

The Adventures of Doctor Schäffer in Hawaii, 1815-1819

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The history of Russian America is rich with striking events, courageous voyages, grandiose projects, and rather modest practical results. One of the oddest and most exotic episodes in the history of the Russian-American Company (RAC) was the Hawaiian adventure of Dr. Schäffer. Until recently the Russian chapter in the history of the Hawaiian Islands (or Sandwich Islands, as they had been called in the 19th Century) remained almost unknown to a large portion of the public. Nevertheless this subject has been treated in specialized historical literature for over 100 years now, with a greater or lesser degree of reliability. For example Dr. Schäffer's Hawaiian expedition had been described at quite great length by his contemporary, and a remote participant of the events, K. T. Khlebnikov back in 1835.¹ P. A. Tikhmenev and H. H. Bancroft wrote about it later.² On request from the latter, the French ethnographer A. L. Pinart gathered a valuable collection of documents from the Russian archives in 1874.³ Unfortunately this information remained outside the awareness of investigators, and most succeeding authors (W. D. Alexander, N. Vishnyakov, and others) retold facts that already were known.⁴

It was not until the 1930's that a new step forward was made with publication of the papers by the American professor F. A. Golder and the Soviet scholar S. B. Okun'. Based on his earlier research in the Russian archives, F. A. Golder's paper makes a brief examination not only of Dr. Schäffer's actions in Hawaii but of projects proposed to the Russian Department of Foreign Affairs at the beginning of the 1820's by A. Ljungstedt and P. Dobell as well. As far as S. B. Okun' is concerned, in 1936 he published a number of important documents from the holdings of the Department of Manufactures and Internal Commerce for the first time in the pages of *Krasnogo Arkhiva*, and later he analyzed them in detail in a book on the RAC (1939).⁵ Okun's papers, unfortunately, promoted the unjustified thesis that G. Schäffer's attempt at seizing the Hawaiian Islands was apparently the "execution of a

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carefully thought-out plan formulated by the RAC and approved by the Tsarist government.”⁶

But this thesis was supported by neither Soviet nor American investigators. K. Mehnert noted that the postures of Schäffer, Baranov, the RAC, and the government differed sharply from one another.⁷ In fact, the documents not only did not support the thesis mentioned above, but they also evidenced a diametrically opposed situation. The Tsarist government was not involved at all in Dr. Schäffer’s adventures from the very beginning and later it categorically rejected the very idea of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to Russia.

The mentioned thesis was subjected to the most thorough and factual criticism in the book by the Soviet investigator D. D. Tumarkin in 1964. Although D. D. Tumarkin was not aware of the content of the instructions given to G. Schäffer in 1815 by A. A. Baranov, the chief executive of the Russian colonies in America, he justifiably raised doubts about the possibility that they contained an order for seizing the Hawaiian Islands. It is in D. D. Tumarkin’s book that important documentary material stored at the AVPR [Foreign Policy Archives of Russia] in Moscow, as well as at the TsGIA [Central State Historical Archives] and TsGAVMF SSSR [Central State Archives of the USSR Navy] in Leningrad are employed, and a detailed, competent outline of Russian-Hawaiian relations in the first two decades of the 19th Century is provided for the first time.⁸ But in my opinion D. D. Tumarkin became somewhat carried away when he denied that not only the Russian government, but the RAC as well and A. A. Baranov in particular had any vested interest in G. Schäffer’s actions.

The book written by R. Pierce, Queen’s University, Canada, is the latest major effort dealing specifically with G. Schäffer’s adventures on the Hawaiian Islands in 1815–1817. Although some American scholars had been aware of the copies of documents made by A. Pinart in his day, and just prior to the onset of World War II G. V. Lantzeff and S. G. Stewart translated them into English under the guidance of Prof. R. J. Kerner, it was not until 1965 that they were published by R. Pierce with a thorough foreword and commentary and finally became accessible to a wide academic public.⁹ As a result, by the mid 1960’s the array of the most important documentary sources on this subject had been discovered and studied.

The question naturally arises: Is there a need for returning once again to a study of this subject? Would this not simply be a repetition of facts already known, and do any sort of disputable problems remain in general? Even a brief examination of the historiography would show that we cannot harbor any special hopes of disclosing principally new documents and facts. However, not all aspects of Dr. Schäffer’s activity in Hawaii in 1816–1817, nor the posture of the Tsarist government and the RAC are treated adequately and objectively. Differences in some general conclusions also exist. Finally, perhaps the most significant fact is that not one of the previous investigators, including the best informed, had access to all or even the most important documentary evidence. D. D. Tumarkin was not familiar with the A. Pinart collection in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley or with some important docu-

ments in the Soviet archives (in particular, the extensive collection of micro-filmed RAC documents at both the AVPR and TsGADA [USSR Central State Archives of Ancient Documents]).¹⁰ As far as R. Pierce is concerned, his book loses a lot of impact because of his unfamiliarity with documents stored in the Soviet archives. Moreover, a comparison of Pierce's publication with the original manuscripts of the A. Pinart collection at the Bancroft Library reveals some omissions, inaccuracies, and small errors in the translation. The important documents of the early 1820's were, unfortunately, also found to be beyond the chronological bounds of R. Pierce's work.

Although the general history of the Hawaiian Islands and of the penetration of foreigners to the islands is well known, I must recall some of the most important facts. At the start of the 19th Century King Kamehameha (1753–1819), who was referred to as the Napoleon or Peter the Great of Polynesia, became the sovereign of the entire archipelago with the exception of the two northernmost islands, Kauai and Niihau, where his rival Kaumualii was entrenched. Kamehameha's attempts at organizing an invasion of Kauai in 1796 and 1804 were foiled by natural calamities—first by a violent storm, and latter by a plague epidemic. The superiority of his forces was so obvious, however, that in 1810 Kaumualii decided to officially recognize his vassalage and agreed to pay a modest annual tax.¹¹

Skillfully exploiting the rivalry among foreign powers, Kamehameha successfully upheld his independence. In 1794 the famous English sailor G. Vancouver talked him into accepting the protection of the British king and raising the English flag, and for greater "incontestability" of George III's rights of "sovereignty over the Sandwich Islands," he emplaced a copper tablet with an inscription to that effect.¹² The British government sensibly rejected Vancouver's "gift." Not possessing forces of any considerable size during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe for active expansion into the Hawaiian Islands region, Great Britain concentrated its attention on Australia and sections of Polynesia adjacent to it. At the same time Kamehameha united the entire archipelago very soon after without any sort of assistance from the British crown, and one could hardly hope to force his subordination to a foreign power.

But it was the Americans rather than the English that had the most considerable influence on the Hawaiian Islands. As early as the end of the 18th Century these islands had transformed into the principal base of the enterprising Bostonians, who had established extensive intermediary trade among Russian America, California, and China.¹³ John Jacob Astor, the founder of the famous dynasty of millionaires, took an active part in profitable trade of furs and sandalwood, for which a demand existed in Canton.¹⁴

The RAC also maintained more or less regular ties with the Hawaiian Islands beginning in 1804. Vessels sailing around the world stopped here; in 1807 P. Slobodchikov sailed here on the small schooner *Nikolai*. Through him Kamehameha sent A. A. Baranov special presents: "A helmet, and a cape from his own shoulders."¹⁵ Dispatching an exploratory expedition on the ship *Neva* at the end of 1808 with L. A. Hagemeister in command, A. A.

Baranov ordered him "to turn first to the Sandwich Islands to obtain adequate supplies of vital provisions, not only for the crew, but for this region as well, if that is possible, and to linger there during the turbulent time of the year," and then to turn his attention "to the most important object, exploration of islands hitherto discovered by no one" between Hawaii, Japan, and Kamchatka. L. A. Hagemeister accumulated information on the conditions at the islands and on their potential significance for supplying Russian possessions with foodstuffs. He considered it entirely possible to purchase a parcel of land on the islands, or even to seize them, for which two ships would be sufficient. The practical result of the expedition was the procurement of about 1,200 poods of salt, as well as a reserve of sandalwood.¹⁶ At the end of January 1815 the ship *Bering* was wrecked on the shores of Kauai, present there on order from A. A. Baranov for the purchase of foodstuffs. Cast ashore, the ship together with its cargo, which was valued at 100,000 rubles, was captured by King Kaumualii and the local inhabitants, according to the *Bering's* captain, Bennett. These were precisely the circumstances that served as the occasion for sending Dr. G. A. Schäffer (1779-1836) to Hawaii in the fall of 1815.¹⁷

