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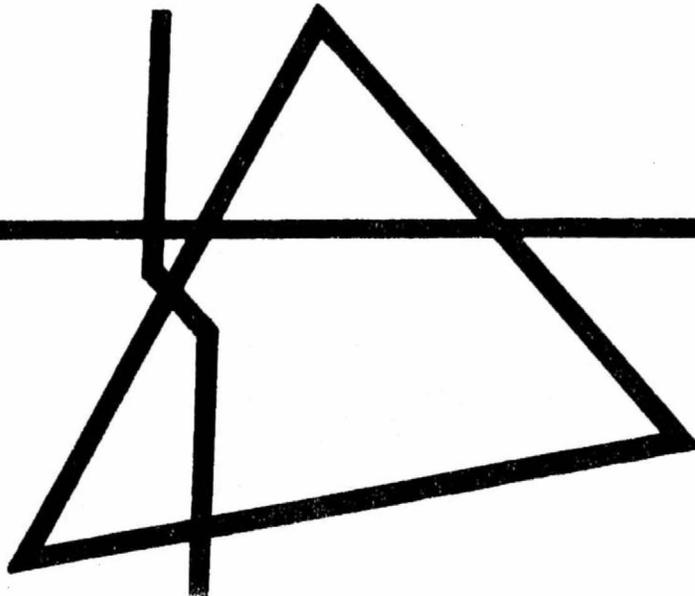
University of Hawaii

Miscellaneous Work Papers

1974:2
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Chapters on Hawaii and the Marianas in
V.M. GOLOVNIN'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

Photocopy, Summer 1986



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Pacific Islands Program
Room 5, George Hall Annex 8
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Chapters on Hawaii and the Marianas

in V.M. Golovnin's

Voyage Around the World on the Sloop of War Kamchatka performed by order
of His Majesty the Emperor in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819

Translated by Ella Wiswell

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INTRODUCTION

The First edition of Golovnin's Voyage Around the World, published in 1822*, consists of two parts. As he points out in his Foreword, Part I is a narrative describing the voyage and the countries visited by him and deals with subjects of interest to the general public, while Part II gives a more careful description of harbors and roadsteads and deals with technical details of navigation. Part I is divided into sixteen chapters and has eight appendices. In most cases two chapters are devoted to each country visited: the first a log describing the crossing and landing, and giving general information; the second a detailed description of the country and its people. Inevitably, there is a certain amount of repetition and occasionally even slight contradictions, presumably because the second chapter was written at a later date.

The translation presented here covers only a section of Part I: Chapters X and XI about Hawaii, and the first part of Chapter XII devoted to the Marianas. The end of Chapter XII, describing the crossing to Manila, is omitted here. The final item in this translation is Appendix No. 8, the story of Lauri -- a young Hawaiian whom Golovnin took back to Russia.

This is a revised and corrected version of the translation I did in 1939 for the State of Hawaii Archives. In doing this translation I tried to stay as close to the Russian text as possible, so that the translation perhaps reflects the somewhat archaic style of that period.

The only deviation from the original text is the omission of the marginal dates of the log (Chapter X and first half of Chapter XII). Since the dates in almost every instance were mentioned again in the text, this omission should not lead to any confusion. When the date did not appear in the text it is added in

* Puteshestvie Vokrug Sveta po poveleniu Gosudaria Imperatora Sovershonnogo na voennom Shlupe "Kamchatke" v 1817, 1818, 1819 godah. St. Petersburg, 1822.

brackets. It should be noted that the dates in this narrative, as well as in the outline of the Kamchatka route given below, follow the "old style" Julian calendar used in Russia at the time. In the 19th century that calendar was 12 days behind the "new style" or Gregorian calendar.

Conforming to English usage, Golovnin's quotation marks were replaced by italics, as in the names of ships, and the italics were replaced with quotation marks.

One other change introduced here is the spelling of Hawaiian place names. As mentioned in the footnote in Chapter XI (p. 56), Golovnin stated that he followed the accepted spelling of his day, which was the spelling as it appeared in all the early voyages, i.e. Owyhee, Woahoo, etc. However, because there is no "w" or voiced "h" in Russian, the letters "v" and "g" are used, as in Gonolulu, Gavaii, etc. Therefore, the Russian transcription of Hawaiian names differed from the English. If transliterated exactly from Golovnin's Russian spelling, the names of the Hawaiian Islands would be as follows: Ovaigi, Movi, Tagurova, Renai, Voagu, Atuai, Onigu, Tagura, and Morokin. Rather than attempt to transcribe these to the English spelling of that day, it seemed reasonable to use the modern names which are more familiar today. For a similar reason Kamehameha is spelt according to the present day usage, instead of Tameamea, which would be the exact transliteration of Golovnin's spelling. The "t" was replaced by "k" in Waititi and "r" by "l" in Honoruru, Kairua, and Kearakokua. Personal names were left as they appear in the text, except that "h" was substituted for the Russian "g". The correct name is bracketed the first time each name appears.

In the chapter on the Marianas, the names are kept as they appear in the text because Golovnin states that he used the Spanish names and because they are easily identified today.

Vasilii Mikhailovich Golovnin was born in 1776 on the family estate in the province of Ryazan in central Russia. Orphaned at the age of nine, he was enrolled by his relatives at the Navy School in Kronstadt. In 1790, as a young cadet, he participated in a battle against the Swedish navy and was decorated for bravery. He completed his course of studies with distinction in 1792, but was retained at school for another year because of his youth. During that year he kept himself busy studying foreign languages. Evidently he realized the importance of knowing foreign languages early in life and mastered several. At one point in his narrative he remarks that unfortunately navy training does not put enough stress on the study of languages, but that the cadets should realize how embarrassing it is for a naval officer abroad not to know any foreign languages.

After leaving the school as a warrant officer, Golovnin spent several years in training. In 1802 he was sent to England with some other officers for training and study. With the outbreak of the Napoleonic war in 1803 he served in the British navy with distinction. He returned to Russia in 1806, a year before Krusenstern and Lisiansky completed the first Russian voyage around the world. Shortly after their return, in 1807, Golovnin was put in command of the sloop Diana and was directed to conduct geographic and hydrographic research in the Pacific. This voyage ended badly. One of the assignments was to survey the Kurile Islands and the passages between the islands of the group. Golovnin set out from Kamchatka to do this in 1811. The northern islands of the group, nearest to Kamchatka, were within the sphere of Russian influence, but the southern islands were occupied by the Japanese. At that time the Japanese did not allow foreign ships to land anywhere except at Nagasaki. Hostile to all foreign intrusion, they were particularly suspicious of the Russians because of their proximity in the Kuriles and particularly because in 1807 Lieutenant Khovstov, in command of a Russian trading vessel, had

raided a Japanese settlement on one of the islands and had taken two Japanese as hostages. Fully aware of the problem, Golovnin was very careful to avoid the Japanese occupied islands. However, through a series of misunderstandings he landed on Kunashiro with six other Russians and a northern Kurile islander who acted as interpreter. They were all captured and eventually transported to Hokkaido. They remained in prison until 1813 when they were finally released after prolonged negotiations between the Russian and the Japanese governments.

Golovnin returned to Russia overland from Okhotsk, which took six months, in July 1814, and was shortly promoted from lieutenant to the rank of captain. The next two years were spent at his desk. He was preparing official reports for the government and also began to write for the current journals. His account of the Japanese imprisonment, the only work of his to be translated into English*, was read widely, and was followed by the Voyage on the Sloop Diana in 1807, 1808 and 1809.

In 1816 he was assigned to perform a round-the-world voyage, and the sloop Kamchatka was built especially for that purpose within a year. This was his last voyage. After his return he was assigned to shore duty and was again busy writing. In addition to his Kamchatka Voyage he published an article on the Conditions in the Russian-American Company in 1818, and also wrote an article criticising the condition of the Russian fleet. This controversial article was not published until 1861.

He married Evdokiya Lutkovskaya in 1819 and settled in St. Petersburg. In 1823 he was put in charge of all naval shipyards and was credited with improvement of the Russian fleet. The first Russian steamships were built under his supervision. His promotion to vice admiral came in 1830. In 1831 Golovnin died in

* Narrative of Captivity in Japan. London, 1818.

It also appeared as: Memoirs of Captivity in Japan 1811-1813. London, 1824, and Japan and the Japanese. London, 1852.

St. Petersburg during a cholera epidemic at the age of 55, survived by his widow and five children.

The purpose of the Kamchatka expedition, as stated by Golovnin in Chapter I, was:

"1. To deliver military and other supplies to Kamchatka and to the port of Okhotsk which could be reached only with great difficulty by overland routes.

"2. To stop at the outposts of the Russian-American Company and to inquire into the dealings of this company with the native inhabitants, and, finally,

"3. To determine the exact geographic location of islands and places in Russian possession not yet surveyed by astronomical measurements, and to explore by means of small craft the northwest coast of America between latitudes 60° and 63°, which Captain Cook could not explore because of shallow waters. This latter order was to be carried out only after verifying upon arrival to America whether the Commander of the brig Rurik, sent on an expedition under the auspices of Chancellor of State Nicholas Petrovich Rumianstsev*, had not already done so."

We are also told in Chapter I that the Kamchatka was a "man-of-war of the frigate type" with some changes "necessary because of its objectives" and was designated as "a sloop". This designation was given to three-masted military sailing ships used in expeditions. During the voyage, Golovnin praised the vessel for making good speed and for its sturdy construction which, according to him, saved

* Count Rumianstsev was a diplomat and patron of the arts who was also interested in Russian explorations and had helped to organize the Kusenstern and Lisiansky expeditions on the Russian-American Company ships the Neva and the Hope and had subsidized the Kotzebue expedition on his own ship, the Rurik, in 1815.

them from peril in heavy storms, particularly in rounding Cape Horn. He tells us that "It was capable of carrying nine hundred tons of cargo and a battery of thirty-two guns of which, however, only twenty-eight were installed due to the prevailing state of peace." Golovnin was given the freedom to select his own crew of one hundred and thirty men. Among the junior officers in his crew were two future famous explorers, F.P. Lutke and F.P. Wrangel, whom Golovnin mentions several times in the narrative.

"In addition to the naval officers," writes Golovnin in the same chapter, "a young but talented artist, Mr. Tikhanov, was appointed to the sloop through the efforts of the President of the Academy of Arts. On all such voyages an artist is very necessary for there are many things in distant parts of the world of which no samples can be brought back and of which even the most detailed descriptions cannot convey a proper understanding without a drawing which alone can make up for these drawbacks." Michael Tikhanov (1789-1862) was born a serf on a Russian estate. In 1806 he was admitted to the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts and was an outstanding student. He completed his studies in 1815 and remained attached to the Academy until 1817 when he joined the Kamchatka expedition. Toward the end of the voyage he became mentally ill and was placed in an institution upon his return. He was pensioned in 1822 and lived in the care of a fellow artist until his death. A Tikhanov stipend was established at the Academy eventually on small funds left behind by the artist.

Golovnin apparently had a high opinion of Tikhanov. In the narrative he refers to his work several times and praises the verisimilitude of his portraits. However, the drawings did not appear in the first edition of the Voyage although they were included in the list of maps, panoramic views, plans and illustrations given in Part II of that edition. On a fly leaf attached to Part I, Golovnin

placed a "Notice", dated December 25, 1823, explaining that the engravings of the illustrations was not ready and "in order not to delay any further this account of the voyage, long since printed, from satisfying public curiosity, the Department of the Navy has decided to publish it without the engravings, which no doubt will also soon appear."

All the drawings listed originally, as well as a few additional ones not on that list, appeared for the first time in the 1949 Soviet edition of Collected Works of Golovnin and later in the 1961 edition of the Diana voyage and in the 1965 edition of the Kamchatka voyage. The drawings are now kept at the Science Research Museum of the Academy of Arts in Leningrad.

One of the drawings on the list was a portrait of the "Ruler of the Sandwich Islands by the name of Tameamea". This portrait became famous in Hawaii as "The lost portrait of Kamehameha I".* In addition to the portrait of Kamehameha the list also includes "Portraits of the Sandwich Islands chiefs Boki, Gekiri and their retinue". From the Marianas, there is a drawing, "A cock fight on the Island of Guahan". The list of maps and plans includes the following pertaining to the material in this translation: "A plan of the Honoruru Harbor", "A plan of the Umata Bay", "A plan of the port of St. Luis of Apra", and a panoramic view of the "Island of Guahan and entrance into Caldera Bay". Ross H. Gast** mentions that the plan of the Honolulu Harbor is the first published map drawn to scale showing the immediate foreshore of Honolulu. In Chapter V, Part II, which is also about Hawaii but not included in this translation, Golovnin says that:

* For the story concerning the search for this portrait see: Paradise of the Pacific (Sept. 30, 1938), "Tihanoff's Lost Portrait of Kamehameha I", and The Conch Shell, Bishop Museum News, Vol. I, No. 3, Fall 1963.

** Don Francisco de Paula Marin, A Biography. Honolulu, 1973. p.30.

"the Honolulu harbor is the best and the safest of all harbors in the Sandwich Islands Approaching the harbor one will see a fort and beyond it a small stone house; near the fort to the west there is a wooden wharf. A line drawn through the above mentioned house and the wharf is the safest course into the harbor. However, since with time another stone house might be built, a third one, and many more, in order not to make a mistake and thereby expose oneself to danger, it is best to take a pilot; although one should not depend too much on a local pilot"

He points out that Vancouver was misled about the safety of this harbor.

Chapter V also contains descriptions of Kealahou and Kailua bays and mentions Waiakea, but on Golovnin's own admission the major part of the chapter is based on Vancouver. Golovnin had a very high opinion of Vancouver and wrote that he relied on the latter's navigation charts throughout the voyage. This admission, in fact, led to a controversy with Lisiansky (Part I, Appendix No. 4) whose chart of Chiniatsky Bay of Kodiak Island he criticised for not properly recording submerged rocks.

The Kamchatka sailed from Kronstadt on August 26, 1817. The first stop was Portsmouth in England for provisions and additional supplies. Crossing the Atlantic, the sloop passed near the Canaries and sailed directly to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where it arrived seventy-one days after leaving Russia. From Brazil the expedition proceeded around Cape Horn to Lima, Peru, and from there went on to Kamchatka. After a stopover at Kamchatka, Golovnin sailed along the Aleutians, and stopped at Kodiak Island. He did not have to explore the Aleutians because Kotzebue had preceded him there, so after investigating the work of the Russian-American Company he proceeded to Sitka.

