> Shortly, syphilis became one of the key sources of decrease of the indigenous population. The development of “prostitution” stimulated its spread among the Hawaiians. Participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition wrote that they had seen its ominous symptoms in many islanders.<sup>129</sup> The Hawaiians found themselves completely defenseless in the face of this formidable disease, which, Korobitsyn wrote, they attempted to heal by using some root.<sup>130</sup> Shemelin said that syphilis had also begun to spread here through inheritance: children had conceived it in their mothers’ wombs.<sup>131</sup> Foreign sailors also brought to Hawaii other infectious diseases which had previously been unknown here. Among these

<sup>124</sup>Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, 1.174-75, 178; Rezanov, p. 249.

<sup>125</sup>Krusenstern, I, 234.

<sup>126</sup>Lisyansky, I, 169-70. See also Report of Hieromonk, 1.37.

<sup>127</sup>Korobitsyn, p. 166.

<sup>128</sup>Beaglehole, III, 266, 474-75.

<sup>129</sup>Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov, N 24, p. 1333. Letter of F. Romberkh to his friends, 16 August 1804, 1.37.

<sup>130</sup>Korobitsyn, p. 171.

<sup>131</sup>Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, 1.186.

was the above-mentioned epidemic (apparently cholera), which raged in Oahu in 1804.

Hawaiian kava (*'awa*) has a comparatively low level of toxic properties. Besides, it was used only by chiefs. At the close of the eighteenth century, foreigners began to deliver increasing amounts of cheap brands of rum gradually accustoming the islanders to drinking.<sup>132</sup> The participants in the Krusenstern-Lisyansky expedition said nothing about this comparatively new object of barter, which, like the worn-out clothes, enabled the foreigners to obtain necessary supplies for a mere trifle. Shemelin, however, observed that some foreigner who had settled in Hawaii had added an extra source of alcohol poisoning of the islanders to the list by starting the manufacture of something like rum from the roots of a plant named *ti (ki)*.<sup>133</sup> In the closing years of Kamehameha's life, drunkenness in Hawaii became a major social evil.<sup>134</sup>

American shipmasters, said Shemelin, frequently took aboard Hawaiians "who serve them very well and cost the shipowners very little in terms of upkeep and payment."<sup>135</sup> Kamehameha did not obstruct this activity since he expected that the islanders would get back to Hawaii good sailors.<sup>136</sup> However, far from all of them returned for the "Bostonians" at times were not averse to selling recruited or kidnapped Hawaiians in slavery on the northwest coast of America in exchange for sea otter pelts or simply left them there if they no longer needed these people. Discussing these evil deeds, Shemelin added that American Indians bought Hawaiians "as offerings to a deity which they worshipped."<sup>137</sup> This statement is also confirmed by Vasilyev. "Some of the Americans, we were told, were so inhuman," he wrote, "that they sold for their benefit these kind Sandwich Islanders to Koloshs [Tlingits] who bought them for offerings."<sup>138</sup> In the second quarter of the nineteenth century when Hawaii became the main base of the US Pacific whaling fleet, the recruitment of young Hawaiians to whale boats became a serious factor behind the depopulation of the archipelago. Very few of these sailors returned to their native places.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>132</sup>Turnbull, II, 38.

<sup>133</sup>Shemelin, I, 159.

<sup>134</sup>Golovnin, I, 360.

<sup>135</sup>Shemelin, I, 158. See also Lisyansky, I, 212.

<sup>136</sup>Rezanov to Rummyantsev, 17 June 1806, II, 280.

<sup>137</sup>Shemelin, I, 158.

<sup>138</sup>Vasilyev, "Notes," 1.27.

<sup>139</sup>G. Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*, 2 vols. (London: Colburn, 1847), II, 15; H. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific* (New York: Collins, 1855), p. 396.

By 1800, the Hawaiian people had thus entered a period of harsh trials. Simultaneously, it will be recalled, foreigners initiated their early attempts on the independence of the archipelago, however, in the eyes of some foreign observers these negative trends were overshadowed by the changes which were brought about by Kamehameha.

Convinced of the equal ability of all peoples to develop their cultures and follow the road of progress, Lisiansky and Langsdorff assumed that the Hawaiians would soon be able to catch up in their development with the civilized peoples of Europe and America. "Apparently, it can be assumed," wrote Lisiansky, "that the Sandwich Islanders would achieve complete transformation within a short time,"<sup>140</sup> Langsdorff, noting that "this people is moving by giant strides towards civilization," predicted that the Hawaiian archipelago would "become an enlightened trading state sooner than any other one in the South Seas."<sup>141</sup> These voyagers made a correct appraisal of the Hawaiians. However, they underestimated the pernicious consequences of the coming of the foreigners to the islands.

The present paper, naturally, falls short of offering an all-around survey of the contribution made by the participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition to the study of the history and ethnography of Hawaii. In particular, the question of the Lisiansky-acquired ethnographic collections has been left out of the picture.<sup>142</sup> But what has been said, the present author feels, reveals that the expedition-obtained data add up to a valuable source which permits the scholar to form an opinion about the manifold changes in Hawaiian life which developed during the twenty-five years which followed the discovery of the archipelago by Captain Cook.

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<sup>140</sup>Lisiansky, I, 212. [Our English edition only states, "these islands will not long remain in their present barbarous state . . ." Ed.]

<sup>141</sup>Langsdorff, I, 167.

<sup>142</sup>Lisiansky, I, 169; "O postupivshikh v Museum redkostyakh ot kapitanov Povalishina i Lisianskogo [On the curiosities received by the Museum from Captains Povalishin and Lisiansky]," TSGAVMF, f. 215, op. 1, g. 762; Y. M. Likhtenberg, "Gavaiskiye kollektzii v sobraniyakh Muzeya antropologii i etnografii [The Hawaiian collections in the holdings of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography]," *Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i etnografii*, 19 (1960).