It is difficult to say what led A. A. Baranov to decide upon Dr. Schäffer. Perhaps he felt that his specialty as a physician and a knowledge of foreign languages might assist G. A. Schäffer in fulfilling his mission. It is more likely, however, that there simply were no other candidates at that time in the Russian colonies in America. The initial purposes of Schäffer's expedition remain somewhat unclear. Upon returning to New Archangel [Sitka] in the summer of 1815, Captain Bennett argued the necessity for dispatching an armed expedition to the Hawaiian Islands. Two other American captains (Smith and MacNeil) also tried to persuade A. A. Baranov of the suitability of such a step. According to G. A. Schäffer's comments A. A. Baranov conferred with him many times on this matter, and they decided that it would be best to try to reach a friendly agreement with the Hawaiians.¹⁸

The instructions A. A. Baranov furnished to G. A. Schäffer at the beginning of October 1815 ordered the doctor to gain King Kamehameha's favor and, initially, to involve himself only with scientific research. G. A. Schäffer was to pose the question of compensation for the damages incurred only after that time. It was hoped that sandalwood, which had to be made ready for the time of arrival of Russian ships, could be obtained as compensation. If circumstances were to be favorable, Schäffer was also to gain trade privileges and a monopoly in sandalwood export. At the same time A. A. Baranov sent gifts, a silver medal, and a personal letter to Kamehameha, in which he raised the question of compensation for losses connected with seizure of the *Bering's* cargo and confirmed Schäffer's total authority to act as the company's representative. A. A. Baranov also noted that Russian America and Hawaii were the closest neighbors geographically, and therefore they should be especially interested in establishing friendly, mutually profitable trade relations. In addition the letter's conclusion contained a subtle threat of taking personal action against Kaumualii, with Kamehameha's consent, if the former denied satisfaction of the rightful demands posed to him.¹⁹

What was in mind in this regard became clear in A. A. Baranov's instructions to the commander of the *Otkrytie* [Discovery], Lieutenant I. A. Podushkin on 15 (27 [Julian calendar]) February 1816. After all peaceful means were exhausted, Kaumualii was to be taught a lesson and military force was to be employed, but avoiding sacrifice of human life if possible. "In such an event," wrote A. A. Baranov, "the whole island of Kauai should be taken in the name of our Sovereign Emperor of all the Russias and become a part of his possessions."²⁰

In taking a step of such gravity, to the extent that we can judge from information available to us, A. A. Baranov acted on his own responsibility and risk, counting on the old rule that no one judges the victor. However, events unfolded in a way that no one could imagine.

In the beginning of October 1815 Dr. Schäffer left for Hawaii aboard the American ship *Isabella*, arriving about a month later (7 November 1815, Julian Calendar?). Judging from Schäffer's notes, he was forced to confront the active opposition of Americans right from the very beginning. They clearly feared the loss of their privileges and influence on the islands. Some American captains or skippers, J. Ebbets, W. Hunt, and "old John Young, who had been residing on this island for a long time as governor, and who has a great influence on the king," assured Kamehameha and "other important islanders" that Schäffer's arrival and "the vessels he expected to arrive soon from New Archangel are an embodiment of the hostile intentions of the Russians. This is why the letter and medal . . . were returned unopened."²¹

Dr. Schäffer was forced to display a good deal of resourcefulness in dispelling the king's fears somewhat. Without a doubt his medical knowledge was of assistance here. "I have all reason to believe that I will be successful in gaining return of the valuable cargo, valued at close to 20,000 piasters," the enterprising doctor reported elatedly to the RAC Main Office on 1 January 1816. "I have already been able to win over the friendship and trust of the great King Kamehameha, whom I am presently treating for a heart illness. I also have been able to cure his favorite wife, Kaahumanu of a severe fever."²²

Having obtained permission to set up trading stations, and receiving parcels of land on Hawaii and Oahu, Schäffer "explored them and found them to be highly suitable for cultivation of many items, rich in various types of structural timber and sandalwood, water, fish, wild beech, and so on." He "built a small house and planted tobacco, corn, melon, watermelon, pumpkin, and other useful plants."²³

Doctor Schäffer's unusual business activity as well as his interest toward sandalwood intensified the suspicions of Americans, who started calling him the "Russian spy," even more. Agents working for Hunt and Ebbets, according to Schäffer, not only spread various falsehoods about him, but they even made attempts on his life. As a result Schäffer found it more suitable to go to Oahu, where there was more food, "and the people are better disposed toward foreigners."²⁴

Russian ships appeared at the shores of Oahu in May 1816—first the *Otkrytie* under I. A. Podushkin's command, and then unexpectedly the

Il'mena (W. Wadsworth, captain), which was returning from California and called at the islands for forced repairs. A group of Aleuts headed by T. Tarakanov was aboard the vessel. This way the enterprising doctor came to have a considerable number of RAC employees at his disposal, and whom he could use in carrying out his plans.

Schäffer ordered the *Il'mena* to remain in Honolulu, assigned Petr Kicherov as overseer of the trading stations he had organized, and himself left for Hawaii on the *Otkrytie* together with I. A. Podushkin for talks with Kamehameha on the *Bering's* cargo.²⁵ The old king was obviously not in a hurry to satisfy Dr. Schäffer's demands, and so he decided to sail to Kauai without delay. On 16 (28) May 1816 the *Otkrytie* dropped anchor off the shore of Kauai. The most remarkable and important part of Dr. Schäffer's Hawaiian expedition began.

On 21 May (2 June) 1816 G. A. Schäffer apparently achieved the improbable. In a solemn atmosphere Kaumualii—"King of the Sandwich Islands of the Pacific Ocean, Atuvai [Kauai] and Nigau [Niihau], and Hereditary Prince of the Islands of Ovagu [Oahu] and Mauvi [Maui]"—humbly requested "His Majesty the Sovereign Emperor Alexander Pavlovich . . . to accept the mentioned islands under his protection" and promised eternal allegiance to the "Russian scepter." On that same day another agreement²⁶ was signed, in which Kaumualii promised not only to return the part of the *Bering's* cargo that had been saved, but also to furnish the RAC with a monopoly in sandalwood trade. The company also received the right to institute its trading stations and plantations on Kaumualii's domains without interference.

Losing all touch with reality, on 1 (13) July 1816 G. A. Schäffer also signed a "secret treaty," under the conditions of which Kaumualii would provide 500 individuals for a conquest of Oahu, Lanai, Maui, Molokai, and other islands "belonging to him and taken from him by force," and assigned overall leadership of the expedition to the gallant doctor of medicine. "The King provides Doctor Schäffer," the treaty read, "carte blanche for this expedition and all assistance in constructing fortresses on all islands. As at Ganarua (Honolulu) Harbor on the Island of Vagu (Oahu), Russian commanders will be present in such fortresses." A special stipulation was that the RAC was to receive from the king "one half" of Oahu, which belonged to him, as well as "all sandalwood" on this island. Kaumualii promised to pay in sandalwood "for all that he received and will receive such as: for weapons and amunition, a brig or schooner, and other requisitions, and he will refrain from all trade with citizens of the allied State [sic] of America" (that is, with the United States). On his part, Dr. Schäffer assumed the responsibility of "setting up trading stations and a better economy, through which the local inhabitants might gain enlightenment and wealth."²⁷

The main reason for G. A. Schäffer's unexpected success on Kauai was the age-old hostility between the two Hawaiian kings. Relying on the protection and assistance of Russia, Kaumualii schemed not only to assert his total independence of Kamehameha, but to conquer a number of other islands as well.

Acting on this promise, G. A. Schäffer bought Kaumualii the schooner *Lydia* and reached an agreement on the purchase of the large armed vessel *Avon*, belonging to I. Whittemore, for 200,000 piasters, to be paid by A. A. Baranov. In turn Kaumualii gave "his word as a king that beyond the three cargoes of sandalwood, by which the king is indebted for the goods and vessel received by the first treaty signed this year on the 21st day of May, he promises to pay as much as possible to the Russian company for five years in succession: Each year he is to fell sandalwood to recompense the company in lieu of any other form of payment."²⁸ On 6 (18) September 1816 I. Whittemore set sail for New Archangel on the ship *Avon*. A. A. Baranov's son Antipatr was aboard the ship, and Schäffer sent the original copies of the agreements made with Kaumualii along with him.²⁹ Desiring to inform the authorities in St. Petersburg of his success as quickly as possible, Doctor Schäffer dispatched copies of the signed agreements on another American vessel to Canton and on through Western Europe to St. Petersburg. Describing his fantastic achievements on the Hawaiian Islands in the same breath G. A. Schäffer requested that two well-armed ships with a reliable command be sent from St. Petersburg. A battle frigate could be quite useful, in the opinion of the doctor, in protecting Russian interests on the northwest shores of America.³⁰