The next stop was Monterey in California and then Fort Ross. Since Fort Ross had no harbor, the sloop anchored in Bodega Bay called Rumiantsev Bay by the Russians. In writing about California, Golovnin uses that name only when talking about the Spanish possessions in Monterey, but refers to the region north of San Francisco as New Albion, in order to distinguish between the Spanish possessions and the Russian America. In Chapter IX, devoted to a description of California, he writes:

"The part of the northwestern coast of America called New Albion should be considered the section between north latitudes 38° and 48° because the British navigator and the second round-the-world voyager, Drake, gave this name to the American shore which he saw from latitudes 48° and 38° . In this part he found an open bay where he anchored and which later was named Drake's Bay. The settlement of the Russian-American Company, called Fort Ross, is located on the shore near a small river in latitude $38^{\circ}33'$ and within about eighty miles of the San Francisco Presidio which forms the northern border of California. This fort was founded in 1812 with the consent of the native inhabitants who are Indians of the same type as those in California, but who are irreconcilable enemies of the Spaniards whom they put to death without mercy wherever they come across them."

Later in the same chapter he describes the very friendly relations between these Indians and the Russian settlers. He vigorously defends the Russian rights to New Albion in this chapter as well as in Appendix No. 7 which was written to protest a report prepared in January 1821 by a committee of the American Congress concerning colonies on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. He points out that the Russians were the first to settle in Alaska and in New Albion.

From Fort Ross in New Albion, Golovnin sailed for the Sandwich Islands, at which point this translation of the Voyage begins.

On leaving Guam, Golovnin hesitated between Manila and Canton as his next port of call. He decided in favor of Manila because he was concerned about the unfair treatment of European ships by the Chinese Mandarins and was afraid to arouse their suspicions by arrival of a Russian warship. In Manila, Golovnin spent thirty-five days in drydock for repairs to the sloop.

From Manila the sloop sailed through the East Indies without making any stops, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and made its first stop at St. Helena Island on March 22, 1819. The island was very closely guarded because of Napoleon's presence there. Golovnin was disappointed that he did not have a chance to see Napoleon whose every move was carefully watched. After St. Helena, Golovnin stopped at Ascension Island to pick up some turtles, then crossed the North Atlantic to the Azores where he anchored at Fayal Island. He then sailed home, via Portsmouth and Copenhagen, and arrived at Kronstadt on September 5, 1819, thus completing the voyage around the world in two years and ten days.

One point in connection with Golovnin's visit to Hawaii needs clarifying, namely his attitude toward Dr. Sheffer whom he mentions by name only in Chapter X and to whom he refers very indirectly in Chapter XI. Georg Anton Schäffer was a German doctor whose Russified name was Yegor Niklaevich Sheffer. He was employed by the Russian-American Company and was sent to Kauai from Sitka by the director of the company to recover the ship Bering which had been wrecked off Kauai in 1815, when both the ship and the cargo had been retained by chief Kaumualii of Kauai. The Russian-American Company was founded in 1799 by uniting several separate Russian enterprises then working on developing the northwest shores of America and adjoining islands. The main office was in St. Petersburg, but the company head-

quarters was in Sitka, called Novo-Archangelsk by the Russians. The Russian government, interested in strengthening and expanding its possessions in the Pacific, gave the company a twenty-year monopoly of fishing, hunting and mining enterprises in the Russian possessions north of 55° latitude, including the Aleutian, Kurile, and other islands in the area. The company had extensive rights. It was permitted to open up, and add to, the Russian possessions, trade with adjoining governments, possess its own armed forces and built forts. It flew its own flag under which it sailed its ships. It carried on a lively trade and played an important role in the exploration of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, having subsidized the earlier voyages. The company had had friendly trade relations with Hawaii since 1804, and many of its ships stopped there. The choice of Sheffer to recover the wrecked ship and cargo proved to be unfortunate. Ambitious and adventurous, Sheffer went beyond his original assignment and attempted to make Kauai a Russian settlement and organize an uprising against Kamehameha. He built a fort over which he flew a Russian flag and had obtained a letter of submission to the Emperor of Russia from Kaumualii. He sent glowing reports to the company headquarters and asked for support. In actual fact his success was short-lived. When Kotzebue arrived in Hawaii in 1816, he heard for the first time about Sheffer and about his presence there, but did not offer him any support. In fact, he assured Kamehameha that the Emperor of Russia had no intention of extending his power over the islands. Kamehameha asserted his rights and Sheffer was driven out of Kauai. By 1817 he managed to escape from Honolulu to Canton on an American trading ship. But the problem was complicated by slowness of communication, so that the Russian-American Company was still under the impression that Sheffer was successful and it was tempted by the possibility of establishing a Russian outpost in such a favorable spot as Hawaii.

Today sufficient documents have been discovered to show that the Russian government never supported Sheffer, and that the Russian-American Company became so deeply involved only because it was misled by Sheffer's reports.* When the Kamchatka was ready to set sail in August 1817, the main office of the company in St. Petersburg had just received the first report of Sheffer's initial success on Kauai and a copy of Kaumualii's letter of submission. Therefore, Golovnin was requested to deliver a letter of instructions to Sheffer. He was also asked to "do everything possible to help establish Russian possession and build a factory"*** on Kauai and was even carrying gifts for chief Kaumualii. However, by the time Golovnin reached Hawaii, in October 1818, Sheffer had already been driven out. Consequently, Golovnin found this part of his mission no longer pertinent and does not discuss it. He does not explain why he attempted to see Kaumualii on Kauai and says as little as possible about the embarrassing Sheffer affair which he camouflages completely in Chapter XI, making it clear, nevertheless, that the "imprudent physician" was not Russian.

In revising this translation I am most grateful to Dorothy Barrere of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum for her assistance with identifying the Hawaiian names, and to George Kerr and Catherine Harris for their valuable editorial comments.

Honolulu, 1974

E.W.

* For more detailed accounts and documentation of these events see:

Klaus Mehnert, The Russians in Hawaii 1804-1819. University of Hawaii Occasional Papers No. 38, University of Hawaii Bulletin, 18, April 1939.

Robert A. Pierce, Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817. University of California Press, 1965.

N.N. Bolkhovitinov, The Adventures of Doctor Schaffer in Hawaii, 1815-1819.

Novaya I Noveyshaya Istoriya, Moscow, No. 1, 1972. English translation by Igor V. Vorobyoff in The Hawaiian Journal of History, Vol. 7, 1973.

** Alphonse Pinart, Les Russes aux Isles Sandwich, 1816-1818. Reports and letters of the Russian-American Company of Alaska concerning the Sandwich Islands, translated by Ella Embree, 1939, Microfilm No. 372, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii.

FOREWORD

When remote countries of the globe were little known to Europeans, and when voyages to those parts were undertaken very rarely, it was interesting for readers to know of all that happened to the navigators who voyaged to such distant regions; the navigators, therefore, recorded in their accounts all sorts of minute details and descriptions of insignificant events. Later navigators, following their example, also oftentimes filled their books with descriptions of no interest. Today, however, when the enlightened readers have become well acquainted with all the remote parts of the world and know their names, characteristics, size and so on, almost as well as those of their own countries, all the details, especially those containing repetitions of things that had already been written, are no longer necessary, for they cannot give any pleasure to the reader or tell him anything new. In our times it would be a waste to publish many Voyages, including my own, if the peoples of the world in their political arrangements were just as constant and unchanging as the physical characteristics of the countries they inhabit, although even physical environment on rare occasions undergoes some change. As to human society, changes occur uninterruptedly and in the course of a few years through events and various circumstances people acquire an entirely different aspect. The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, for instance, now are not at all the same people that were described by the illustrious Cook and Vancouver; the remarks of La Perouse about Manila are also in many respects out of date, and so on. For this reason each voyage can contribute something new and interesting to the reader and might at the same time give him some useful information.

With this end in view, I composed my narrative in such a way as no sea voyage has yet been presented; I divided it into two parts. In the first part is included a simple account of my voyage with remarks about various countries which

we visited; in this part are omitted all the details and remarks pertaining to the art of navigation proper, and technical nautical expressions are used only in those instances when it was impossible to avoid them. The second part, on the other hand, contains the narrative and remarks concerning such matters which may be necessary and useful to navigators alone.

V.G.

CHAPTER X

The Crossing from the shores of New Albion
to the Sandwich Islands and the sojourn there.

The gale continued, with clear and bright weather, all night; before dawn of the 28th [September 1818] it calmed down and the wind turned westward; during the day the wind blew only in mild gusts, bringing rain clouds and the weather was now cloudy, now clear. At noon, by our observations, we were in latitude $36^{\circ}25'06''$ (20 miles to the south of our reckoning) and longitude $123^{\circ}55'51''$ by the chronometers. The inclination of the compass by the morning azimuths of the sun was $14^{\circ}26'$ to the east. After midday we saw one of the so-called tropic birds*; this species of bird very seldom appears in such high latitudes. Leaving the shores of New Albion I had decided to sail along the 135th meridian to the 30th parallel and then to continue along that parallel westward, because some of the Spanish maps indicate two islands in that vicinity: one in latitude $28^{\circ}50'$ and longitude $135^{\circ}00'$, and the other in latitude $28^{\circ}00'$ and longitude $143^{\circ}25'$. This latter is called Santa-Maria la Horta. La Perouse passed close to these regions on his way from Monterey to Canton, but did not see any islands; although there seems to be little doubt as to their existence, they must have been poorly located on the map. Near the same location in latitude $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and longitude $141\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ our Lieutenant Podushkin, leading one of the vessels of the Russian-American Company from New Archangel to the Sandwich Islands, noted in his sea log that he saw "herds of seals". Since it is well known that these animals never swim very far away from land, and since La Perouse took a route to the south of the parallel on which the

* Golovnin identifies this bird earlier in Chapter II as Phaetonaetherius and gives the French name as Paille-en-cul. [Trans.]

islands are indicated to be, I considered it advisable to pass more to the north of the said parallel in order to locate them.

Until the 7th of October, having met nothing of interest, we navigated southward, mostly carried by fair winds and accompanied by clear weather; on the 7th at noon we were located, according to observations and the chronometers, in latitude $28^{\circ}55'$ and longitude $135^{\circ}03'$, practically on the very spot where the Spanish maps mentioned above indicate an island. However, we saw neither land, nor any signs thereof, except for three tropic birds flying together. According to my original plan we were now to direct ourselves westward, but since the winds came from the west, and were very light at that, it would have been impossible to advance even 50 miles westward along that parallel; hence I changed my course to the south in order to encounter the trade winds sooner and thus sail towards the Sandwich Islands by a route that had never been taken before.

On the evening of the 11th of October, being in latitude 25° and longitude 137° , we picked up the northeast trade winds and began to steer a course directly on Hawaii, thus selecting a route that had never been followed by any of the famous navigators. Here I must note that from the shores of America up to this location* we had strong winds only at first, but later they were replaced by low variable winds attended by a swell which was always moving from the northwest and was often so strong that its rocking of the vessel disturbed us greatly. Vancouver had also encountered a strong northwest swell on this crossing. It is strange that in this part of the Ocean, where there are never any strong gales and so far from any stormy climates, there should always be such an uneven sea! What could possibly be the cause for this occurrence?

After this, until our arrival at the Sandwich Islands, nothing of interest

* And from here on almost to the very shores of the Sandwich Islands.

happened except for the following insignificant events: at latitude $28^{\circ}51'$ and longitude $138^{\circ}22'$ we passed a large pine or fir tree floating on the water, which must have been torn either from American shores or from some unknown islands located to the East. On the Sandwich Islands Vancouver had seen boats made of such drifting pine trees. He explains that such trees must have drifted in from America and this statement seems correct to me. Then, at latitude $22^{\circ}19'$ and longitude $143^{\circ}03'$ a land snipe flew for a while around the sloop. Judging from the distance, it could not have flown from America or from the Sandwich Islands, so there must be some unknown island nearby, but no matter how thoroughly we looked in all directions we saw nothing resembling land.

On the 16th of October the wind was fairly strong and occasional stronger gusts brought clouds and rain. We advanced under close reefed sail, not wishing to progress at high speed for fear of striking some unknown bank or island. At dawn the gusts disappeared, but the wind was still strong, and running before the wind we developed a high speed. At eight in the morning a small land bird flew for a while around the sloop; we were then in latitude $21^{\circ}+$ and longitude $148^{\circ}+$.

At midnight of the 17th the wind began to blow in gusts, bringing clouds. This night we took more measures of precaution than ever before for I had reason to suspect the same type of dangerous shoals to the east of the Sandwich Islands as had been found to the northwest and south*, and so we advanced under reduced sail; on the bow of the sloop, in addition to the usual watchmen and sailors, a

* To the northwest of these Islands La Perouse came across an island (Isle de Necker) and shoals (Basses des frégates françaises); on these shoals he almost perished and for his salvation is indebted to one of his sailor's good eyesight. In that same region our Navy Captain Lisiansky ran aground in the night near an unknown hardly noticeable islet which he named the Island of Lisiansky; had it not been absolutely calm at the time, we would have never heard of his ship Neva to this day. To the west of the above mentioned islands Mr. Lisiansky also discovered another islet (Krusenstern); while to the SW the English captain Johnson discovered a scrap of land equally dangerous to navigators.

midshipman was constantly peering ahead through a night tube; on the forecastle watchmen were constantly taking turns listening for the breakers, because in the dark the noise of waves striking a shoal is frequently heard before the foam of the breakers can be seen. In the morning the trade winds became more steady, the weather was very cloudy, and the sun appeared only occasionally, but that evening and at night the wind again became strong and gussy with frequent clouds and rain squalls, while to the northwest and west lightning was seen almost continuously. Through the night we again advanced with great caution, only at dawn putting up full sail. During the day of the 18th the wind was steady, attended by rather cloudy weather and although we were able to take the altitude of the sun in order to determine the longitude by the chronometers, the noon altitude could not be taken exactly at noon, but a few moments later; hence, the latitude ($19^{\circ}25'21''$) and longitude ($153^{\circ}38'20''$) deduced from these observations cannot be considered absolutely correct. From the location thus determined the eastern cape of Hawaii was within 70 miles directly west; we sailed directly toward it. The cape and the shores to the south of it appeared at five o'clock in the afternoon and at six we came to within five miles of it and at nightfall, turning away from it, we went southeast. Until dawn we remained near the shore, tacking under reduced sail, with a mild wind blowing from different compass points, alternating between E and NNW. The weather was cloudy, it rained frequently, and constant flashes of lightning were seen over the island. About seven in the morning on the 19th of October, the shore being clearly visible, we advanced to within four or five miles and, accompanied by a strong trade wind from NE and ENE, progressed SW along the shore. At nine in the morning the very high mountain, Mauna Loa, appeared quite clearly with its snow-covered crest. Two hours later the mountain disappeared in the clouds and we did not see it again that day, even though the weather was clear.