Giving no consideration to reality, G. A. Schäffer stirred up a hotbed of activity on the Hawaiian Islands, mainly on Kauai. With the "graciousness" of Kaumualii, the enterprising doctor "built several small houses for a trading station and cultivated gardens in the Vegmeyskaya [Waimea] Valley, Atuvai [Kauai] during a fourteen month period with the assistance of islanders furnished by the king, and for the store, the king provided an edifice of stone; by order of the king the chiefs of the province in which Gannarey [Hanalei] Harbor is located ceremoniously surrendered it with its population of 30 families to Schäffer."³¹

G. A. Schäffer's hopes for approval of his activity on the Sandwich Islands and, most importantly, for realistic assistance from A. A. Baranov and the St. Petersburg authorities were not answered. The administrator of Russian possessions in America "did not approve of and would not finance" the purchase of the ship *Avon*. Having received the original copies of G. A. Schäffer's agreements and having looked over his dispatches, A. A. Baranov immediately wrote him that he (Baranov) "cannot approve the conditions agreed upon by him without the permission of the Main Office," and he forbade Schäffer from "venturing into any sort of subsequent speculations."³²

At the beginning of December 1816 the brig *Rurik*, which had completed a round-the-world voyage under the command of O. E. von Kotzebue appeared off the shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Inasmuch as Schäffer had long ago spread rumors about the imminent arrival of a Russian naval ship to act in his aid, Kamehameha ordered a force numbering close to 400 individuals, armed with rifles, to take positions on the shore. O. E. von Kotzebue was able to convince the king of the friendly intentions of the Russians through Eliot de Castro, and on 24 November (5 December) 1816 a meeting was held between himself and Kamehameha. O. E. von Kotzebue hastened to assure

the king that Alexander I had "absolutely no desire to take possession of the islands."³³ During his stay on the Hawaiian Islands, O. E. von Kotzebue established the most friendly relations with the islanders, and on departure from Honolulu on 14 (26) December 1816, "he ordered a seven-gun salute to the fortress." Present in Hawaii with O. E. von Kotzebue, the natural historian A. Chamisso concluded that "the Sandwich Islands will remain as they had been previously: A free port and trading place for all navigators of these seas. If any foreign power ventured to seize these islands, the ruination of such an enterprise would require neither the envious watchfulness of the Americans, who have achieved almost exclusive domain over trade on these seas, nor the reliable protection of the English. . . . These people pay allegiance to no foreigner; they are too strong, too numerous, and love war too much to allow a possibility of their destruction."³⁴

Meanwhile despite the solemn agreements made with Kaumualii, G. A. Schäffer's position turned out to be quite complicated. As early as September 1816 the trading station on Oahu was abandoned under the threat of force, and then American captains attempted (but in fact, without success) to lower the Russian flag in the village of Waimea (Kauai).³⁵ Schäffer's position became even more complex when it came to be known that he could not count on the support of A. A. Baranov and O. E. von Kotzebue. Employees of the RAC reported that citizens of the United States threatened "that if King Tomari (such was the name given to Kaumualii in the Russian documents—author) does not hastily evict the Russians from Atuvai and does not remove the Russian flag, he will be visited by five American vessels, and they will kill both him [sic] and all of the Indians. Then the Americans that were in the service of the Russians rose in revolt against the Russians. . . . There was no way we could oppose our enemies; our forces were weak." Judging by Schäffer's journal, this occurred on 17 (29) June 1817.³⁶

Though tardily, G. A. Schäffer finally came to understand "that the prescription 'retreat and run for home' is tremendously more salutary and healthy than displaying belligerence [ratoborstvovat'] and placing a sword in a hand accustomed to a scalpel."³⁷ With extreme difficulty Schäffer managed to make his way to Honolulu on a half-wrecked ship. Firing a cannon and raising a white flag, Schäffer asked for permission to enter the harbor immediately. The Russians that suffered the disaster were finally allowed into the inner harbor nine days later, on 1 (13) July 1817.

It is difficult to say what the fate of the ill-starred conqueror of the "land of eternal spring" might have been, had not the American ship *Panther*, under the command of Captain Lewis arrived at Honolulu, who agreed to "carry him away on his way to Canton" out of a sense of indebtedness to Schäffer for medical assistance rendered one year before. Leaving a large group of Russians and Aleuts on Oahu under the command of T. Tarakanov, Schäffer left the Hawaiian Islands on 7 (19) July 1817 forever. Two persons accompanied him—G. Izkakov, an Aleut, and F. Osipov, an employee of the company.³⁸ This is the way the Hawaiian episode of the doctor of medicine's adventure ended. He faced new battles before him, but their location was to be the civil

service offices in St. Petersburg, which began to receive reports in August 1817 on the remarkable occurrences on the faraway Pacific Ocean islands.

The directors of the Russian-American Company became aware of Doctor Schäffer's mission to the Hawaiian Islands for the first time through reports from A. A. Baranov, received in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1817. The initial reaction of the company's Main Office was sharply unfavorable; this is evidence that the initiative in this whole problem had belonged completely to A. A. Baranov. The Main Office clearly mistrusted the foreign adventurer, emphasizing the contradictions in evaluations on G. A. Schäffer, and most important it did not desire any sort of international complications, neither in Hawaii nor in California. In instructions sent to A. A. Baranov on 22 March (3 April) 1817 the company directors demanded: "If he (that is, G. A. Schäffer—author) has ended the expedition to the Sandwich Islands assigned to him by you . . . do not employ him for any subsequent expeditions, as he is a foreigner, and it was not for the Russians that he accumulated all of his acquisitions."³⁹

The receipt of G. A. Schäffer's triumphal message from Kauai on 14 (26) August 1817 to some degree swayed the initial opinion of the RAC directors. Kaumualii's application for citizenship to Russia suggested a tempting future for the company, and the Main Office was not averse to capitalizing on the unexpected windfall for expansion of its influence to the Hawaiian Islands. Deciding not to act independently, however, the Main Office deemed it necessary to inform the Tsarist government of the events immediately and, if possible, to attain its support and approval. Consequently on the following day, 15 (27) August 1817, the company directors sent Alexander I a "most respectful report," which informed him that "King Tomari transferred his citizenship and that of all islands under his domain and the inhabitants thereon to His Imperial Majesty." Schäffer's reports and "the act of King Tomari" were being presented for "the All-Most-Gracious Emperor's inspection." Two days later V. V. Kramer and A. I. Severin sent an approximately similar report to K. V. Nessel'rode, the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs.⁴⁰

Reports on Schäffer's activities in Hawaii also appeared in foreign newspapers in the summer of 1817, and were accompanied by various speculations on the nature of Russia's activity on the Pacific Ocean and in California. The famous naval historian and geographer V. N. Berkh compiled detailed memoirs on the Sandwich Islands, appending a letter dated 12 (24) August 1816 from I. A. Kuskov, the governor of the Ross settlement, in which G. A. Schäffer's successes were described and Kaumualii's acceptance of Russian citizenship was reported. The text of these notes was published without mention of Kuskov's letter in the beginning of 1818 in the popular Russian journal *Syn Otechestva*.⁴¹

Apparently assuming that the Tsarist government's attitude toward the report on Schäffer's successes in Hawaii would be more or less favorable (who could reject a gift?), the RAC directors prepared the first orders for dealing with this question. As early as in a postscript to instructions dated

14 (26) August 1817, Kramer hastened to report that the Main Office had received "a most interesting and pleasant report from Dr. Schäffer on one of the Sandwich Islands—Atuvai, concerning which on this date a message was sent to His Majesty the Emperor, suggesting that His Majesty might find it pleasing to dispatch some nature of directives along with the frigate *Kamchatka*, which is to be leaving shortly. As far as our directions dealing with the trading stations on the island of Atuvai are concerned, examine them for yourself in order attached, and do not hesitate to supplement them with any additions you see fit." In a special supplement to instructions to V. M. Golovnin, the company board ordered him to assist in every way possible in establishing Russian sovereignty on Kauai, and to inform the company of the measures that would be necessary to ensure annexation of "this new and important possession."⁴²

The detailed "directive" to G. A. Schäffer dated 20 August (1 September) 1817 was drafted in the same spirit. The "commander of the detachment of the Russian-American Company on the island of Atuvai" was entrusted the responsibility of supporting Kaumualii and protecting "his people from attacks by other strong island rulers, to the degree that local circumstances would allow, with the exception of an attack made by some European nation or under its influence; in this the company must not interfere until further notice." Special attention was turned to the need for showing "respect" to the king and avoiding differences with local inhabitants. "Under penalty of unavoidable and severe punishment," read the "directive" of the Main Office, "you are not to cause the islanders to suffer . . . even the most minor insults, oppression, or seizures of their property, and especially forceful seizures of the female sex without their reciprocal consent."⁴³ All of these "directives" from the Main Office are of purely moot interest, of course. By that time the Russians had no sort of influence in Hawaii, and Doctor Schäffer himself was on his way to Canton.

Although the RAC was officially under the authority of O. P. Kozodavlev's Ministry of Internal Affairs, all of the main strings of the Hawaiian question were in the hands of K. V. Nessel'rode from the very beginning. In response to the report on the brilliant successes of Dr. Schäffer the company's Main Office was "blessed with the receipt" of "supreme approval" from the lips of K. V. Nessel'rode, until the reception of the original act [original'nyy akt], and of detailed dispatches "not taking any steps." The information received from Schäffer was also examined at a "committee of the ministers," but "in accordance with the minutes, supremely approved on the 25th day of the month of August," this committee ordered the Minister of Internal Affairs to "submit the report of Dr. Schäffer to the consideration" of K. V. Nessel'rode.⁴⁴

Being unprepared to make any sort of decision, and fearing the possible international complications, the Tsarist government attempted to win time and collect more complete information. On 29 August (10 September) 1817 the chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested such information from Kh. A. Liven, the Russian ambassador in London. "Prior to making a decision

on this matter," wrote K. V. Nessel'rode, "His Majesty desired that an attentive study be made of whether or not the islands of Kauai and Niihau ("les Isles de Otouway et de Onegau" in the original) possess universally recognized independence, and whether or not their sovereign can sign a treaty for acceptance of Russian allegiance. Inasmuch as more information on the internal relations of these countries can be gathered in England than elsewhere, His Imperial Majesty desired that I refer namely to Your Excellency." In conclusion, K. V. Nessel'rode made a special note that before making "a final decision on this question," the emperor expected to wait for receipt of the information that Count Liven was to furnish.⁴⁵

At the start of the next year, on 21 December 1817 (Julian Calendar) Liven's response arrived in St. Petersburg with an appended detailed historical and political survey of the Sandwich Islands, and the opinions of the ambassador on their possible annexation to Russia.⁴⁶ As the ambassador in London noted, "Since the discovery of the Sandwich Islands by Captain Cook in 1778 and up to the present day they have had complete political independence." Recognizing the "usefulness" of establishing "permanent settlements on the Sandwich Islands for the trading relations of the Russian-American Company," at the same time Kh. A. Liven justifiably turned his attention to the "isolated condition of two islands (Kauai and Niihau), which are naturally under the threat of any sort of pretensions on the part of the "neighboring ruler" (Dominateur voisin). The "advantages" of annexing the islands, in the ambassador's opinion, "become even more illusory" if one considered the envy and the intrigues that this occupation would evoke from the English and Americans.⁴⁷ In his detailed historical-political survey, Kh. A. Liven made special note that "considering the adventurous spirit of United States sailors and the active persistence of their trading speculations, it would not be long before we could expect a hostile confrontation with them on the Sandwich Islands."⁴⁸

The "unreliable and critical" position of Kaumualii, who ruled Kauai and Niihau, the extreme remoteness of the archipelago, and the dangerous rivalry of the Americans, together with other impressions left no doubt in the fact that Liven had ample grounds for opposing the establishment of a Russian protectorate. Some time after the carefully thought-out opinion of the Russian ambassador in London was received in St. Petersburg, the Main Office of the RAC, acting in response to the company council, dispatched the original copy of the act under which Kaumualii accepted Russian citizenship and the original copies of other agreements signed by G. A. Schäffer to K. V. Nessel'rode. The company executives were not averse to capitalizing on the acquisitions of G. A. Schäffer, but they clearly did not want to accept the onerous obligations he agreed to in regard to the conquest of other islands.⁴⁹

Reporting the final decision on the Sandwich Islands to O. P. Kozodavlev, the minister of internal affairs, on 24 February (8 March) 1818, K. V. Nessel'rode wrote: "His Majesty the Emperor wishes to presume that the acquisition of these islands and their voluntary acceptance of his protection are not only without any significant benefit to Russia but, on the contrary, in

many regards they are burdened with very weighty inconveniences. And therefore it would be pleasing to His Majesty not to accept this act from him, though His Majesty expresses all possible affability and desires to preserve friendly relations with him, and that the matter be limited to establishing the above-mentioned amicable relations and functioning to expand the American company's [RAC] trading affairs with the Sandwich Islands to the extent that they (the islanders) agree to this order of business." O. P. Kozodavlev was ordered to inform the RAC of this decision and "instruct it not to deviate from this rule." In conclusion K. V. Nessel'rode noted that "the reports subsequently received by your eminence from Doctor Schäffer indicate to us that his thoughtless ventures have already set the stage for unfavorable consequences," and reported that the Emperor "deemed to recognize it necessary to await further news of this subject in the future."⁵⁰ In addition to the report on Alexander I's decision, K. V. Nessel'rode sent O. P. Kozodavlev the original copy of the notes compiled by Liven on both the Sandwich Islands in general and the two islands in particular. "With these notes," wrote K. V. Nessel'rode, "your eminence will be able to fully grasp all the considerations that His Majesty chose to regard with respect to this subject."⁵¹ Thus we have direct proof that the opinions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, in particular, the considerations discussed in Kh. A. Liven's notes played the decisive role in this decision.

Alexander I's decision on the Hawaiian question was in full accord with the conservative trend of Russia's policies in the North Pacific that the Tsarist government strictly adhered to after 1815 in Europe and America. We are not saying of course that the Tsarist government was not striving for expansion in these years. However, Alexander I and K. V. Nessel'rode were cautious of overt seizures in both the Pacific Ocean and northwest America (California in particular). Moreover St. Petersburg clearly counted on tying the hands of its main rival, Great Britain, in regard to the rebelling Spanish colonies in America. Nor did the Tsarist government desire any sort of tension in its relations with the United States, with which it was hoping to begin talks at this time on including the USA in the Holy Alliance.

It is common knowledge that in contrast to the colonial interests of Western European powers, which were "naval, oceanic, the colonial policies of the Russian Empire were predominantly continental." During that time Russia's interest in the Far East and Pacific Ocean was infinitesimal and was subordinated to the general political situation in Europe, and "the Eastern question." "The weakness of Russian potential for colonizing transoceanic territory," wrote Academician A. A. Guber, "was demonstrated, in particular, by the well-known fate of Russian possessions in America and the activity of the Russian-American Company."⁵²

Alexander I's categorical and totally unequivocal decision, reported by O. P. Kozodavlev to the RAC Main Office on 13 (25) March 1818,⁵³ placed the latter in a rather difficult position. There could be no discussion of overtly violating the "august will." But at the same time the Main Office clearly did not want to ignore entirely the advantages of establishing Russian influence

on the Hawaiian Islands. As a result this question became a subject of discussion at the 26 March (7 April) 1818 meeting of the RAC council. Resolving to execute Alexander I's decision "to the letter," at the same time the company council proposed a number of additional steps. In particular, it asked O. P. Kozodavlev to petition for and obtain "all-gracious consent" for presenting Kaumualii "with a gold medal bearing the inscription 'To the King or Ruler of the Sandwich Islands, Tomari, as a symbol of his friendship to the Russians' which is to be given to him in the name of His Imperial Majesty with an Anna Ribbon so that he may wear it around his neck." They also wished to "include with this medal a gift consisting of a dirk and a karmazinnyy [translation unknown] cloak with gold tassels and gossamer." The council also approved the Main Office's order to A. A. Baranov to "dismiss [Dr. Schäffer] immediately" from the Sandwich Islands, "and to find another reliable, wise, and unpretentious person to take his place to administrate peacefully those trade and business operations that are present there already for the mutual benefit of the company and the islanders, and which could continue without the least apprehensions or opposition, and to explain in detail how he should handle the affairs; he should also be given instructions identical to the order that already had been sent from the Company Main Office to the manager at that island." The RAC management still continued to hope that if conditions were favorable the trading station and land parcels acquired by G. A. Schäffer on Kauai could be retained or, at least, they hoped to use a communication of "exalted will" as grounds for strengthening and expanding the company's trading contacts on the Hawaiian Islands. A reliable company representative was ordered to report to Kaumualii that Alexander I "leaves him in complete independent freedom, desiring only that Russian subjects, trading and hunting as employees of the Russian-American Company and under its flag, be received by him under the same rights of freedom, in sincere friendship, and for mutual benefit."⁵⁴

In April 1818 O. P. Kozodavlev transmitted the RAC council's views to K. V. Nessel'rode, and in summer 1818 Alexander I conferred "the petition of the company with his all-most-gracious blessing." On 5 (17) August 1818 D. A. Gur'yev, the minister of finance, was given instructions to "withdraw such objects from the cabinet."⁵⁵