Although this mountain is extremely high, it does not have a sharp peak as do so many other high mountains. It rises gradually from the sea and ends in a crest somewhat similar to a boat turned upside down with both the bow and stern of the same shape. Therefore, it does not appear as majestic as sugar-head mountains, and to those unaccustomed to judge mountain heights it appears to be much lower than it actually is. According to Mr. Fleurieu's* computations done from Mr. Marchand's observations** its vertical height is 2598 toise (4 3/4 versts)***; but this seems too much. We took the necessary altitudes for deducing the longitude by the chronometers and found that they make a significant deviation to the east which point will be discussed in detail in its proper place.

At two in the afternoon we went around the southern point of the island within about three miles of shore. We could clearly see not only the huts but even the people. The trade winds carried us at a speed of nine miles an hour and we were helped along by the current. We were headed WNW along the southern shore within two or three miles of it. At four in the afternoon, approaching the southwest point of the island, we suddenly lost the trade winds which were replaced by light variable breezes. Then the islanders began to come out from the beach settlements. Before sunset six boats arrived, each carrying five to eight people. They did not bring anything for sale except a hog in one of the boats which they offered to exchange for a piece of cloth; some of the boats contained young women whose services the men offered to our sailors, by signs all too clear. The strips of

* Fleurieu (1728-1810) French navigator and author of book on Marchand, explorer of Marquesas in 1790. [Trans.]

** Mr. Marchand saw this mountain at a distance of 50 leagues (260 versts).

*** Toise, an old French measure of length is equal to 1,949 meters. The Russian verst is equal to 0.6629 miles or 3,500 feet or 1,067 meters. [Trans.]

material tied around their waists were mostly made of European cloth*; some of the men were dressed in torn sailor jerseys received from American and English ships. They came in their usual single canoes which have been so often and so well described by various voyagers.

During the evening and night the wind was light and variable and sometimes it was quite still. Fearing a sudden gust from the mountains we did not dare to put up full sail and barely advanced forward. The weather was clear; lights could be seen along the shore throughout the night by which we could tell that the current had no effect on us. At dawn on the 20th, we put out under full sail; taking advantage of light breezes alternating with occasional calms, we reached Kealakekua Bay at ten in the morning. Aided by light breezes and a tow-line we hauled into the bay at three in the afternoon on the same spot that Vancouver had occupied. When we were within about four miles of the bay, many boats surrounded us and almost every one contained women brought for immoral trade. In one of the boats a tall, husky, Sandwich Islander arrived; he came aboard the sloop with my permission**, sat down, and without further delay opened several rag bundles and produced some papers containing testimonials given to him by the captains of various warships and merchant vessels. Almost all of these described him as an able pilot, good swimmer and diver, and an expert swindler who never steals anything until he is quite sure of success, and therefore advised mariners to beware of him. His first two talents he promptly demonstrated: he dove under

* Throughout this narrative Golovnin used a Russian expression that literally translated means, "narrow piece of cloth tied around the waist" to describe both the men's loin cloth and the covering worn by women. The latter was the Hawaiian skirt, pau-u. /Trans./

** We did not allow everybody to board the Sloop, but only those who seemed more important or had some sort of identification papers.

the sloop coming up at the other side and then pointed out to us the very anchorage which Vancouver had recommended and to which we were proceeding without a pilot. His third skill was left to be discovered with time.

Hardly had we dropped anchor when the chief pilot, appointed by the Hawaiian King to pilot ships and find safe anchorage for them, arrived. A paper written in English and signed by an Englishman named Elliot certified the title and position of this man who went by two names: a Hawaiian, Heihekukui /Naihekukui/ and an English one, Jack. At first he expressed displeasure to our pilot for dropping anchor in the wrong place, but on learning that I selected this spot personally, he praised my choice. The first pilot waited upon him, but as soon as Jack departed he angrily struck his hand against a net and began to explain something to us: as we understood later he was saying that he, and not Jack, should really be the chief pilot. So far only one chief of the lower rank visited us, but crowds of common folk surrounded the sloop. They all behaved very quietly and made no attempts at robbery. Jack knew some English and through him I made the people understand that at sunset, as soon as the flag is lowered and the gun fired, the sloop will become tabu* and all the boats must leave. This last order was carried out and they did not trouble us during the night. About ten o'clock at night several people with torches and crying something out in a sing-song passed from Kaawaloa to Kealakekua along the beach close to the cliff. Later we learnt that this was the patrol walking through the settlements and proclaiming by the King's orders that the inhabitants were not to approach the sloop in the night and were not to harm us in any way.

The next day, as we raised the flag at dawn and fired the gun, canoes began to arrive, and a raft of them soon gathered on both sides of the sloop. In

* Tabu: a word known in Europe from many Voyages and meaning forbidden, fast, abstinence, etc.

the meantime, I received an answer to my note which I had addressed to the King the day before to notify him of our arrival. The note which I received was written by Mr. Elliot and stated that His Majesty, on account of his sister's illness, was not able to come in person, but that an order had been issued to the chiefs authorizing them to allow the people to sell us provisions, and that Mr. Elliot would visit the sloop by command of the King. It must be explained here that Mr. Elliot, a native of Scotland, was formerly an assistant surgeon on an English warship and later served as surgeon on various merchant vessels and sometimes acted as navigator or super-cargo. He was acting in this latter capacity on the Ilmen of the Russian-American Company when he was captured by the Spaniards. After obtaining his freedom he came into the service of the King of the Sandwich Islands with the title of 'Minister of Foreign Affairs.'* Following his orders the inhabitants brought quantities of vegetables, fruit and chickens for sale, but no hogs. However, the prices were so high that it did not pay to buy anything; for instance, in exchange for two watermelons they wanted a jackknife or a table knife or a pair of scissors; the same was asked for a melon. Iron they valued at next to nothing and offered mere trifles in exchange for sheet copper. This happened, perhaps, because we had dropped the value of copper by throwing pieces of the metal overboard for them to dive after, which was performed with great agility. It must be noted that both men and women at present smoke tobacco in wooden pipes lined with copper.

At ten in the morning Mr. Elliot arrived in a small double canoe accom-

* Juan Elliot d'Castro, whose name appears as Elliot or John Elliot de Castro in this narrative. He was of English-Portuguese, rather than Scotch origin. At one time in his varied career he worked for the Russian American Company and eventually returned to Hawaii on the Russian ship Rurik. He had an important position at Kamehameha's court and the Russians believed him to be the minister of foreign affairs. [Trans.]

panied by the King's first wife's brother whose Hawaiian name is Kalua /Kalua-i-Konahale Kuakini/ and the European one is John Adams. It should be mentioned here that many of the Sandwich Islanders of high rank take on English or American names; thus, the Prime Minister whose name is Kremoku/Kalanimoku/ is called Mister Pitt, etc. Our guests apologized for the King's inability to come because of his sister's illness and brought his gifts consisting of 15 bushels of potatoes and six bushels of taro;* an order had also been issued to the local administrator to deliver some vegetables, fruit and ten hogs. However, this man, promising to bring the vegetables on the following day, said that he could only bring one hog as he had no more. This refusal to comply with the order Mr. Elliot attributed to cheating and meant to report this to the King. After talking to Mr. Elliot for about an hour I went along with him, accompanied by several of my officers, to the settlement of Kaawaloa where the famous Cook lost his life. First we stopped at the house of the local chief whom we found sitting in an arm-chair of European make. He had on a brown cloth coat with metal buttons worn over his naked body. His wife, wearing a chemise and a robe-like calico dress, sat next to him on a trunk of European make, of which there were three in the room. Next to her sat a young man in a sailor's outfit who looked like a Portuguese sailor. He was sewing a coat of English cloth and was, as we learned later, not a tailor, but also a chief and the second husband of our hostess. The local ladies of high rank allow themselves the freedom and the "little whim" of having a couple of husbands, just as in some other countries women have ten or more husbands incognito. Besides these people in European dress there were about three or four men and two women in native cos-

* Taro is a plant of hot climates; its root is used for making flour which tastes somewhat like our barley flour when mixed with rye. Scientists call it arum esculentum.

tume, that is naked except for bands around the waist. When we came in, Elliot told them who I was. The chief rose, shook hands with me in English fashion and asked me to sit down in the armchair, while he himself sat down on the floor and made my attendants also sit on the floor. Our conversation was very short for I spoke mostly to Elliot who answered my questions about the local customs and different matters concerning the islands. In the meantime the chief, Naihe by name, offered us some wine and water. But instead of wine they gave us rum and, after we had all taken turns in drinking out of the same glass, they filled a glass for him which he drank up going out of the house to do so. On returning he explained to us through Mr. Elliot that each Sandwich Islander has to have three houses, huts or tents, depending on his status: one is used to sleep in, one for the men to eat in, and one for the women to eat in. Since we were sitting in the sleeping house where one is not allowed to eat or drink, he went outside to do us the honor of drinking to our health. As foreigners we were not obliged to follow this rule of conduct, but Elliot, though wearing the uniform of an English Navy surgeon with a cutlass, did not dare break this rule because he resides among them, and therefore he did not drink anything, explaining to me that he is also ordered to have three houses and to follow all their tabus.

After leaving the chief's house we walked around the village, stopped at several houses, looked at the work of their weavers and the method of dying their products, examined their method of housebuilding, etc. All this has been written up in various Voyages which have been published in our language as well. We were followed by a multitude of people of both sexes and all ages. They all behaved with great decorum, rendered us services, picked coconuts from the trees treating us to the juice, and no one tried to steal anything, contrary to what happened formerly. Finally we visited the rock where Cook had been put to death

by a "stone dagger", and saw the gap made by the cannon ball from English ships which fired at the Sandwich Islanders after this misfortune. King Kamehameha, who was at that time an ordinary chief, related to Elliot on this very spot the whole story with all the details, how it all happened, how Cook stood, how he fell on his face in the water, and so forth.

From the village of Kaawaloa we crossed by boats to the other side of the bay to the settlement of Kakuya or Kealakekua where the inhabitants received us with just as great hospitality as in the other one and where they were just as helpful. There, near a pond, we saw the ruins of the former houses of the King surrounded by tall shady trees; we went by a temple, but were not allowed to enter, although Elliot was entitled to go in, being considered a citizen. There we saw two coconut trees pierced by a cannon ball during the aforementioned unfortunate incident. We were also shown some partly rotted old ships of war of a type no longer in use. Now they build their ships according to the European models: brigs, schooners, etc. In this settlement we were offered some beer made of the root of a tree called ti; rum is also made of this root. This beer is comparable in taste and smell to our swipes. Around two in the afternoon we returned to the sloop for dinner and there we found the chief whom we visited in Kaawaloa with his wife and two or three lesser chiefs. The chief was no longer wearing his coat but only a shirt of European make, while his wife was dressed as before. The other chiefs were also wearing shirts, except for the Queen's brother who was naked but for a loin cloth. At the table our guests used knives and forks as expertly as any European and after each course they would put the spoon, knife and fork on the plate to have the waiter change them. The Prince ate everything, but the other chiefs were under various tabus: one of them was not allowed to eat pork, another one jumped out into a boat when a chicken was served. This same chief, though

smoking our cigars later, would not use our fire, but lighted them from his own fire in the boat. The chief's wife went out on deck during the dinner since the women are not allowed to eat with men or even to be present where men are eating. After dinner she returned and drank some wine of which she partook at least as much as, if not more than, the men. The savage Prince poured himself a glass of wine and drank the health of Rukine, that is Russian or Russians, then he drank to the health of Rukine Alexander -- Russian Alexander -- and immediately after that, without giving me a chance to thank him, to the health of Kamehameha. His English, by the way, is quite good and he was seldom unable to understand my questions concerning various subjects. Our guests left only at nightfall and with the firing of the sunset gun all the other boats also departed. I gave a few gifts to the Prince with which he seemed well pleased; while for the Queen, his sister, he asked me himself for two glass decanters full of cordial* and for two cut glass wine-glasses.

Elliot told me so many nice things about the old King, already known to me for his good traits through the reports of Vancouver and of various captains of American ships, that I decided to call at Kailua Bay, indicated by Captain Vancouver on his map as Tyea-ta-tooa /Kaiakekua/, and to visit the King, especially since this residence of the King was not more than ten miles further along our way.

We spent this day /22 October/ in Kealakekua, awaiting the provisions ordered for us as a gift by the King; they did not arrive until nightfall and consisted of only one hog and a few bunches of vegetables. In the meantime, several chiefs visited us; two of them brought their wives, dressed in calico dresses made according to the European style. With them came the wife of the chief whom we visited in Kaawaloa with her second husband who, according to the local custom,

* Very sweet fruit liqueur -- nalivka in Russian -- prepared from different fruits in season and used as apéritif or liqueur. /Trans./

is called the "husband's friend." They each brought us a small suckling-pig and a few bunches of greens as a present, but for these gifts I had to pay dearly since, first accepting what I offered to give them, they asked for several decanters and wine glasses. I invited them to dinner; while the men ate pork, mutton, and everything else that was served, the women ate only their own food, consisting of dough made of taro and some raw fish with water and vinegar; of our food they ate only cheese, but to make up for it they drank more than the men, and the wife of the chief from Kaawaloa finished up two large decanters of a very strong cordial all by herself and became so drunk that she started to play all sorts of indecent pranks. Her second husband tried to quiet her down and even beat her up until he himself became too drunk; then, after quarreling with her, he went ashore, but she, in spite of our entreaties, did not want to leave, insisting that she wanted to spend the night here and accompany us to Kailua. Finally, when after sundown the evening gun was to be fired, I was obliged to threaten to have her taken to her husband by force if she would not leave of her own accord. Only then did she feel obliged to leave, not, however, without first distributing blows among various chiefs and the people accompanying her, suspecting that they had prevailed upon me not to let her stay aboard the sloop. Some of them patiently stood the beating, others hid behind the masts. It was hard not to laugh while watching this tall and corpulent woman, wearing a silk dress and a rather expensive merino scarf, as she ran about the deck distributing blows to these fat, hefty, fellows. When we got rid of this drunken female everything quieted down; only our pilot Jack and two sober well-behaved chiefs who wanted to accompany us to Kailua remained on board.

At ten that night a fairly strong land breeze came up; we raised anchor and departed. The wind soon calmed down again, but as we were in no hurry, not wanting to arrive in Kailua before dawn, we advanced under reduced sail.

At dawn on the 23rd the sloop was exactly opposite the bay into which we were trying to enter by tacking against the shore wind, as much as the wind allowed, but the ensuing calm, and light breezes, kept us outside the bay all day. It was not until seven o'clock that evening that we dropped anchor under the guidance of Mr. Elliot who was acting as pilot. He had come aboard ship that morning and had spent the whole day with me relating many interesting things about the local inhabitants. While we were approaching the bay many boats came out selling vegetables and fruit, but at night they all left and did not disturb us any more.

Throughout the night there was a slight land breeze and the weather was clear; we stood still. About eight, on the morning of the 24th, after raising the flag, we fired the gun, and boats began to arrive. From some of the people we soon learnt through our interpreter, Jack, that the wailing which we heard on land all through the night was the natives expressing their grief at the house of the King's sister, who had died the day before. We had thought at first that the Islanders were making fun of us by imitating the signals of our watchmen.

At ten in the morning I went ashore taking along a few officers and midshipmen. We landed on the sandy beach right next to the very houses of the King. Mr. Elliot met us at the landing, while the King was also there, standing next to his house. He was dressed in European fashion, but very simply: his dress consisted of light green velvet trousers, a white shirt, a silk kerchief around his neck, a coffee brown silk vest, white stockings and shoes, and a round soft felt hat. In his hand he held upright a thin, well polished, cane with a split in the thinner end and the leaf of some plant inserted in the split. At first I took this cane for some insignia of power similar to our sceptre, but later I learned that it is used here in a game which will be described later. As we were approaching the shore we saw a number of islanders surrounding the King's dwellings. They were armed: some

had drawn swords, others carried guns with fixed bayonets. On a platform on the sandy beach between the King's houses we saw five small tents standing in a row; at first I could not guess what they were for, but when we approached, the tents were removed and it appeared that they were covering five eighteen-pound cast iron cannons which stood on the beach without platforms, just resting on ship's carriages with cast iron wheels. We were met by Elliot and a great many people; also by the King's body guard armed as mentioned above. A stranger looking army could hardly be imagined: many of the warriors were quite naked except for a loin cloth; some wore white linen shirts without anything else, while others had red woolen ones; some had only a pair of pants and others only a vest for a garb. The arms were all rusty; and, although this army had been assembled to honor us and to show the King's might, as soon as we landed all the warriors ran toward us without any order as if ready to attack.

Elliot pointed out the King who was standing by the corner of his house on an elevation. When we came up to him he at once stretched out his hand in the English manner and said, "How do you do" in English, and then repeated the greeting in his own language, "Aroha!" He then greeted all the officers accompanying me in the same manner, and invited us into his "dining room" which in every respect might be called a large tent. There we saw on to one side, a huge trunk which contained hand arms (according to Elliot), next to it a mahogany bureau of European workmanship, two mahogany tables -- one large leaf-table and one round; the latter was covered with a blue napkin and on it stood a quart of rum, a decanter half filled with red wine, a large glass of water and three or four smaller empty glasses. Next to the table stood an arm-chair and two or three straight chairs, also of European make. Two very ordinary mirrors, worth not more than five rubles apiece, hung on the wall, and under them, leaning against the wall, stood several guns, cutlasses,

and spears. This half of the tent was covered with grass mats, while the floor of the other half was bare and contained an ordinary ship's cast iron stove, in which a fire was burning, and an assortment of dishes in the corner. Such was the appearance of the King's "audience hall". The King offered me the arm-chair and took a chair by my side, leaving the others to find their own seats. Some sat on the box containing arms, others remained standing. The chiefs, of whom there were about fifty, all sat on the floor, with the most important ones close to us on the mats, and the others further away on the bare floor. His chief counsellor or "minister", by the name of Kremoku, whom the English call Mr. Pitt, sat in the midst of the chiefs opposite the King, while the High Priest sat next to me. When we had all occupied our places, five salutes were fired from the guns in front of the door. Elliot, at the request of the King, told me that these salutes were for us, and therefore, upon returning to the sloop we answered the salutes. In the meantime, the King left and returned shortly in the parade uniform of an English Naval Captain, and a hat with gold braid and a plume, presented to him by the Commander of the frigate Cornwallis when it called here several years ago. Our visit was very short because the King frankly told us that he was anxious to go out to play a game. During the conversation he said only one thing of importance, namely that on Hawaii we could not obtain a supply of water and that the food supply was short, whereas on Oahu we could readily obtain both, and therefore he advised me to proceed there, promising to issue orders to have hogs, vegetables, and water delivered to us by local boats. He spent most of the time examining our hats and clothing. Noticing straps on our hats and learning what they were for, he promptly ordered one attached to his hat for which purpose he asked me for a strap. He also requested a buckle and a pair of shoes which appealed to him because of their shine. He reproached me for not bringing him some copper bolts for a vessel which he is now

building. When we rose to take our leave he stopped us and offered us some rum and water which we took, drinking his health; after that he poured himself some rum and water and, inquiring of Elliot about the name of our sovereign, drank to the health of His Majesty, ordering his son* to do the same after passing a glass to him. The son sat near the door and, as is their custom, was not allowed to enter his father's house, being through his mother of a higher rank than the King. This prince is about twenty years old and is extremely fat; he was dressed in a pair of knitted trousers, a shirt with a kerchief around his neck, and a round hat on his head.

From his house the King took us to see his wives of which he has five. They were wearing only chemises and strips of cloth around the waist and were sitting on the floor; some of them were eating the so-called sea egg -- a kind of a marine animal plant.** From there we went to the prince's house and saw his wife. She is both his wife and his sister. She is a young, stately, woman with a very beautiful face. She was dressed in the native costume, that is naked except for a strip of cloth around the waist. Then we stopped at the "admiralty" of this savage ruler where small vessels are built, visited Mr. Elliot's and returned to the home of the King. We found him in the yard sitting on the ground in his uniform and hat playing with his naked courtiers his favorite game which consists of the following: the players sit in a circle, each one holding a slender stick about three feet long in his hand; in the middle of the circle are five cushions in a row, one next to the other; each player in turn hides a small stone under one of

* This was Prince Liholiho later to become Kamehameha II. /Trans./

** In Kamchatka these are called sea turnips, but they are better known by the name of sea eggs. /Golovnin does not use the Russian term for sea urchins and does not identify this plant, but probably the reference is to sea urchins, wana. Trans./

the cushions while the others, one after another, strike the cushion* under which they think the stone is hidden with their stick; those who guess correctly win. The King, after letting us watch the game for a while, got up and saw me off as far as the beach. I invited him aboard the sloop, but he did not promise to come although he said that he might.

Two hours later, after my return on board, four of the King's wives arrived. They were very stout, tall, women who overloaded the stern of my boat with their weight. They walked all over the sloop, visited my cabin, drank a good deal of fruit liqueur, and when they left each one took along a full decanter and some wine glasses. Later each one sent some vegetables in return for my gifts. To the King I sent two pairs of shoes, as he had requested, and also seven live California quails, and a book bound in gold tooled Morocco; in return he sent ten hogs and some potatoes. In addition, he sent along with us a messenger and a written order to Oahu with instructions that I be given, free of charge, ten hogs, a boatfull of vegetables, and fresh water to be delivered in their boats. This had been a most troublesome day for us because of numerous visitors all belonging to the "nobility" and we were very glad when evening approached and all the visitors departed.

At seven at night we left the bay with a light land breeze. All night the wind was light, but towards morning of the 25th of October, when we had gone a certain distance from the shore, we encountered a strong trade wind blowing in gusts. I took a course toward the western side of Molokai; at nightfall we approached Maui; during the night we passed Kahoolawe and Lanai and at dawn on the 26th of October we were near the western end of Molokai; from there we proceeded to Oahu and, entering Honolulu harbor, dropped anchor in 27 fathoms on a sandy bottom about one in the afternoon.

* Actually these were bundles of tapa used in the game of puhene. [Trans.]

Nothing unusual happened during this trip except that on approaching the Island of Oahu I saw, for the first time in all my sea voyages, two tropic birds sitting on the water; they flew away when we came to within several fathoms. I mention this insignificant fact merely because several navigators have stated that these birds never alight anywhere but on land and that no matter at what distance from land they may be they always stay in the air.

In the harbor there were four merchant ships of the United States of America and two brigs belonging to the Hawaiian King, and two wrecks lying on their side, the Kadiak of the Russian-American Company and an American ship that had been sold to the King. At the entrance to the harbor where the ships were standing there was a square stone fort carrying 52 cannons. This sight excelled anything that we had seen in the Russian and the Spanish settlements of these regions, and when we realized that we were seeing a stone fort, ships and firearms belonging to savage people who still go about naked, that these people had a national flag*, etc., we could not help but marvel at the degree of their enlightenment, which they owe to their trade with America.

As soon as we arrived in the harbor two captains of American ships at once made their calls; one of them by the name of Ney was known to me. They told me of some interesting things regarding this country. Another American, Captain Davis**, a very old friend of mine and one of the kindest and most honest people I know, and the Spaniard Manini*** who has been living here for over twenty years,

* The flag consists of seven stripes: red, white, blue, red, white, blue and red standing for the seven islands, with the English Union Jack in the corner.

** William Heath Davis who had many transactions with the Russian-American Company.
/Trans./

*** Don Francisco de Paula Marin. /Trans./

came to call after dinner. They took it upon themselves to show me all that there is of interest here and to provide all the information I needed.

On the 27th of October, at eight in the morning, I went ashore with some of my officers. As we passed by the American ships each one gave us a seven gun salute and when we reached the shore we were given a five gun salute from the fort. I ordered my sloop to answer these salutes later. On shore we were met by all the American captains, the chief of the island, and the commander of the naval forces of the Hawaiian King. After exchanging greetings we went to see the places of interest such as the houses of the inhabitants, their places of worship, fields of taro (the local substitute for bread), waterfalls, and Mr. Manini's irrigation system for his taro plantations and vineyards. We were not admitted inside the fort, but we walked all around it. The fort is situated close to the shore and is built of coral blocks. The height of the wall is about seven feet, the parapet on the shore side is almost as high, and on the sea side there are gun embrasures. The purpose of the fort is to protect the entrance into the harbor and for that purpose is well located.

We dined with Captain Davis where we saw all his friends, as well as the chief of the island and the commander of the navy; the former is called Boki and the latter, Hekiri /Ka-Hekili Keeaumoku/; however, the English have changed his name to "Mr. Cox" /Cox/ which he likes very much. Today, Boki executed in full the King's orders: he sent us hogs and vegetables, while the delivery of water has been going on since yesterday. After dinner he assembled a few young men and women and had them entertain us with their dances which have been so well described by Vancouver.

The morning of the next day, October 28th, I spent ashore again. We were shown how the Islanders prepare their food by placing heated rocks in pits in

the ground; to demonstrate this they roasted a suckling pig with some fish and vegetables, performing the entire process in front of us starting with the choking of the pig. One must explain that the natives do not slaughter animals, but choke them by tying up their mouths. The American captains and the two chiefs mentioned above, Boki and Hekiri, had dinner with me. Boki brought me a gift of ten hogs in return for which I gave him a telescope. The Islanders were wearing their famous feather capes and each chief had along with him several officials dressed in the same manner. They were very pleased to have our artist paint their portraits on paper. Our guests stayed till almost evening. They were especially impressed by the action of the fire hose which the chiefs themselves directed into the boats that were by the sloop. In Kealakekua and Kailua we also had to demonstrate to the visiting chiefs the operation of these implements to everyones' great delight, even those at whom they were pointed.

On Tuesday, the 29th, I went ashore again and had dinner with Captain Davis. Before dinner Boki had the Islanders entertain us with a sham battle. For spears and arrows they used sugar cane. The battle seemed more like a game than a military maneuver. Boki apologized for not being able to let them use spears and stones, saying that formerly there had been instances when, becoming angry at each other, they started a real battle and before they could be separated there were many dead wounded. Not wishing to be responsible for bloodshed, I asked him not to allow them to reach this extreme. Boxing matches followed, but only two pairs fought and not very well at that, for though many came forward they could not agree to fight, each one considering himself weaker than his opponent. The Americans told me that the Sandwich Islanders have completely lost their former warlike spirit, bravery, and the art of using hand arms; because they found our firearms much more convenient, they took to guns and cannons which they never

learned to handle properly while at the same time they abandoned their own methods.

Towards evening, saying good-bye to my American friends, I returned to the sloop, and presently Mr. Manini arrived to settle his accounts for the provisions delivered to us. He brought along with him two Islanders whom Boki considered it necessary to accompany me to the Island of Kāuāi in order to reassure the inhabitants with regard to our arrival; otherwise they might think that we came to carry out the threats to retaliate made by Dr. Sheffer who had founded a Company settlement among them and had later been driven out. A third Sandwich Islander, a young and agile fellow, offered his services, begging us to take him along. Since they are not forbidden to leave their country and since they are very fond of working on European ships, according to the Americans, I took him on; it occurred to me that if he learned the Russian language he might prove very useful to the Russian-American Company in its dealings with the Sandwich Islands. The name of this Islander is Lauri. We converted his name into a surname and gave him the personal name of Terentii in honor of the Saint of the day that he came into our service, as if by coming on that day he selected the saint as his patron.*

Having accomplished all our business and having obtained all the information available concerning the actions of Dr. Sheffer, we left for the island of Kauai at nine o'clock that evening. At five in the afternoon of October 30th we anchored in the Bay of Waimea, not more than a mile away from the fort which was flying an English flag. I had hoped to find here the American ship Enterprise on which there was an interpreter who knew well the language of the Sandwich Islands. I had a letter to him from Davis asking him to help me in my dealings with the local chief, Tamari [Kāumualii]. But the ship was not there so, on a boat that came out to the sloop, I sent ashore the two Islanders from Oahu telling them to have

* See Appendix. [Trans.]

some European come aboard. As a result, in about an hour and a half an English sailor living there came to see me. From him I learned that Tamari was there, but that the two Europeans who are usually with him and who could speak the native language well were away; one of them lives on the northern side of the island, and the other one went there to supervise the shipping of sandalwood. Neither of them would return in less than three days. On the other hand, the four Europeans presently living here had a very inadequate knowledge of the language and could not act as interpreters. Waiting three days at such a hazardous anchorage as Waimea Bay for an affair of little importance concerning which I had already collected sufficient information on the other islands seemed very unreasonable; furthermore the southern part of the sky became overcast with dark, ominous clouds and strong squalls with rain were approaching from the east. Fearing a strong wind from the southeast, which is extremely dangerous in this roadstead, I sailed forth at six that evening with a strong ESE wind.