Meanwhile news of the complete failure of Dr. Schäffer's adventures on the Hawaiian Islands began to reach St. Petersburg. On 3 (15) August the ship *Rurik* under O. E. von Kotzebue's command dropped anchor in front of the home of Count N. P. Rumyantsev on the Neva River, having returned from a voyage around the world in the course of which it had visited the Hawaiian Islands twice.⁵⁶ Also, the RAC Main Office received two letters from Dr. Schäffer himself: "The 1st dated the 20th of October of last year, 1817, from Macao, stating that the Russians had been forced to abandon the island Atuvai due to the political situation, and that he himself embarked on his journey through the above-mentioned city and will try to arrive at St. Petersburg as soon as possible, so as to relate a complete account to the Main Office; and the 2nd dated the 10th of April of the present year from Rio de

Janeiro, stating that he had arrived at this capital from Macao and is leaving it for Russia. . . . Such messages gave the Main Office cause to think that the abandonment of the island Atuvai occurred in response to unfavorable incidents." O. E. von Kotzebue also confirmed this last point to the board, "though unofficially." "By order of Count N. (Nessel'rode)" on 7 (19) August 1818 the RAC was "verbally" informed that the "original copy of the act" under which Kaumualii accepted Russian citizenship "was not returned." As K. V. Nessel'rode noted, the emperor felt that return of this act "could anger this ruler" but he simultaneously emphasized the need for executing all previous orders "that had been granted exalted will."⁵⁷

The principal hero of the Hawaiian adventure, Dr. Schäffer also arrived in Europe. At the end of July 1818 he found out from the Russian minister in Denmark that Alexander I had left for a congress in Aachen. Without wasting time the enterprising doctor journeyed to Berlin "to most humbly relate the memoirs on events he experienced on the islands mentioned," and sent the "promyschlennik" [hunter/trapper] F. Osipov, who had accompanied him, to St. Petersburg, where he gave a thorough account to the RAC directors.⁵⁸

G. A. Schäffer had no success in meeting Alexander I and entrusting him with the "Memoirs on the Sandwich Islands." Nevertheless the persistent doctor managed to transmit these notes to both executives of the Russian Department of Foreign Affairs, I. A. Kapodistrii (Capodistrias) and K. V. Nessel'rode in September 1818.⁵⁹ G. A. Schäffer recommended that the Tsarist government seize not only Kauai, but the entire archipelago as well. "By occupying the Sandwich Islands Russia would assure itself a possibility for being the sole fur trader of the Northwest shores and would block the Americans from utilizing the islands, but without such occupation Russia would lose both these islands and the Russian possessions and trade in these parts of the world." He expressed firm conviction that Alexander I would immediately follow his advice and "actively order that all islands be seized with one blow, with such a military force that would be sufficient to both guarantee Russian possession and instill respect." Interestingly enough the brave doctor proposed his candidacy as leader of the military expedition without batting an eye. "If it be your will, I shall accept the responsibility of carrying out this enterprise and obtain all of these Sandwich Islands for Your Imperial Majesty and, though I am not of the military profession, I am quite familiar with weaponry and, moreover, I have enough experience and courage to dedicate my life to the good of humanity and the benefit of Russia."

At the congress in Aachen, neither the emperor nor his ministers had the time or desire to study the muddled plans of Dr. Schäffer. It was therefore decided to put off examination of his notes until Alexander I would return to St. Petersburg, and meanwhile to gather additional information. Transmitting a copy of G. A. Schäffer's memoirs from Aachen to Russia on 1 (13) November 1818, Count Nessel'rode asked his ministerial assistant, P. Ya. Ubri, to collect the necessary data so that a "detailed report" could be given to the emperor after his return to St. Petersburg.⁶⁰

Several departments and organizations (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Manufactures and Internal Trade, the RAC) came to be involved in the subsequent examination of Dr. Schäffer's proposal, as a result of which the entire complex of questions involving Russia's policies in North-west America and the Far East was re-analyzed anew.

In particular, a special memo "On the Sandwich Islands as seen by Dr. Schäffer" (1819), which surveyed the preceding events and decisions, was preserved among the papers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Count Kh. A. Liven's opinion that annexation of Kauai and Niihau to Russia could not be sound was mentioned again in this document. Schäffer's plans were subjected to shattering criticism at the Department of Manufactures and Internal Trade, to which the RAC was subordinated at that time. P. Ostrogorskiy, an influential civil servant at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was not too trusting of the rationality of proposals to establish cotton plantations and set up production operations, "silk factories," and so on "on islands located on the other hemisphere." As far as Dr. Schäffer's grandiose commercial and political plans are concerned, they were met by the most decisive retorts on his part. Inasmuch as "barter with the islanders" was controlled by the United States, it, "as a neighbor of theirs that is strong at sea," wrote P. Ostrogorskiy, "would not willfully permit any other power not possessing a navy in those seas to establish such relations." The skeptical civil servant noted further that occupation of Kauai, "to which even the ruler himself agreed, by vessels of the Russian-American Company had been most unsuccessful and only yielded dissolution of the Russian-American trading stations established there and losses of some company property."⁶²

To amplify the proposals suggested or, perhaps, as a response to criticism of the memoirs furnished to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on 2 (14) March 1819 Dr. Schäffer sent it a special "appendix" in which he argued that in lieu of occupying the Hawaiian Islands Russia would lose its "possessions on the northwest shore of America, and the Americans of the United States would take possession of them in short course." In Schäffer's words, the citizens of the United States "have long been occupied with nothing more than creating all sorts of obstacles to our enterprises in this part of the world. . . . They plot against us in China," they are trying to "annihilate our trade between Asia and America," and so on. "One need only glance at a map," concluded G. A. Schäffer, "to see all the benefits that Russia could expect from occupation of these islands, but this enterprise must be completed at the soonest possible moment, since it already would be too late after a year's delay."⁶³

The management of the RAC was also convinced of the expediency and "great benefit" of annexing at least one of the Hawaiian Islands. The natural wealth of these islands, in the opinion of the company directors, would provide "great benefits for the trading enterprises and provisioning of our northwestern colonies as well as Kamchatka and Okhotsk, where foodstuffs and salt are most highly needed, and after a time both regions could be supplied with them to excess. Just the possibility that ships sailing round the world might recuperate at these paradisaical islands by itself makes occupation of these

islands invaluable, no others would be needed with any better amenities for the health of people, for stocking provisions, and for complete peace." Although the company's Main Office decided not to approve the entire content of G. A. Schäffer's grandiose plans and doubted his ability "to master the designated islands by force of arms," it nevertheless recommended that the government "assign two vessels for transport and one for cover and up to 100 Russian 'promyschlennik' [hunter/trapper]" for the mission of assuring "firm settlement" of Kaumualii's possessions. "The grounds for such action are most highly favorable," noted the Main Office in its 18 (30) March 1819 "opinion." "[They are] the presentation of the objects designated as gifts by his All-Most-Gracious to King Tomari, the receipt of which . . . should turn his favor to the Russians." The board felt that under favorable conditions "sights could be set on acquiring relations at other islands as well—perhaps it might also be possible to buy some particular island, which would be enough for the use and prospects of the company."⁶⁴ Summarizing their views in instructions to "the chief manager of the Russian-American Colonies" L. A. Hagemester, dated 1 (13) April 1819, M. M. Buldakov and V. V. Kramer wrote: "By employing peaceful means, and perhaps even by purchasing a particular island, a paradisaical berth could be acquired for Russian vessels sailing around the world, and for increasing the number of trading contracts for our commercial enterprises."⁶⁵

From the point of view of the interests of the RAC and the Russian possessions in North America and the Far East, acquisition of at least one of the Hawaiian Islands was truly quite tempting, and many of the Main Office's arguments appeared fully convincing. Practically speaking, however, there was no real hope of gaining approval for these proposals from K. V. Nessel'rode and Alexander I, especially if one considers that the company had already received a categorical denial a year before, under much more favorable conditions (at that time no one in St. Petersburg knew of G. A. Schäffer's expulsion from Kauai). The Tsarist government's allegiance to the reactionary system of the Holy Alliance and to the principles of legitimacy grew continually, and, as in previous times, the RAC's interests were considered to be more or less secondary.