CHAPTER XI

The Sandwich Islands

It is interesting and pleasant to see a child approaching the age when his mind begins to function, when he begins to realize what is good and what is bad, what is proper and what is improper, what should be avoided and what should be emulated; in a word, when the child begins to understand the instructions of his mentors. We often witness with pleasure and delight that his actions, deeds, and oftentimes even his reasoning are like those of an adult; at other times we smile seeing that the weakness of the child's mind and his innate instincts, uninhibited by teaching and experience, force him to make mistakes natural to his age and which are forgivable in children. How much more interesting it is, then, to see an entire people emerging, so to speak, from childhood into adulthood! The Sandwich Islands right now present to us this picture: there, several thousands of grown, and even white haired, "children" are just coming of age. This scene deserves to be described not by such an observer as myself and not by such a feeble pen as mine; it deserves the attention and observation of scientists. A learned and an intelligent person, after spending some time among the Sandwich Islanders, could discover truths regarding the mind, the heart and concepts of man that undoubtedly no arm-chair philosopher has ever been able to fathom.

Much has been written about the Sandwich Islands* and I have read all of it. But mostly I have heard about them from people whose occupation forces

* Europe first learned about the existence of the Sandwich Islands through the description in the Voyages of Captain Cook, who accidentally came across the Islands in the year 1777 /sic/. Although the English attribute to him the honor of the discovery I will show later that not he but the Spaniards were the first to discover them. After him the following people visited the Islands: Meares, Portlock, Dixon, La Perouse, Vancouver, Krusenstern, Lisiansky and a few other navigators who have published accounts of their voyages, and many others whose voyages have never been published.

them to spend about six months out of each year on these Islands* and to have constant contact and transactions with the natives. Finally, I happened to be there myself on my last voyage.

When Captain Cook's third Voyage, edited by Captain King, appeared, it turned the attention of enterprising English merchants to the northwestern shore of America as an inexhaustible source of otters. Through King, too, they learned about the high prices which the Chinese pay for the skins of these animals, a fact unknown until then to any Europeans except the Russians who had been trading with the Chinese at Kiakhta.** This trade on the northwest coast was further facilitated by the discovery of the Sandwich Islands, which, because of their geographical location, healthy climate, abundance of food products, and finally because of the kindness and politeness of the inhabitants, offered seafarers an excellent place to rest and to obtain supplies. The English, after the Russians, were the first to commence trading on the American coast, from where they carried otter skins to Canton for sale. However, since they could not obtain any Chinese goods, because of the monopoly held by the East India Company, they found the otter trade unprofitable and they were soon replaced by the citizens of the North American Republic who to this day send out fifteen or more vessels yearly to the northwest coast of America and make big profits in China from this trade.

The ships spend from two to three years, or even longer, in the North-eastern Ocean*** before starting on the return voyages to their home ports. During

* Citizens of the North American States trading in otters on the northwest coast of America spend every winter with their ships in the harbors of the Sandwich Islands. I knew many of them during my travels in those regions; some of them have spent over ten years around there, their names are Ebbets, Davis, Windship, Evars and others.

** A Russian trading post on the Mongolian frontier with China. [Trans.]

*** This was the Russian name for the Pacific Ocean. [Trans.]

the summer they sail through the straits and along the northwest coast of America where they obtain otter skins from the native Indians in exchange for various knickknacks; in the winter they move away from this cold and stormy country to the salubrious climate of the Sandwich Islands where they spend the entire winter, returning to the American shores again in spring. Such frequent and lengthy visits of foreign ships soon acquainted the Sandwich Islanders with the use of many European objects and even with the customs of civilized nations. This process was accelerated greatly by the strong desire of the present ruler to enlighten his people. By his honest and fair dealings with the Europeans* and by his kindness to them he attracted many sailors from the trading ships and even some artisans who settled among the Sandwich Islanders and married native island girls. At the time of Vancouver's visit here (1791-1794) the King already had about eleven Europeans in his service, while now there are about 150 of them in the Islands, among whom are ship builders, locksmiths, boiler makers, joiners and many carpenters and blacksmiths. It is about forty years now since the Sandwich Islanders came to know the Europeans. In the days of Captain Cook the sound of a gun produced terror, but now they have about a hundred cannon of different calibers which they know how to use and about six thousand men armed with guns and all the ammunition necessary for a soldier. In the harbor of Honolulu on the Island of Oahu, the most beautiful of the group, there is a square stone fort built according to all the specifications of fort building; it is whitewashed and supplied with all the necessary guns. As we approached this harbor we saw two brigs belonging to the Hawaiian King and four American ships. Seeing all these vessels flying their flags and the Hawaiian flag over the fort, I could not help but be pleasantly surprised at such a step towards

* I should use the term "Americans" and not "Europeans", for the majority of white settlers here are citizens of the United States of North America, but since the term "American" might also apply to the savage tribes of that continent which would confuse the reader, I refer to all the whites living in the Sandwich Islands as "Europeans."

enlightenment on the part of this savage people, and, frankly, I was ashamed when I recalled that the eastern shores of Siberia and Kamchatka present no such sight!

In the days of Captain Cook, the present King was only a chief, though of some importance because of his relationship with the then ruler Terrebu [Kalaniopuu]. He was then called Mehamaha, but after the death of the King he managed to take over the Island of Oahu, and then, with the help of the Europeans who came into his service, he conquered the remaining islands and is now the undisputed and undisturbed ruler. Upon becoming King he changed his name and calls himself Kamehameha.

Kamehameha is already very old; he claims to be seventy-nine years of age. It is probable that his exact age is unknown even to himself, but his appearance shows that there cannot be such a great disparity between his real age and his estimate. However, he is alert, strong and active, temperate and sober, never takes strong drink and eats very moderately. In him one observes a most amazing mixture of childish behavior and of ripe judgement and actions that would not disgrace even a European ruler. His honesty and love of justice is demonstrated by his behavior. It must be mentioned at this point that for some of the information regarding the Sandwich Islands I am indebted to Mr. Elliot. This Scotchman now calls himself Elliot de Castro and is known as the Secretary of State to His Hawaiian Majesty. The King has given him some very valuable land on the island of Oahu and for his services pays him annually 800 Spanish piasters worth of sandalwood which he sells at a profit to the captains of American ships.

Not long ago an English ship* ran aground near Oahu. In order to take it off the shoal, it was necessary to lighten the ship by throwing overboard ninety ingots of copper, each weighing about 150 pounds. This copper was lost

* Bengal under the command of Captain Hansley.

to the owner, and the crew was glad enough to get off so cheaply and save the ship from being wrecked. Some of the Englishmen in Kamehameha's service advised him to send his divers to rescue the copper and to keep it for his own use. He took their advice, and had his divers recover all the copper, but he did not keep it, although he could have done so, without first inquiring as to what is done in similar cases in Europe. When he was told that in England salvagers of the cargo of a sinking ship retain one eighth of the cargo, he kept twelve ingots and returned the rest to the Captain.

An American once cheated King Kamehameha when buying sandalwood; the King was advised to retain, or as we say to confiscate, the property belonging to this American which was on land in the hands of the King, but he would not do this. Instead, he told Elliot to write a complaint to the American Government stating that if his demands were not satisfied he would then act on his own, not wishing to use force until then. It is true that captains of American ships told me that Kamehameha does not always keep his promises and frequently goes back on his word, but judging from the examples which they quoted he could be either right or wrong, depending on the strength of the agreement. For instance, not long ago a party of Europeans, under the leadership of a physician*, settled on the island of Kauai with the permission of the chief of that island who, as has been mentioned before, is completely subordinate to Kamehameha. At first the Islanders supposed that these Europeans settled among them for purposes of trade; but the imprudent doctor soon disclosed his intentions: namely, that he intended to establish a colony on these islands, to assist the chief of Kauai to take possession of all the other islands, and to keep the American ships from stopping in

* This was Dr. Sheffer. Golovnin carefully avoids naming him or mentioning that he raised the Russian flag. /Trans./

local harbors. He was so naive that without preparing the chief for this enterprise he began at once building forts and hoisted the flag of the nation whose small force he commanded. He even went over to the Island of Oahu with an armed guard that he kept at the door of his house where he also raised a flag. Finally, the well known Young, who was then Kamehameha's governor of the island, made him stop this business by threats and forced him to send the guard back to his ship. The most amusing thing is that this mischief-maker, in his "secret political negotiations" with the chief of Kauai, used American sailors living on the island as interpreters, hoping to make them keep quiet with gifts. They took the gifts, but disclosed the affair to their countrymen, captains of American ships. These latter, realizing that these plans were a ruse against their trade, at once explained to Kamehameha the danger of his position and persuaded him to chase the intruders from Kauai immediately. The King sent orders to that effect to the ruler of the island, telling him to demand peacefully that they return to where they came from and to use force only in case of resistance. However, since the doctor did not yield but boasted of approaching reinforcements, Kamehameha was thoroughly frightened, suspecting that some strong power was behind this affair. The Americans at last succeeded in convincing him that this enterprise was the product of the imagination of an unruly and ignorant leader of a small group, and one of the American captains offered to remain there with his ship until the interlopers departed and to assist the King in case of attack; in return the King promised to give a shipload of sandalwood. In the meantime, the physician, who had very little hope of reinforcement ever arriving, decided that the prescription -- to yield and clear out -- was much safer and healthier than fighting with a sword in a hand more used to a scalpel. Hence, the King's ally did not get a chance to assist him, but nevertheless demanded the cargo of sandalwood promised to him.

This, however, the King refused to do on the basis that the recompense was promised for actual help and not merely for staying in port, particularly as he had been supplied with a large amount of provisions. The decision as to who was right and who was wrong in this case would depend on the contents of the agreement which was verbal and without witnesses; a similar case brought up before a courtroom would most probably take at least five years to settle; therefore, one cannot blame the King on mere hearsay. Furthermore, even if he should occasionally cheat the Americans on such occasions, what is wrong in that? It is, after all, a matter of "political" and "diplomatic" relations, and who is quite honest in the making and breaking of treaties when the good of one's country or, more likely, ministerial calculation demands it?

On the advice of some of his European subordinates, the King once sent a brig* to Canton with sandalwood -- a two masted ship under the command of an American captain but flying his own flag. It is well known that the Chinese charge foreign ships a very high duty, amounting to several thousand rubles, merely for the privilege of dropping anchor in their ports regardless of whether any goods are sold or not. When the brig returned and Kamehameha in looking over the accounts learned that such a large sum was paid merely for anchoring in a Chinese port he remarked that it was too expensive, but he decided then and there that if other countries charge him harbor dues he must do the same, only not so much; he decided that all ships must pay 60 piasters for anchoring in the outer harbor of Honolulu and 80 piasters for the inner harbor where it is calmer.

Once, while walking with Elliot through the settlement of Kaawaloa in Kealekekua Bay, I wished to see the place where Captain Cook was killed. Coming

* This brig is named Kuhamanu /Kaahumanu/ after the King's favorite wife; he had four wives until now and has just taken another one - a young girl.

to the rock on the beach where this illustrious navigator fell, I and my officers picked up pebbles as souvenirs and put them in our pockets. This brought a story to Mr. Elliot's mind. On this very spot Kamehameha was once telling him about the quarrel between the Islanders and the English and how Cook was killed, and Elliot, just as we did now, picked up a pebble and wanted to put it in his pocket; when asked by Kamehameha why he needs it, he said that he would like to send it to England to his friends. Upon these words the Hawaiian changed expression, his eyes flashed, he snatched the stone from Elliot's hand and threw it into the sea saying that in sending it he wants to remind his countrymen of the unfortunate incident which should have long since been forgotten, and that good people after making peace should never recall old disputes.

He often tells Europeans in whom he has particular confidence that the Islanders can be happy only under a single ruler; otherwise they will again have strife and dissension and will soon destroy each other. To insure the happiness of his people he took measures that even European statesmen cannot help praising. By one of his wives he has a twenty year old son who is his heir, and by another wife a daughter almost the same age. However, this second wife, Kuhamanu [Kaahumanu], so much praised by Vancouver, being a very clever and cunning woman and furthermore related to all the high chiefs, and very much admired by the Europeans living there, would soon deprive the heir of his power and would put in a ruler to suit herself. Kamehameha foresaw this and to prevent it married his son to his daughter, the boy's sister, although they had little inclination toward each other and now are not living very peacefully together.

Yet this man, endowed with such good understanding of justice and of ruling a nation, noticing a plain cotton striped handkerchief in the hands of one of my officers (Baron Wrangel), took it at once and looked at it admiringly

for a few moments as if on the verge of asking for it, but as soon as Elliot told him it was improper, he threw it back to Mr. Wrangel and folding his arms became as quiet as a little boy who had just been scolded for his pranks. Later, noticing my rather old and very large English shoes, which I had to wear because of sore feet, he asked me for them explaining that although Americans bring him many shoes he had never seen such nice large ones before, and I felt obliged to send them to him later. He has a big collection of European objects, some of which are very costly. For instance, a set of table silverware, crystal of rare workmanship, porcelain objects, etc. He also has about 200,000 piasters in cash which he keeps in strong boxes in some vaults built for this purpose. Therefore, a cotton handkerchief or a pair of shoes could not possibly be objects of great interest to him because he knew that they were mere trifles of no value, but he was impelled by the instinctive action of a childish mind due to lack of education.

Although all these weaknesses of Kamehameha are natural only in a child and should no longer be encountered in a gray haired man, they cannot obscure his real inherent merits and talents; he will always be considered as the great reformer and enlightener of his people. It is true, of course, that many of his ideas concerning different matters and affairs, and the methods used by him in improving his kingdom, are not his own but were conveyed to him by Europeans in his service; still, the desire and the ability to appreciate their advice and to follow it, in spite of the conditions under which he was born and reared, indicate that he is an unusual man gifted by nature with a great mind, a broad vision, and an exceptionally firm character. I have already mentioned one principle of his government policy, that the Islands should always remain under a single ruler. Another, no less important, is not to let any of the foreigners living in his country have exclusive privileges. They are all allowed free trade with his sub-

jects on an equal basis, but none are allowed to start their own settlements. With this in view, when he presents land to the English and the Americans in his service, it is always with the reservation that these land grants belong to them only so long as they live in the Islands; they cannot possibly transfer their land grants to others and upon their departure or death the land reverts to the King. Vancouver either did not understand him, or purposely erred, when in his Voyage he described with minute detail the ceremonial cession of the Island of Hawaii to the King of England. Neither Kamehameha nor any of his chiefs ever thought of ceding their territory. They see the entire affair in an entirely different light, and not at all in the way that Vancouver wanted to see it. There are a few Europeans here now who have been in the Islands for the past twenty years. They told me that Kamehameha cannot hear without wrath the assertion that the English have claims on his Islands through his agreement with Vancouver. He is so incensed at this idea that he even forbids having his Islands called the Sandwich Islands -- the name given by Captain Cook -- but insists on having each one called by its own name and the entire group the "Islands of the King or Ruler of Hawaii." He accepted the English flag from Vancouver and formally would hoist it without knowing what it meant according to European custom. However, during the last Anglo-American war one of the American captains jokingly said to him that the Americans could take his Islands away from him because he is flying the flag of a country with which they are at war; Kamehameha listened carefully, and when he understood the true significance of the flag, told the American not to think him a fool for he had many flags of different European nations in his stores and so, if the English one was no good, he could raise a different one. After this incident he at once expressed a desire to have his own flag, which the English designed for him. This flag, as I mentioned before, consists of seven stripes with the English

Union Jack in the corner standing for his friendship with Great Britain, the first European nation he ever encountered.* As for his treaty, or the cession of land as Vancouver chose to call it, the Sandwich Islanders consider it an agreement of friendship and assistance or, to use our terminology, a defensive alliance, only in a different form. Kamehameha promised to protect British nationals stopping in his ports from hunger by supplying them with food products free of charge, while the English took upon themselves the obligation to defend him from the attacks of other Europeans. As to their right of ownership and independence, the Sandwich Islanders never even dreamt of parting with them. It is even hard to believe in the possibility of such a submission: it could have resulted from fear, which happens even in Europe, except that Vancouver was no longer considered a supernatural being as Captain Cook had been, and even Captain Cook fell at their hands. Vancouver came there when they not only knew about firearms but actually had some in their possession and had already taught many Europeans a lesson, all of which is recorded in his own Voyage. So long as primitive people, upon their first contact with Europeans, witnessed only the action of our firearms, and did not know how they worked, they thought that the guns and pistols were so constructed that they could continuously produce at any distance that terrifying, marvelous and mysterious action. Being convinced of this, hundreds of them armed with all their spears, arrows and clubs never dared attack even a lone man armed with a gun. There was even an instance (see Captain Cook's Second Voyage) when an Englishman, who wandered far into the interior of an island without a weapon, noticed that the natives were going to attack him and terrified the advancing natives by pointing the open end of a round toothpick case at them; the savages, expecting fire and destruction

* The number of stripes stands for seven of the islands under the direct rule of Kamehameha; the remaining four islands belong to the ruler of the Island of Kauai, who is really nothing more than a vassal of the King of Hawaii; he came to Oahu to express his subjugation and promised to pay an annual tribute consisting of a ship-load of sandalwood.

to appear any minute from the opening, did not dare approach him, and he reached the shore safely where he rejoined his comrades. Such a fright may seem ridiculous and cowardly to a European used to judging everything by his own standards, but the reason is quite natural and does not prove in the least that the savages, terrified and confused though they are at the sight of our firearms, were cowardly. A similar thing could happen to the very best of European armies. We dare not affirm that we have already discovered all the secrets of nature; there is still a great deal left for our descendants to discover. Let us assume, then, that some great mind or some accident leads a nation to the discovery of a substance similar to gun powder but with infinitely greater power, and that a correspondingly powerful gun is invented that can shoot at a distance of many miles, and supposing a small detachment carrying such a gun would appear in front of a large European army and would demonstrate that it could with one shot destroy a whole battalion, it seems certain that the common soldiers, if not the officers, would assume that it is either punishment from Heaven or that they are being confronted by magicians and they would turn to flee. The discharge of a ship's cannon first produced, as well it might, a similar effect on the natives; however, when they noticed, through the carelessness of the Europeans themselves, that the firearms were so terrifying and destructive only after a certain amount of preparation and that otherwise they were inferior to their own clubs, many of them took advantage of this great discovery at once. The English who were killed in New Zealand and later in the Sandwich Islands, where Cook himself lost his life, were victims of their own misplaced and exaggerated confidence in the firearms with which they hoped to terrify the savages who had however, already begun to understand the action of these weapons. They hoped to drive the savages away like a herd of sheep with a few shots; however, the latter, withstanding the first discharge, did not give the soldiers a chance to

re-load their guns, and threw themselves on the Europeans with terrifying cries and in one minute put an end to their lives and to the whole affair. Nature is not like humans who assume unto themselves divine power on earth; it does not distribute its gifts to one favored spot of its possessions. A great mind with unusual talents may be found among all mortals no matter where they are born, and if it were possible to gather several hundred children from all parts of the globe and to educate them according to our standards, it may be that from among those with kinky hair and black faces would come more great and exceptional people than from those born of European parents. Among the primitive peoples there are undoubtedly some gifted with penetrating minds and unusual strength of spirit. Such people, though at first considering the Europeans as superhuman beings, soon discovered in them the same defects as they saw in themselves and realized that they were equal in all respects. Among them there are even wise men whose strength of character is equal to that of ancient philosophers whose names have been preserved in history. For instance, Captain King tells us in Cook's Voyage that hearing about a remarkable old hermit living in the mountains on the Island of Hawaii, he wished to see him and, led by some Islanders, he and his officers reached the spot with great difficulty. The old man, seeing absolutely strange people, unusual both in their clothing and the color of their skin, did not show any signs of surprise or curiosity, and when King wanted to present him with some European objects, which in the eyes of all the other Islanders were invaluable treasure, he turned away with disdain and went into his hut. Is this not a Hawaiian Diogenes? The mysterious action of firearms astonished and frightened savages most of all, but Europeans themselves revealed the mystery to them and thus lost the awe, akin to deification, which they at first had in the eyes of the Islanders. The less careful among the navigators often went out bird hunting and in the presence of the natives loaded

their guns, not in a soldierly manner, but slowly and deliberately as hunters usually do; then the natives stopped fearing them, especially when they noticed that the distance at which a gun can act is limited. The Sandwich Islanders knew all of this when Vancouver came there, already having guns in their possession; therefore, fear could not have forced Kamehameha to cede his kingdom to the English, and who will ever believe that a nation will of its own accord part with its freedom?

Kamehameha is greatly preoccupied with developing the defense of his kingdom. I have already mentioned the number of firearms delivered to him by the Europeans. I should add that these include mortars and howitzers, although the former can hardly be of any use because of a lack of men who know how to handle them; the cannons, however, are loaded very efficiently. I witnessed them in operation myself during the salute when Kamehameha offered to drink the health of our sovereign, and they saluted from the open battery next to his house. His army does not in the least look like a regular army, either in its clothing or its ability to use arms. Soldiers often enter the ranks quite naked wearing only a loin cloth and a satchel for cartridges; some of them wear a waistcoat without any other clothing, or only a pair of trousers; some parade dressed only in a shirt; I even saw one man absolutely naked except for a sort of cap on his head, etc. In their military exercises they use many peculiar, amusing and queer methods, but when we realize in how short a time this nation managed to acquaint itself with European arms, and that their ruler was able to arm 6000* men and introduced an artillery, we must admit that the Sandwich Islanders made a great step toward civilization.

* Elliot told me that the army consists of 8000 men bearing firearms, but Manini, who has been here for the past 20 years, assured me that there are only 6000 men and I consider this latter figure correct.

Although Kamehameha has Europeans train his army, he never appoints them to any leading positions, and the army is commanded by his own chiefs. The highest among these, or the Commander-in-chief, by the name of Kalua, is the brother of the King's first wife whom I have mentioned before. This Kalua is still a young man, extremely tall, stout and very gifted. He came aboard the sloop and I was astonished at his fluent English. I even thought at first that he had been to America, but Elliot assured me that he learned it from the European settlers. His other brother, by the name of Hekiri, is in charge of the naval forces consisting of two or three brigs bought from the Americans and of several schooners and large decked launches which are all armed with cannons or falconets. The sailors are all from among the Sandwich Islanders and many of the vessels are under the command of the natives. The trips extend from island to island. The people are extremely gifted: not only do they have many good carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., who would not be among the last on a European wharf, but in the King's storehouses I saw a 16-18 oar boat designed and built exclusively under the direction of a Sandwich Islander without any European having had a hand in it.

The Sandwich Islanders like to work on European ships and the Americans, who always have several of them in their employ, praise them very highly as obedient, reliable, intelligent, good workers, and always loyal to their employers. In cases of mutiny on merchant ships, they always supported their commanders. Therefore, the captains of American ships, when suspecting the crew of some dangerous plot on their trips to the northwest coast of America, take along several of these Islanders; Kamehameha permits them to go willingly in the hope that upon their return they will be useful to him through the knowledge acquired during their trips on the ships of civilized nations. Many of the natives asked us to employ them, but not requiring any helpers I had to refuse. Finally, one young fellow, jolly and quick, stayed as

a stowaway on the sloop and refused to go ashore. It would have been necessary to use force to send him back; learning that he had not committed any crime, I consented to take him along, for I knew that it would be easy to send him back on one of the ships of the Russian American Company*. In making this decision I was mostly influenced by the desire to acquaint the Sandwich Islanders with Russia. At present they have a very unfavorable opinion of us because they have only seen our Company settlements which gave them the impression that the Russian nation is poor and hardly has anything. The Americans try to encourage this adverse opinion for their own advantage, which it is very easy for them to do since they know the language of the natives and are assisted by their compatriots who have settled there.

Children born of mixed marriages between Europeans and native women will especially help to advance the development of this nation because they will acquire certain knowledge from their fathers and will be attached at the same time to their native land through their mothers and their customs. I saw many of these children: they run around almost naked as do the rest of the natives, but they understand English and know various trades.

Kamehameha wishes by all possible means to gain the friendship and confidence of the Europeans. For the safety of foreign vessels, pilots with certificates in English concerning their skill and bearing the King's sign (for he cannot write) are assigned to every port. I had one of these pilots, but since even in Europe I do not like to follow blindly a pilot's advice, I was not inclined to trust a half savage native and therefore while entering the Kealakekua Bay we took our own precautions, constantly taking soundings. This lack of confidence greatly upset him; however, he demonstrated his knowledge of the business and surprised us with his thoroughness which would do honor even to a European pilot;

* He was sent back in 1820 by the ship Kutuzov of the Russian American Company. Some details about him are given in Appendix No. 8.

when approaching the anchorage spot he went down below to see whether our anchors and cables were ready and in good shape. We laughed a great deal at this act of his: it seemed as if in revenge for our lack of confidence in him, he purposely repaid us in the same manner, considering us such poor navigators as to forget to prepare our anchors when coming into a new port. For the protection of Europeans there is a police force which sees to it that they are not molested by the natives. During our first night in port at Kealakekua the patrol went about the settlements and sang out, as we later learned, that the newcomer was a friendly ship and warned the inhabitants under severe threats to refrain from any attempts on us, forbidding them even to approach the ship in the night. Through the various methods which Kamehameha employs to safeguard the life and property of the whites living there, he has made the rest of his subjects feel the same way. Now one can safely send out one's best laundry to be washed without a single thing being stolen; we had no experience in that respect, but laundrymen came to see us with certificates from various ships' captains concerning their honesty and skill. On their first encounter with the visiting navigators the inhabitants try to demonstrate their honesty, and stress the fact that they want nothing without making some return gift. When we approached the island of Hawaii, many islanders came out to the sloop; they were all common people for there was not a single chief among them. Lieutenant Muraviev gave one of them a piece of copper, and was immediately given a banana in return; another one was invited by a non-commissioned officer to share his rice porridge, but the native would not eat until the officer accepted a banana from him. Of course, it would be foolish to assume that they are all absolutely honest; there are thieves among them too, and many of them at that, but at least, along with all the other European "arts", they have learned to steal as it is done in the civilized nations; at present a Sandwich Islander no longer takes something he does not need,

but if he does decide to steal something he waits for an opportune moment and performs it so well that no traces of stealing can be detected. At the beginning they used to steal anything they could lay their hands on and under the very eyes of the owner, but now it is quite different. At Oahu, in spite of the guards posted all around the sloop just to watch visiting boats, they managed to steal my small travel cellaret and a leather covering for a chest by reaching in from their craft. It should be noted, however, that this does not refer to their chiefs who now consider such actions shameful and disgraceful, but among the common people it is impossible to get rid of such habits all at once. The chiefs, on the other hand, are still not ashamed to ask for something they like. I was honored by the visit of four queens, wives of Kamehameha. I offered them some wine and liqueur; they drank several glasses and when ready to leave each one asked me for a decanter from which I poured the wine. I consented at once; then they remarked that the decanters looked much prettier filled with wine than empty, and I filled them up immediately. Then they added that if one has wine it is also necessary to have something to drink it out of, and therefore each one took a wine glass from the table and asked me if I would not let her keep it. I was very glad indeed to be able to get off so cheaply and we parted in a friendly manner. Furthermore, they acknowledged my gifts by sending a large amount of fruit and vegetables, and the first queen sent four oranges which are still a rarity in the Sandwich Islands because they were introduced only a short while ago.