In an information memo to Alexander I drafted in May 1819, the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs again quoted Count Liven's well-known opinion and gave a sharply unfavorable evaluation of Dr. Schäffer's actions. Concluding his report on the Hawaiian question, K. V. Nessel'rode wrote: "In regard to the petition of the company for permission to acquire a place of permanent habitation on the mentioned islands, despite all the persuasiveness of its arguments involving the potentials and usefulness of this proposal, bearing in mind the most recent incidents, as well as the grounds on which it had previously been ordered to limit its activities solely to trade relations, the chief executive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers that even presently there are no adequate reasons for changing the rule that had already been adopted."⁶⁶

The proposals of the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received the complete approval of Alexander I. Reporting on the decision, K. V. Nessel'rode wrote O. P. Kozodavlev on 24 June (6 July) 1819 that the emperor rejected the idea of accepting Kaumualii "and the islands under his domain for citizenship to the Russian empire" even "under the most favorable circumstances," and "presently His Imperial Majesty recognizes even less need for altering the adopted rule, since the consequences themselves have revealed its soundness, and the experiences prove how little we can hope for permanency of such inhabitation." In regard to "the intentions of the company to try to restore friendly relations with those islands," K. V. Nessel'rode reported that "in approving this and wishing total success, His Imperial Majesty is sure that if the Main Office drafts reasonable orders and carefully selects executors that are modest and careful in their affairs, the company would stand to acquire, with its own resources and with greater reliability, the same advantages and benefit that it expects to receive through the unsound notion of inhabiting the islands." Permitting the company "to employ the known gifts" to Kaumualii "on its own discretion," at the same time the emperor demanded that it follow only those rules that had been "explained" in K. V. Nessel'rode's communication to O. P. Kozodavlev dated "28 February of last year, 1818."⁶⁷ On 15 (27) July 1819 the Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the company's Main Office of Alexander I's decision precisely as requested in the letter from K. V. Nessel'rode cited above.⁶⁸

Such was the St. Petersburg finale to the Hawaiian spectacular performed by Doctor Schäffer. He cost the RAC about 200,000 rubles—a most significant sum in those days. Presenting their opinions to the Department of Manufactures and Internal Trade "concerning the dismissal of Doctor Schäffer back to Germany," the RAC directors noted that he had been sent "to recover company property, stolen at Atuvay, by methods that would be in keeping with the interests of the company," but that instead of this he signed various treaties with Kaumualii, bought "for him a war ship at company expense for employment in seizing other islands . . . and even assumed the responsibility for commanding the troops, the latter possibly being the main reason that . . . he was expelled from Atuvay, losing all that had been started there."⁶⁹ The company's attempts at making G. A. Schäffer liable and forcing him to compensate the loss at least partially came to naught. Schäffer himself had no sort of assets, and on his part he flooded the Main Office with demands for payment of his salary and traveling expenses. In the end the RAC Main Office decided it would be best to give its approval to the doctor's "dismissal" to Germany.⁷⁰

The new "supreme commander" of Russian America, L. A. Hagemeister also made an attempt in 1818 at least to compensate partially the losses borne as a result of G. A. Schäffer's adventures. The instructions to I. A. Podushkin, the captain of the *Otkrytie*, dated 9 (21) February 1818 stated that the "main purpose" of his expedition to the Hawaiian Islands consisted of "receiving payment" from Kaumualii "for the schooner and other articles left by Schäffer." I. A. Podushkin was ordered also to convince Kamehameha that

Dr. Schäffer had “acted not in accordance with instructions given him,” and that “peace and harmony among peoples are the benevolent purposes” of Emperor Alexander I.⁷¹

The total failure of G. A. Schäffer’s adventures, the material losses, and the entirely unequivocal decision of Alexander I were still not enough to force the company’s Main Office to reject for all time the tempting idea of strengthening its influence on at least one of the Hawaiian Islands. In instructions signed by company directors M. M. Buldakov, V. V. Kramer, and A. I. Severin on 12 (24) August 1819, the chief manager of the Russian colonies in America was ordered to send a “deliberate expedition” to Kauai “without delay” in order to sway Kaumualii with “affectionate” treatment and expensive gifts toward establishing friendly relations “and to gain his consent for settlement of Russians predominantly on the island Onegau [Niihau].” “It would be best of all,” wrote the St. Petersburg directors, not stopping short of blatant violation of “His most exalted will”, “if he sold that island to the company Acquisition of that island is all the more important to the company because it is the nearest to the colonies and, being sparsely populated, there is less danger of conceit on the part of inhabitants.” To fulfill the plan the Main Office recommended selection of “such a person whose judgement, firmness of character, and kind and resourceful qualities would assist in achieving the success hoped for.” “All of the above,” concluded the St. Petersburg directors, “is but an outline,” and the job of “working out . . . the actual plan of action on the Sandwich Islands in its entirety on the basis of the best . . . information available on them and especially the will of the Monarch” was given to L. A. Hagemeister himself.⁷²

The naval officers replacing A. A. Baranov—L. A. Hagemeister, S. I. Yanovskiy, and especially M. I. Murav’yev—were much more critical of the plans for establishing Russian influence on the Hawaiian Islands and were in no hurry at all to put the “outlines” of the Main Office into action. Indicative of this is the fact that M. I. Murav’yev, upon receipt of a second order to “execute” the instructions dated 12 (24) August 1819, indulged himself by relating his conviction of the total uselessness of trade relations with the Hawaiian Islands to St. Petersburg on 16 (28) January 1821.⁷³

Some time later the RAC management in St. Petersburg also dropped its own plans. On 15 (27) March 1821 M. M. Buldakov, V. V. Kramer, and A. I. Severin gave orders that M. I. Murav’yev was to “hold on for a time” to the gifts prescribed for Kaumualii, and they essentially recognized the Hawaiian Islands to be predominantly the sphere of influence of American interest.⁷⁴

Having studied M. I. Murav’yev’s 15 (27) January report, the Main Office expressed complete accord with the opinion “that starting trade relations with the Sandwich Islands is not advantageous” and recommended “that all efforts be directed toward expanding trade relations with California, especially at the present time, in which Spanish domination in America is ebbing on both sides of the equator: Consequently the law prohibiting foreigners to trade in this region has lost its force.”⁷⁵

By the start of the 1820's significant changes had occurred on the Hawaiian Islands. On 8 May 1819 Kamehameha—the most outstanding Hawaiian ruler, the founder of a united monarchy, and one of the great statesmen of his times—died at an age of about 70. In the summer of 1821 Kamehameha's son, Liholiho moved Kaunualii from Kauai to Oahu where from that time on he lived as an honored prisoner, but this did not keep him from marrying Kamehameha's widow, the famous Kaahumanu. Congratulating the new king of the Sandwich Islands on his accession to the throne, M. I. Murav'yev wrote: "In my country, as in all lands, your deceased sire had the reputation of being hospitable to foreigners, thoroughly just, and considerate of the property of all, and I trust that these virtues will continue to glorify you and many of your generations to come." Together with the letter the governor of the Russian possessions in America sent Kamehameha II gifts: "Two mirrors, and a cup gilded within for the person who is dearest of all to you."⁷⁶

In 1820 an agent from the American Consulate and the first group of missionaries arrived in Hawaii. Sandalwood traders, and later American whalers witnessed increasing business. "The political relations of the people and king," reported M. I. Murav'yev to St. Petersburg on 15 (27) January 1822, "remain as before; the king squanders, the people suffer, and the Americans get richer, but not for long: Sandalwood is becoming more difficult to get by the hour and, consequently, its price is going up. . . . Some Americans (Davis for example) have been living there over 15 years. . . . They have great faculty in recognizing local situations and in carrying on their trade relations, but if an outsider would desire to purchase something there without benefit to them, surely he would be robbed and cheated." The general conclusion to which the governor of Russian possessions in America came was entirely unequivocal: "In truth I do not know how the Sandwich Islands could be useful to us, especially under the present circumstances. Schäffer performed a humorous comedy for which the company payed very dearly, and I do not think that it could be resumed. But there is no obstacle whatsoever, nor can there be any, simply to finding a berth there while enroute and replenishing the stocks with fresh provisions."⁷⁷ According to P. A. Tikhmenev the company's subsequent ties with the Hawaiian Islands were limited to "the procurement of foodstuffs, and especially salt, when convenient."⁷⁸ From time to time the "land of eternal spring" was visited by Russian round-the-world expeditions, the participants of which invariably remarked on the kindness of the local inhabitants.

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Catherine Stauder, researcher, Kauai Museum, paid for this translation and made it available to the Hawaiian Journal of History.