The Sandwich Islanders have become very expert and thrifty in their trade, especially their ruler, Kamehameha. The proof of this is the fact that he employs several men from among the chiefs of lower rank who speak some English; their duty consists of visiting the foreign ships and finding out from the sailors about the type and amount of cargo and the number of people aboard the ship, so

that Kamehameha may set his price for goods and provisions accordingly. The only goods sold by Kamehameha is sandalwood which is divided into three or four grades. At first they always show the lowest grade, then, if that is not taken, a little higher quality; only when dealing with experts, and after many arguments, will they sell the best grade, otherwise they will cheat just as is often done in European trade. The sandalwood here is not the kind that we usually call sandalwood. There is a great abundance of this wood on all of the Sandwich Islands, but since it grows in the mountains it is extremely difficult to obtain because it has to be carried down about forty versts or more. The Americans transport it to Canton and sell it to the Chinese who use it for various boxes, cases, and so forth, but mostly to make coffins and a type of oil* for burning in the temples. The Chinese pay from thirteen to fourteen Spanish piasters a picul** for this wood, while the Americans buy it from the Sandwich Islanders at ten piasters a picul and, at that, they almost always pay in goods which they quote at very high prices.

The Sandwich Islanders have also introduced a tax on the sale of food products to foreigners, especially on pigs, goats, and chickens. Kamehameha sets the price, and none of the natives may charge less although they may take more. As a result, the warships which need provisions but do not carry any trade goods have to pay very high prices for everything they buy from the Islanders. The Americans, on the other hand, who constantly trade in these seas, bring lots of various European knickknacks, usually trying to select something the Islanders have not yet seen. They use these articles as payment for everything they buy, often quoting prices in piasters. They will frequently give a Sandwich Islander some

* Golovnin is presumably referring to the use of sandalwood for incense. (Trans.)

** A Canton picul is equal to 3 poods and 28 pounds in Russian weight. (The Russian pood is 40 Russian pounds and a Russian pound is 409.5 grs. Hence, a picul is about 60.6 kilograms, or 133 U.S. pounds. Trans.)

trifle costing half a piaster in exchange for a pig, but will quote it at seven or eight piasters. The Islander takes the object not knowing its real value merely because he likes it and considers it worth a pig; however, when another Islander brings a similar pig to a warship that does not have trade goods to pay him with, he will also demand seven or eight piasters for it in order to be able to buy from an American trader an article similar to the one bought by his friend. Today a warship in need of a large quantity of supplies will make a big mistake in going to the Sandwich Islands to replenish its provisions. I had to pay fifteen piasters for two medium sized hogs; but luckily we did not have to buy many provisions because we had just left California where we had bought everything at moderate prices and were on our way to the fertile Marianas Islands with only a short crossing ahead of us. Furthermore, Kamehameha presented me with twenty hogs and large quantities of vegetables, but if we had had to buy here in piasters all that we obtained in California and at Fort Ross, and from Kamehameha as gifts, it would have cost us much more than in the most expensive of European capitals.

Fairness demands that I should mention at this point a very noble deed of Mr. Davis, a citizen of the United States of the North American Republic and owner and commander of several ships trading in that region. I knew him before and encountered him again this time in the Sandwich Islands. Learning from the Spaniard Manini that I had commissioned him to buy some cabbage and other greens for the crew and knowing that I would have to pay for this in piasters, he gave Manini a sufficient amount of his goods to pay for this purchase and refused to take any money from me for his goods saying that they cost him very little. Even if the goods did cost him very little, he still lost a good deal anyway on the transaction because if I had bought provisions with piasters, the money would have eventually reached him as payment for his knickknacks. I had no way of showing my gratitude

to this worthy gentleman except by giving him some rockets and fireworks which he needed and of which we had too many.

The civil administration of the Sandwich Islands is not organized at all as yet; almost nothing European has been introduced into their laws with the exception of taxes which in certain respects are similar to ours and which were introduced by Kamehameha on the advice of Europeans without destroying the former system of his "finances". The former system is this: as soon as the King needs food products or anything else, it is proclaimed that either all or some of the districts must bring him what he needs, just as a master of the house might order his servants to bring him this or that or deliver it to someone else. Such decrees are still carried out with the greatest exactness and without complaints; in addition, following the European example, a permanent tax has been instituted. For instance, the land owners must pay an annual tax according to the number of workmen they hire. Elliot pays a tax of forty piasters for his land where he employs ten to twenty people; for the right to fish near the shores each boat pays one piaster for the period of fishing which occurs at different seasons. I have not heard of any other permanent or compulsory taxes, but the King can collect money, just as he collects the food products, whenever he wants to by merely ordering each one of his subjects trading with European ships to bring him one piaster. This income might also be called a tax.

Another new regulation similar to the European model provides for appointing administrators to the islands, one of which on each island is a trusted European occupying the position of secretary. Whenever Kamehameha issues an order to one of his "governors", he always does so through a chief of lower rank who delivers the message orally; at the same time Elliot issues a written order to which the King affixes his sign which is always identical. The recipient of the

order examines the sign and compares what the envoy said with what the Secretary tells him, and if it agrees he executes the order, but if it differs he sends for a repetition of the order. The order to have ten hogs and a boatful of vegetables delivered to me on Oahu was issued in the same manner, and I personally brought both the envoy and the order on my sloop. Elliot tries to impart as much importance as possible to the dignity of the ruler of Hawaii and wants the Sandwich Islanders to appear, at least outwardly, to be more enlightened than they are in reality. When we arrived at Kealakekua I learned that the King had left there and now resided in a different location called Kailua, located about twenty versts away; therefore, I wrote a note to him in English knowing that he would have someone to translate it for him, I requested him to come to Kealakekua to discuss with me the matter of supplying us with fresh provisions, or to send some European who could assist us in obtaining food and fresh water. You can imagine my surprise when on the following day in answer to my simple little note came an official letter written in English, which is translated literally as follows:

"To the Commander of His Imperial Russian Majesty's frigate Kamchatka

Dear Sir:

His Hawaiian Majesty regrets that he is unable to have the pleasure of visiting you in Kealakekua, on account of the illness of his Majesty's sister Pepi, who is approaching the last few moments of her life. His Majesty gives absolute freedom to his chiefs and other inhabitants to sell to you any food products which you may need. As to fresh water, His Majesty recommends that you obtain the same on the Island of Maui, for in Kealakekua the water is not good. I have orders from His Majesty to come to your ship tomorrow.

Please accept the assurance of His Majesty's sincere respects in which assurance I also beg the honor to join,

Your obedient servant,

John Elliot de Castro
Secretary of State to His Majesty. "

Kailua
November 1*, 1818.

Various reasons keep the Sandwich Islanders from adopting the European civil code. The first reason is that Kamchamcha himself does not yet properly visualize its benefit to his people; and the second reason is that there is no European close to the King who would be both willing and able to persuade him to adopt these European statutes and who would be able at the same time of introducing them gradually. But the greatest obstacle is the religion of the Islanders which openly prescribes actions absolutely contrary to European customs and laws, such as human sacrifices to their deities, polygamy, the exclusion of women from certain rights open only to men, etc. Were it possible to introduce the Christian faith and the art of writing among the Sandwich Islanders, they would in one century reach a state of civilization unparalleled in history. But it is not easy to introduce an outside religion to a free and strong people! Conquered and subjugated nations almost always adopt the faith, or rather the outward rituals, of their conquerors through coercion or because of advantages and rewards given to the followers of the new creed; but a free people must be won over by persuasion -- but how soon can one succeed in that? To use force would lead to bloodshed, resulting in destruction rather than enlightenment. Vancouver attempted to impart

* This date differs from that given by Golovnin in the previous chapter because he uses the Julian Calendar, while Elliot uses the Gregorian Calendar, a difference of 13 days. [Trans.]

the idea of accepting Christianity to Kamehameha; he stressed most of all the cruelty and senselessness of human sacrifice which, far from being pleasing to God, must be extremely hateful to the True God, the only Creator and Lord of the World. Kamehameha, suspecting that Vancouver over estimated his own God and belittled the gods of the Islands, proposed that Vancouver and one of the King's high priests ascend a high cliff near the bay of Kealakekua and throw themselves off; the God of the survivor would be considered more powerful and more just, and the King would recognize Him as the true God. This experiment did not appeal to Vancouver, and he not only declined to perform it, he did not even mention it in his Voyage. Thus ended the discussion on religion. This anecdote was related to many American captains by Young, an Englishman mentioned in many of the published voyages, who has been in the Sandwich Islands for over twenty-five years and who acted as interpreter between Vancouver and the King. I heard it from Davis. Young also related the following amusing retort that Kamehameha once made to Vancouver who showed a globe to the King and explained that the earth is round and revolves and that the English and the Sandwich Islanders walk with their feet directed at each other. Kamehameha examined the globe at great length and the position of the two kingdoms, but said nothing and lapsed into deep thought. Finally, when they sat down to dinner he put a large biscuit on a plate and a few small pieces on top of it and said: "Well, here is the earth" (pointing to the plate), "this is Hawaii" (the large biscuit), "here is Kamehameha" (pointing to the small pieces) "Vancouver and all the others sitting peacefully and dining. Now see what happens!" With these words he turned the plate upside down and all the pieces of biscuit fell to the floor. Then he said to Vancouver that he was no fool and would not believe such stupid stories.

A change has gradually taken place in the form of human sacrifice;

at present, according to Elliot and the captains of American ships, only criminals condemned to death are killed at the temples -- as at a place of execution -- and are left there as sacrifice offerings. Cook even thought that the Sandwich Islanders were cannibals and offered proof of this supposition, but his doctor, Anderson, did not concur with this opinion. Vancouver positively denies it, and the foreigners living here assert that at present there is no trace of such a barbaric institution, although there may have been such a custom in ancient times. If Kamehameha would only take the same care, or even half the same care, of the interests of his subjects as he does of the interests of the Europeans living with him, he could greatly relieve the miserable condition of the common people whose life and property are entirely at the mercy of the chiefs. The rights and privileges of the chiefs, on the other hand, are hereditary. They carefully keep track of their pedigree and trace back the origin of each family. Their kinship system has never been properly understood by any of the Europeans. For instance, while we were in the King's house, his son came and sat on the threshold at the door; I made a sign inviting him to come in and sit by us, but I was told that he cannot enter his father's house because, being born of a mother whose family is the noblest on the Island of Hawaii, he is of a nobler origin than his father. However, the King no longer lives with this son's mother, having given her as a wife to a different chief -- although on this occasion she was present in the women's part of the house -- and the son is so completely in his father's power that when I asked him to come to see us he said he would not dare go without his father's permission. A person of higher rank may not enter the house of a person of lower rank because the owner could not then continue to live in that house; Elliot could not explain the working of this family rank precedence. The chiefs own all the land, and they alone are permitted to eat meat and certain of the choicest kinds of fish forbidden to the

commoners. The women, by the way, regardless of their rank, are forbidden to use pork in their food, although those belonging to some of the nobler ranks may eat dogs, chickens, wild fowl and fish. It must be noted here that these people do not consider dog meat unclean. The chiefs eat it, and Kamehameha himself prefers it to pork; almost every day he is served a fat roasted pup for dinner. Some of the Europeans living here like dog meat so much that it has become a common food among them. They compare it to the best of mutton, which is quite possible because the dogs are fed on fruit and vegetables. Vancouver brought several bulls, cows, rams and ewes to the Islands, and accepted a solemn ritual oath from the natives given in their temple, that for ten years they would not kill a single one of the animals; then he demanded that they do away with the prohibition against women eating pork and allow them to eat any kind of meat on equal basis with the men, but this request was not granted entirely. He was told that since he did not introduce hogs into the islands it was not his affair, and the women would never be allowed to eat pork, however, the cattle and sheep brought by him would be considered as dogs and therefore allowed to women. Another request of Vancouver's -- to allow women to eat with men -- was also rejected. In regard to women and the common people all such rules are strictly observed, but many of the chiefs disregard the prohibitions pertaining to them. For instance, at certain times they are not allowed to eat pork, chicken, etc., but they pay no attention to this and eat anything they please. Once, several of them were having dinner with me among whom was Kamehameha's brother-in-law, who is also his Commander-in-chief, whom I have already mentioned. The majority of the guests ate everything that was served, and with great appetite; some of them refused pork or chicken, but only one, seeing chicken served, jumped up and threw himself into the water through a gun port. Elliot told me that the more important the chief, the less he observed these regulations, and that these free-thinkers, so to speak, are more friendly to

Europeans and get along with them much better. A woman, however, no matter of how noble a rank, may not break a single one of the prohibitions imposed upon her sex. The wife of the first chief for the entire region around Kealakekua visited me; her long silk dress of an old fashioned European style and an expensive looking white kerchief were proof enough that she was a lady of noble rank, but when we sat down to eat with the chiefs I could not persuade her even to stay in the cabin, let alone to dine with us. All she answered was: "Tabu", which means, forbidden, and she ate on the quarterdeck with the wife of another chief. Their meal consisted of a dough made of taro root flour and raw fish, which they dipped in sea water instead of vinegar. They would not touch a thing of our food except biscuits and cheese, but partook freely of wine and cordials.

The Sandwich Islanders, whenever they can afford it, try to imitate the Europeans in manner of dress as well as in social manners, except that they utilize European clothes according to the climate and to their own understanding of things. When they see a European dressed in an outfit consisting of several pieces, such as tail coat and waistcoat, etc., they do not realize that these are required by our standards and that it is impolite to appear without a coat, no matter how rich and attractive the rest of the outfit may be; they attribute it to vanity and to our desire to show off as much of our clothing as possible. Therefore, on ceremonial occasions they dress in the same manner; however, on ordinary occasions, a man will appear wearing only his underclothing without stockings or anything else, another one will swagger about in a vest and a loin cloth, a third one will sport a coat thrown over a naked body, This is accepted among them as ordinary everyday attire. However, their favorite European attire is an ordinary white shirt with cuffs or a frock-coat; the chiefs usually go about wearing one of these, either the shirt or the coat, without anything else from head to foot. The common people often dress in

very old sailors' jerseys or pants which they obtain from the Americans; the poorest ones, having nothing to trade for clothing, wear only a hat in addition to a loin cloth and thus consider themselves garbed according to European style. One must admit, however, that if the cumbersome European dress is uncomfortable in a hot climate even to us, how much more so must it be to the native inhabitants of warm countries, accustomed as they are to keeping their bodies free from swaddling clothes, so to speak, and fond of bathing several times a day. Encountering Europeans they bow and shake hands according to our customs, but among themselves they observe their own custom of rubbing noses and holding hands.