NOTES

- ¹ K. T. Khlebnikov, *Zhizneopisaniye Aleksandra Andreyevicha Baranova* (The Biography of Aleksandr Andreyevich Baranov), St. Petersburg, 1835, pp. 157-159.
- ² P. A. Tikhmenev, *Istoricheskoye Obozreniye Obrazovaniya Rossiysko-Amerikanskoy Kompanii* (Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company), part I, St. Petersburg, 1861, pp. 185-192; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Alaska, 1730-1885*, San Francisco, 1886.
- ³ Bancroft Library (subsequently referred to as BL), Berkeley, USA, P-N 14: A. L. Pinart, *Les Russes aux îles Hawaii (1809-1822)*.
- ⁴ W. D. Alexander, "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai, 1814-1818," *Hawaiian Historical Society, Papers*, No. 6, Honolulu, 1894; N. Vishnyakov, "Russia, California, and the Sandwich Islands (A Historical Survey)," *Russkaya Starina*, Vol. 74, November 1905, pp. 249-289; P. Gronsky, "les Russes aux îles Hawaii aux debut du XIXe siècle," *Le Monde Slave*, Vol. 4, October 1928, pp. 21-39.
- ⁵ F. A. Golder, "Proposals for Russian Occupation of the Hawaiian Islands," *The Hawaiian Islands*, Honolulu, 1930, pp. 39-49; see S. B. Okun', *Rossiysko-Amerikanskaya Kompaniya* (The Russian-American Company), Moscow-Leningrad, 1939.
- ⁶ *Krasnyy Arkhiv* (The Red Archives), Vol. 5 (78), 1936, p. 161.
- ⁷ K. Mehnert, *The Russians in Hawaii, 1804-1819*, Honolulu, 1938, p. 23.
- ⁸ D. D. Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye Kolonizatorov v "Kray Vechnoy Vesny"* (The Invasion of Colonizers into "The Land of Eternal Spring"), Moscow, 1964, pp. 134-166. The microfilm copies graciously supplied to us by D. D. Tumarkin significantly facilitated the editing and refinement of many of the archival and published documents cited below.
- ⁹ R. A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1965.
- ¹⁰ National Archives, Records of the Russian-American Company (subsequently referred to as NA, RRAC), 1802-1867, rolls 1, 2, 26, 27 (M 11); AVPR [Foreign Policy Archives of Russia], fond RAC, opis 888, delo 963, 964, 988, 989.
- ¹¹ For more details, see D. D. Tumarkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-110; R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, Honolulu, 1947, pp. 29-60.
- ¹² G. Vancouver, *Puteshestviye v Severnuyu Chast' Tikhogo Okeana i Vokrug Sveta* (A Voyage to the Northern Pacific Ocean and Around the World), Vol. 1-6, St. Petersburg; Vol. 5, pp. 54-55, 100-101.
- ¹³ N. W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii. The Pioneers, 1789-1843*, Stanford Univ. Press, 1942, pp. 1-120.
- ¹⁴ K. W. Porter, "John Jacob Astor and the Sandalwood Trade of the Hawaiian Islands, 1816-1828," *J. of Economic and Business History*, Vol. 2, No. 3, May 1930, pp. 495-519.
- ¹⁵ K. T. Khlebnikov, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
- ¹⁶ *K Istorii Rossiysko-Amerikanskoy Kompanii* (On the History of the Russian-American Company), Krasnoyarsk, 1957, pp. 161-162; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40; P. A. Tikhmenev, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
- ¹⁷ TsGIA SSSR [USSR Central State Historical Archives], f. 18, op. 5, d. 1209, ll. 21-22: Georg Anton Sheffer (G. A. Schäffer)—"doctor of medicine, surgery, and midwifery, born in Wurtsburg and awarded these titles at Hoettingen University on 1 September 1808," entered the Russian service, "assumed a position in the Moscow Police" in 1809, participated "in military enterprises" from 1812-1813, and then "sailed with the fleet as a ship's surgeon to the American Russian colonies."
- ¹⁸ See Dr. Schäffer's journal (January 1815-March 1818) in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
- ¹⁹ A. A. Baranov to G. A. Schäffer, 1 October (Julian calendar?) 1815, in Leningrad branch of the Archive of the USSA Academy of Sciences, P. IV, op. I, N1012,

- ll. 80–82 (materials collected by A. V. Freigang for Schäffer's biography); R. Pierce, *op. cit.* (No. 3), p. 41–44; A. A. Baranov to Kamehameha (circa 1 October 1815?), in R. Pierce, *op. cit.* (No. 4), pp. 44–46 (in Pierce the date is erroneously given as 1816).
- ²⁰ A. A. Baranov to I. A. Podushkin, 15(27) February 1816, in R. Pierce, *op. cit.* (No. 5), pp. 46–52.
- ²¹ Excerpt from Dr. Schäffer's journal, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1238, l. 35; *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, pp. 170–171.
- ²² R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 164; BL, P-N 14: *Les Russes aux îles Hawaïi*, p. 44; (In Pierce's translation "severe fever" wound up as "yellow fever.")
- ²³ *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, p. 171; K. T. Khlebnikov, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
- ²⁴ Schäffer's journal (26 March 1816 entry), in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
- ²⁵ See T. Tarakanov's report to L. A. Hagemeister, 12 (24) February 1818, and Schäffer's journal, in Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–100, 168–170; K. T. Khlebnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–164.
- ²⁶ Act of acceptance of Russian citizenship by King Kaumualii, 21 May (2 June) 1816, and the contract of the same date, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1–10, 1817–1819, d. 1, ll. 4, 32; *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, pp. 165–166; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–65.
- ²⁷ "The Secret Treaty" of 1 (13) July 1816, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1–10, d. 1, l. 33 on: R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.
- ²⁸ Contract on the purchase of the ship *Avon* on 22 August (3 September?) 1816, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1–10, d. 1, l. 37.
- ²⁹ Dr. Schäffer's journal, in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
- ³⁰ G. A. Schäffer to the RAC Main Office, August 1816, in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–75.
- ³¹ Excerpt from Schäffer's journal, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1239, ll. 35–37; *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, p. 172.
- ³² See The Opinion of the RAC Council, 26 March (7 April) 1818, in TsGIA SSSR, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 19–20; P. Tikhmenev, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.
- ³³ O. E. von Kotzebue, *Puteshestviye v Yuzhnyy Okean . . .* (A Voyage to the South Seas . . .), part II, St. Petersburg, 1821, pp. 23–29.
- ³⁴ A. Chamisso, "Observations and remarks of the expedition's natural historian," in O. E. von Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, part 3, St. Petersburg, 1823, pp. 300–301; (Relying on the English edition, Pierce attributes these words to O. E. von Kotzebue) R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 18; O. E. von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery . . .*, Vol. 2, London, 1821, p. 241.
- ³⁵ See Dr. Schäffer's journal in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
- ³⁶ T. Tarakanov et al. to the RAC Main Office, 7 (19) July 1817, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1–10, d. 1, ll. 82–87; TsGIA, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 42–46; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–203.
- ³⁷ V. M. Golovnin, *Puteshestvie Vokrug Sveta, Sovershennoye na Voyennom Shlyupe "Kamchatka" v 1817, 1818 i 1819 godakh* (The Round-the-World Voyage Completed by the Naval Sloop Kamchatka in 1817, 1818, and 1819), Moscow, 1965, p. 205.
- ³⁸ R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–108, 205–206.
- ³⁹ RAC Main Office to A. A. Baranov, 22 March (2 April) 1817, No. 196, in NA, RRAC, Vol. 1, pp. 67–68.
- ⁴⁰ TsGIA SSSR, 18, op. 5, d. 1231, l. 2; AVPR, Main Archive f. 1–10, d. 1, ll. 1, 2.
- ⁴¹ *The Morning Chronicle*, 30 July 1817; *The Courier*, 30 July 1817; V. N. Berkh, "Some Notes on the Sandwich Islands," *Syn Otechestva* (Son of the Fatherland), 1818, part 43; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–123.
- ⁴² RAC Main Office to A. A. Baranov, 14 (26) August 1817, in NA, RRAC, roll 1, p. 96; RAC to V. M. Golovnin, 14 (26) August 1817, in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 110; NA, RRAC, roll 1, p. 176 states that the gifts the company sent to Kaumualii consisted of "a large mirror with a gilded frame, two cut-glass decanters, and other articles totaling 575 rubles."

- ⁴³ RAC Main Office to G. A. Schäffer (by way of A. A. Baranov), 20 August (1 September) 1817, in NA, RRAC, roll 1, pp. 173-175; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112.
- ⁴⁴ RAC Main Office to K. V. Nessel'rode, 29 January (10 February) 1818, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 29; O. P. Kozodavlev to K. V. Nessel'rode, 13 (25) September 1817, *ibid.*, l. 10.
- ⁴⁵ K. V. Nessel'rode to Kh. A. Liven, 29 August (10 September) 1817, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 5: *ibid.*, ll. 6-8 indicate that copies of Schäffer's reports and the act of Kaumualii's acceptance of Russian citizenship were sent to Liven as attachments.
- ⁴⁶ Kh. A. Liven to K. V. Nessel'rode, 15 (27) November 1817, No. 173, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 16; "Opinion de l'Ambassadeur Cte de Lieven sur la soumission présumée des îles Sandwich à la Russie," *ibid.*, ll. 13-14; "Apperçu historique et politique sur les îles de Sandwich," *ibid.*, ll. 17-28. There is an inscription "Recd. 21 December" on l. 16.
- ⁴⁷ "Opinion . . ." *ibid.*, ll. 13-14.
- ⁴⁸ "Apperçu . . ." *ibid.*, l. 27.
- ⁴⁹ RAC Main Office to K. V. Nessel'rode, 19 (31) January 1818, No. 30, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 31. See also "Excerpts from the letters of the RAC Main Office, 19 January 1818," *ibid.*, ll. 44-45; M. M. Budlakov to (I. A. Kapodistrii?), 22 January (3 February) 1818, *ibid.*, l. 46.
- ⁵⁰ K. V. Nessel'rode to O. P. Kozodavlev, Moscow, 24 February 1818, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 19, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 12-13; AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, ll. 62-63. The draft of the letter to the minister of internal affairs bore the emperor's mark "Let it be so. 23d Day of February 1818" and a clerical notation "Signed 24 Feb. and sent to Mr. Ubri by post from Moscow."
- ⁵¹ K. V. Nessel'rode to O. P. Kozodavlev, 24 February (8 March) 1818, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 65.
- ⁵² *Politika Yevropayskikh Derzhav v Yugo-Vostochnoy Azii (60-ye gody XVIII—60-ye gody XIX v.). Dokumenty i Materialy* (The Policies of European Powers in Southeast Asia (1760's-1860's). Documents and Materials), Moscow, 1962, p. 10.
- ⁵³ O. P. Kozodavlev to RAC Main Office, 13 (25) March 1818, in BL. P-N 14, *Les Russes aux îles Hawaii*, p. 34.
- ⁵⁴ The opinion of the RAC council, 26 March (7 April) 1818, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, ll. 67-74; TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 17-24; *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, pp. 166-170.
- ⁵⁵ See AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, ll. 66, 76; TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 25-26, 29-30.
- ⁵⁶ O. E. von Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 319.
- ⁵⁷ RAC Main Office to O. P. Kozodavlev, 13 (25) August 1818, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 32-33; AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 93; K. V. Nessel'rode to O. P. Kozodavlev, 19 (31) August 1818, *ibid.*, l. 94; TsGIA SSSR f. 18, op. 5, d. 1231, l. 38 (the original).
- ⁵⁸ G. A. Schäffer to the RAC Main Office, Khel'singer, 30 May 1818; Report of F. Osipov to the RAC Main Office, in R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-134; RAC Main Office to O. P. Kozodavlev, 23 August (4 September) 1818, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1231, ll. 41-42.
- ⁵⁹ G. A. Schäffer to I. A. Kapodistrii, Berlin, 10 September 1818 (received 11 (23) October 1818), in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, ll. 95-96, 97-102, with the attachment: "Mémoire sur les îles de Sandwich, présenté à Sa Majesté L'Empereur de toutes les Russes par Mr. Schaffer Assesseur de Collège." The same mémoire was sent to K. V. Nessel'rode on 12 September 1818; G. A. Schäffer to K. V. Nessel'rode, Berlin, 12 September 1818, *ibid.*, ll. 103-104, 105-110; *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, 5 (78), pp. 173-177. In the literature, Schäffer's note is normally dated February

- 1819; D. D. Tumarkin, *op. cit.*, p. 160; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and elsewhere. Moreover, the original copy of this *mémoire* had been submitted to the directors of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as early as September 1818. A comparison of the original French copy of the *mémoire* with the Russian translation published by S. B. Okun' leaves no doubt that precisely the same document is being discussed. For the Russian text, see TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1239, ll. 1-6. The *mémoire* itself had been drafted earlier, in the fall of 1817, by G. A. Schäffer and A. Ljungstedt in Macao, according to AVPR, Kantselyariya (Office) f., d. 2804, ll. 23-26.
- ⁶⁰ K. V. Nessel'rode to P. Ya, Ubri, Bad Aachen, 1 (13) November 1818, in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 113.
- ⁶¹ "On the Sandwich Islands as interpreted by Doctor Schäffer" (1819), in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 126.
- ⁶² *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, pp. 177-181; TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1239, ll. 16-20.
- ⁶³ *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, pp. 181-182; TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1239, ll. 24-25.
- ⁶⁴ "The Opinion of the Company Main Office," 18 (30) March 1819 in *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, p. 185; TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1239, ll. 29-34; *Ibid.*, l. 28: *Postanovleniye Soveta RAK ot 29 Marta* (10 Aprelya) 1819 (The RAC Council Decision, 29 March (10 April) 1819). The RAC representation was made in response to a secret request from O. P. Kozodavlev: O. P. Kozodavlev to the RAC Main Office, 27 February (11 March) 1819, in NA, RRAC, roll 1, p. 249.
- ⁶⁵ RAC Main Office to L. A. Hagemeister, 1 (13) April 1819, No. 218, in NA, RRAC, r. 1, p. 243.
- ⁶⁶ "On Restoring the Damaged Relations with the Sandwich Islands as Proposed by the Main Office of the Russian-American Company, May, 1819," in AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, ll. 131-135; D. D. Tumarkin, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- ⁶⁷ K. V. Nessel'rode to O. P. Kozodavlev, 24 June (6 July) 1819, in *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, pp. 185-186; TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 1, d. 1239, ll. 52-55; AVPR, Main Archive f. 1-10, d. 1, l. 143 on. The draft of the letter is approved by Alexander I in "Tsarskoye Selo, 21st day of June, 1819."
- ⁶⁸ Ministry of Interior to RAC Main Office, 15 (27) July 1819; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-141.
- ⁶⁹ Protocol of the Meeting of the RAC Council, 17 (29) May 1819, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1209, l. 28; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 138. In Pierce's publication the word "uvolneniye" to Germany is translated as "ot'ezd" (departure).
- ⁷⁰ RAC Main Office to the Department of Manufacture and Internal Trade, 6 (18) October 1819, in TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1209, l. 76.
- ⁷¹ L. A. Hagemeister to I. A. Podushkin, 9 (21) February 1818, in NA, RRAC, r. 26, pp. 25-29; Neither I. A. Podushkin's letter in spring 1818 nor the subsequent expedition by Commissioner Schmidt on the brig *Brutus* produced any significant practical results. Kaumualii agreed to pay "200 picul in sandalwood" and, besides, demanded "15 barrels of powder for the maintenance of company employees." S. I. Yanovskiy, who replaced L. A. Hagemeister as the governor of Russian possessions in America, noted on this account that "much more" could be achieved "by sending one or two well-armed vessels there." However, neither Yanovskiy nor the company Main Office could take on such a move, considering the clearly expressed "will" of the emperor. See S. I. Yanovskiy to the RAC Main Office, 30 April (12 May) 1820, in NA, RRAC, r. 27, p. 21; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 155-156; RAC Main Office to M. I. Murav'yev, 15 (27) March 1821, in NA, RRAC, r. 2, p. 186; BL. P-N 14, *Les Russes aux îles Hawaii*, p. 119.
- ⁷² RAC Main Office to L. A. Hagemeister, "and in his absence, to the individual serving in his place," 12 (24) August 1819, in NA, RRAC, r. 1, pp. 245-248; TsGAVMF, f. 213, op. 1, d. 135, ll. 1-7; D. D. Tumarkin cites this document using an undated copy; R. Pierce, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-146. Pierce publishes a copy of the instructions without indicating who signed it.

- ⁷³ RAC Main Office to M. I. Murav'yev, 23 January (4 February) 1820, No. 90, in NA, RRAC, r. 2, p. 34; M. I. Murav'yev to the RAC Main Office, 16 (28) January 1821, in NA, RRAC, r. 27, p. 152.
- ⁷⁴ RAC Main Office to M. I. Murav'yev, 15 (27) March 1821, in NA, RRAC, r. 2, pp. 186-187; BL. P-N 14, *Les Russes aux îles Hawaii*, p. 119; NA, RRAC, r. 2, p. 295. It should be mentioned that the gifts for the king finally never made it to the Hawaiian Islands. In a despatch dated 15 (27) January 1822 M. I. Murav'yev reported that he "abstained" from sending the gifts to Kaumualii "and had done well," since "I have just received orders complying with this action from the Main Office." TsGIA SSSR, f. 18, op. 5, d. 1315, l. 1. In 1844 these gifts were transported back to St. Petersburg.
- ⁷⁵ RAC Main Office to M. I. Murav'yev, 28 February (12 March) 1822, No. 151, in NA, RRAC, r. 3, p. 83.
- ⁷⁶ R. S. Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 62-65, 74-76; O. E. von Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 25, 32; M. I. Murav'yev to the King of the Sandwich Islands, 27 May (8 June) 1821, in NA, RRAC, r. 27, pp. 226-227.
- ⁷⁷ M. I. Murav'yev to the RAC Main Office, 15 (27) January 1822, in NA, RRAC, r. 27, pp. 295-296; BL. P-N 14, *Les Russes aux îles Hawaii*, pp. 119-120.
- ⁷⁸ P. A. Tikhmenev, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 192.