The chiefs are beginning to acquire European habits in their mode of life. For instance, they drink tea twice a day, usually in the morning and towards evening. Some of the dishes are prepared according to our style, being boiled and fried; whereas formerly meat and vegetables were baked in pits in the ground by means of hot rocks; but they still cannot acquire the habit of regular meals and eat only when the stomach demands it. Unfortunately, they have developed a great liking for strong drink; many of the chiefs have become inveterate drunkards. Even the King's son and heir, a young man whom I mentioned earlier, and also the chief counsellor or Minister of the King, a relative of his favorite wife, drink without reserve causing much grief to old Kamehameha who, a very sober man himself, cannot restrain them. The common people are also given to this destructive vice, and at present on the Island of Oahu, where most of the ships touch, some of the food products are paid for in alcoholic drinks, as if they were a fixed form of exchange. For instance, an American pays two bottles of rum for a large goat, one bottle for a small one, etc. We were on that island a few days before one of their biggest festivals, which starts in the first half of November and continues for twenty-one days. During that period the natives do not attend to any work, not even being allowed to go out in their boats,

and the time is spent in eating, gambling and drinking. As a result, the chiefs refused the various gifts I offered in exchange for the fruit and vegetables which they gave me, but asked for rum saying that a long holiday period was approaching during which they would have to be drunk every day. They have another vice which is their own: it is a passion for gambling at which they often lose all their property. Lately they started using our cards, and have invented a card game of their own which is a guessing game, but they are not sufficiently sophisticated as yet for the game of boston.* Intemperance causes quarrels and fights among the Sandwich Islanders, and leads to envy and a desire for revenge. To attain revenge they use devious means, but under the present single powerful and strict ruler they do not dare settle their disputes with weapons as they formerly did. At present they resort to libel and slander using spies to check up on each other. Elliot told me that their method of espionage is developed to perfection and that even all the Europeans are spied upon by someone who reports to the chiefs. Elliot himself is watched by four spies assigned by Kamehamcha, by the King's favorite wife, by the chief counsellor and by one of the high chiefs.

It should be noted, however, that by introducing strong drink and cards the Europeans merely spread drinking and gambling but did not actually introduce something new among the Sandwich Islanders who, as I mentioned before, were addicted to both before Cook. They used to prepare an intoxicating drink from a spicy pepper plant called kawa and drank it in excess. This drink has a repulsive and vile taste and not everyone liked it; on the other hand, all the Islanders love European drinks. Another vice, introduced by the Europeans, causes great harm to this good people by spreading that infectious disease which is such a detriment to people of loose morals.

* Boston is a card game similar to whist and was popular in the Nineteenth Century. [Trans.]

Cook himself admitted that the venereal diseases were brought to the Islands by his crew, although others assert that the disease existed there before his arrival. I inquired among the Europeans who have lived here for a long time and their opinion is that this disease was unknown here before Cook. The Europeans who visit or settle in the Islands, not only make no attempt at destroying or decreasing it, but maintain and spread it themselves. At present, every new ship is at once surrounded by boats which bring young women who are offered as the most important article of trade by their own fathers and husbands for a certain sum to the sailors. It should be mentioned, however, that only the common people indulge in this awful practice; the chiefs and the people of higher rank will not trade their daughters and wives for any price; besides, the women of better class are themselves beginning to have an understanding of shame and decency, seeing the example of the Europeans living among them, who demand the same behavior from their wives as is expected of wives in Europe. Actually, even though the Europeans call the women living with them here their wives and take proper care of children resulting from these unions, no marriage ceremony is ever performed between them and the island women.

Among the Europeans settled here there are, of course, honest people of good breeding, but the majority of them cannot boast of high morals, and they are all uneducated, lacking in scientific knowledge. Such people can only teach the Sandwich Islanders what they themselves know, and their knowledge consists merely of various crafts and trades such as sailing ships and using firearms; but if a few well-educated patient people, capable of observing things carefully like the missionaries* of old, should settle in the Sandwich Islands, there is no doubt that

* Last year (1821) I learned that soon after my departure from the Sandwich Islands, a group of missionaries from the United States arrived and had already succeeded in converting many people to Christianity. If pure diligence to their faith, knowledge and conduct of these people corresponds to their calling, success is inevitable; but if they came merely with the intention of getting rich and will play a comedy of conveying only book knowledge to the natives without the example of living according to Christian rules, then it will be spoilt, and they will make their converts hate religion as happened in the case of Japan and in a few other instances that I could enumerate.

they would soon become famous as enlighteners of this people and would have an excellent opportunity to observe, as I noted earlier, the gradual transition of man from a savage state into that of civilized beings. Here they could observe how languages are formed and develop* and by comparative methods might be able to throw some light on the obscure spots in the history of European nations regarding their origin, concerning which the scientists have been arguing for ages without coming to a decision. In other words, they could make many useful observations regarding the minds, reason, and heart of mankind.

Had the Voyage of Captain Vancouver** been translated into our language, I would have nothing more to say about the Sandwich Islands, but since this book is not available in Russian I am supplying here some statistical data. The Sandwich Islands, situated in the North Pacific Ocean, occupy an area between latitudes 19° and 22° and longitudes 155 3/4° and 159 1/2° east of Greenwich. The names of these islands, according to the native inhabitants, are: Hawaii, Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Molokai, Oahu, Kauai, Niihau, Lehua, Kaula, and Molokini*** -- eleven in all.

* There are many people interested in the research of the origin of words, but how difficult and at times impossible such a study is I shall illustrate by these few examples: At present the Sandwich Islanders use many English words which they pronounce quite differently, however, from the English so that in a few centuries it will be impossible to distinguish the words taken from English from those that are native. For instance, who would ever think that kortar and doctor is the same word? Or that fae and fire (pali) are the same? The captains of American ships have named the King's chief counsellor, or his prime minister is you wish, Mr. Pitt whereas his real name is Kremoku. Now the Islanders consider this new name an indication of his rank and will apply the name of Mr. Pitt to anyone who will occupy this position; so that, when they become an entirely civilized nation, Misterpitt most probably will be a term indicating a certain rank or position, just as we say, Chancellor, etc. How many words are there in our languages which during the childhood of European nations originated in a similar manner! How can one get at the origin?

** Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World Performed in 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795 appeared in Russian in 1827-30, after the publication of Golovnin's Voyage. [Trans.]

*** For the names of islands Golovnin uses the accepted Russian transcription of the standard European spelling of that period, i.e. Owhyhee*, Mowee*, Tahoorowa*, Ranai, Morotoi*, Woahoo*, Attowai*, Oneehoo*, Orihooa, Tahoora, and Marokin and adds the following footnote: "It sounded to me that the names of the islands marked with an asterisk were pronounced differently by the local inhabitants from the way I have

Hawaii, the southeastern island of the group, is the largest and the most populated. It is 150 versts long and at its widest is 130 versts across. This island is shaped like a triangle, and there are very high mountains on it, two of which are considered among the highest in the world. These mountain peaks, in spite of the hot climate of the Sandwich Islands, are covered with perpetual snow. On the basis of La Condamine's* measurements for the line of perpetual snow on the mountains situated between the two tropics, Captain King estimates the height of one of these mountains, Mauna-Loa, to be 18,400 feet and the other one, Mauna Vorrora [Hualalai **]--16,020 feet. Between the mountains all over the island and along the sea shore there are many wide and fertile valleys, some of which are cultivated by the Sandwich Islanders.

The chief products are: taro, breadfruit, potatoes, plaintain, bananas, coconuts, sugar cane, yam root and sweet potatoes. The latter often weighs as much as ten pounds each, and Captain Cook saw one on Kauai weighing fourteen pounds. Taro, which is the subsistence food for people of all ranks, and often almost the only food of the common people, does not grow in abundance on Hawaii for lack of water as this plant has to be constantly submerged in water up to half its height; consequently much of it is brought from the other islands, especially from Oahu. Melons, watermelons and gourds grow in abundance in addition to the above mentioned products.

written them, following the example of earlier voyagers. To me it sounded that they said: Awyhee, Mouwa, Kahoaloawee, Morokai, Oahoo, Atwai, Niiahoo, but since changing the names would serve no purpose, I kept the names accepted by the majority of Europeans." For explanation of Russian transcription and usage in this translation see Introduction. [Trans.]

* Charles Marie de La Condamine (1701-1774). French scientist who participated in an expedition in Peru to measure an arc of the meridian and published several works on the measurements.

** It appears that Golovnin confused Mt. Hualalai with Mauna Kea. [Trans.]

Of quadrupeds there are only hogs, dogs, and cattle. The latter were brought over by Vancouver and have increased in numbers but are of no use to navigators because they have gone wild due to carelessness of the natives and roam through the valleys in the interior of the island where they find good pastures and plenty of water. It is, therefore, quite impossible to drive wild bulls to the sea shore, while the climate does not permit butchering them and transporting the meat since no meat can be kept fresh here for longer than a day. Rats are the only quadrupeds found on the islands in wild state.

Captain King was mistaken when he said that the Sandwich Islanders do not become attached to their dogs, as the Europeans do, and keep them only for food. It is true that the majority of dogs are kept like domestic cattle and are sent into the pastures with the pigs, but many dogs are also kept in the homes and greatly petted and loved by the owners. I personally saw two little dogs in the house of the first chief for the district of Kealakekua to which the chief's wife gave water out of the same container that she herself used for drinking. While one chief on the island of Oahu felt that he could in no better way express his devotion as a faithful subject to the King than by naming his favorite dog, Kamchameha, after him.

Chickens are very plentiful, and were here before the arrival of the Europeans. At present turkeys, geese, and ducks are also being raised. We saw some of the ducks, they belong to the variety called hispers in Russia, but there are not many of them as yet. I succeeded in bringing to this island some California quail which are very fertile. I presented them to the King who undoubtedly will take good care of them. Wild birds of the forest and the sea are not very numerous here. I shall discuss them later when talking of the Island group as a whole and when discussing the fish with which these shore waters are teeming. As for fish, which are plentiful, all are sea fish and not of a very tasty variety though the local inhabitants are very fond of it.

On Hawaii the inhabitants make vast quantities of salt, not inferior to European salt, by action of the sun's rays on pools of sea water. Even before the arrival of Cook the local people were familiar with the use of salt and knew how to prepare salt cured pork and fish preserving it in containers made of gourds.

Much sandalwood grows in the mountains, but because of the distance from the sea coast it is very hard to deliver it. Formerly this wood was not used for anything and so there was no necessity for delivering it, but now it is an important article of trade for which the King and the chiefs receive good prices from the Americans, and therefore many people are employed in bringing it from the mountains. The trees useful to the Sandwich Islanders are: the paper tree (Morus papyrifera), so called because the Chinese make writing paper from its bark, used by the Islanders for manufacturing fairly strong and attractive cloth and mats, and a tree called ti by them from the root of which they make a kind of a sweet drink similar to our swipes, and from which the Europeans taught them to distill rum. The ti leaves being strong and large are used in house building, but this use is restricted to people of noble rank since it is not abundant enough for everyone to use it. In Kailua, where Kamehameha lives at present, this leaf was used only to build his house and Elliot's. Long after Vancouver, the Americans introduced lemon and orange trees to the Islands which now bear fruit. About the same time, the cotton plant was introduced, and we saw some growing in Kealakekua. Elliot told me that the Americans have taken the local cotton to Canton where the Chinese praised it highly and asserted that it is not inferior to any cotton known to them.

Captain King estimates the number of inhabitants on Hawaii at 150 thousand, but this seems too high. According to the Europeans living there, Captain King's estimates both for this and all the other islands can be reduced by half without making an error.

It is a pity that this beautiful island has no safe harbor protected from the winds. The ships have to anchor in an open roadstead which may have dangerous consequences during the winter months. On the eastern side of the island there is a bay extending deeply inland called by the islanders Waikatia (Waiakea). Vancouver approached it and sent his pilot to explore it. The pilot reported that the bay is open and is not protected from the northeastern trade winds, which are strong here and cause heavy swells. However, Captain Davis told me that he had recently entered this bay with his ship and found a safe anchorage behind a sand bar extending from the cape, and that a row boat might easily land in one of the two rivers which empty into the bay. A boat can enter one of these rivers with any kind of a tide with no danger at all. Vancouver's pilot, as noted in his Voyage, did not enter far enough into the bay for fear of a swell from the sea and therefore must have failed to notice the sand bar protecting the anchorage spot from the swell. Davis told me that the inhabitants in the vicinity of this bay are so rich in food products that within a very short time he bought for only 25 piaster 400 chickens and such a great quantity of vegetables and fruit that he did not know where to put it all in his ship. Elliot also assured me that this eastern side of the island is much richer and more fertile and that old Kamehameha does not live there only because the trade winds bring frequent rains which are bad for his health. The mountains stop the clouds which causes rain on the eastern side and droughts on the western side of the island. On the western side there is a constant shortage of fresh water, and the chiefs usually send people seven to ten versts up into the mountains to fetch water from springs.

The island next in size to Hawaii is Maui which is 70 versts long and 40 versts wide. This island also does not have a single protected harbor. On the western side, however, there are roadsteads which are relatively safe and, with

trade winds, even calm so that one can land there safely. On no other island of the group can one obtain fairly good fresh water with the same ease. The products of this island are the same as on Hawaii although less abundant, and those introduced by the Europeans have not been brought here yet. King estimates the population at 65,400, but here again one must make the same correction as for Hawaii. The island of Maui has suffered a great deal in the conquest by Kamehameha, who, arriving with a large army, assisted by the Europeans, and possessing a much greater quantity of firearms than the ruler of Maui, soon vanquished him and destroyed the island so thoroughly that even unto this day it has not regained its former state.

Oahu, 60 versts long and 30 versts wide, is the third largest island of the group and the most beautiful and best located, being almost in the center of the group and rich in fertile plains, level lands, pastures and fresh water. To the Europeans it is of greater importance and use than the others because on the southern side there is an enclosed and absolutely safe harbor called Honolulu. Near this harbor, between the mountains and the sea, there is a broad level plain with a hardly noticeable slope from the mountains, and at the foot of it, next to the harbor, stands the main settlement of the island and the fort. In this plain there is room enough for a fairly spacious town. A small but fairly rapid river runs into the harbor, irrigating numerous taro plantations with its streams flowing out of the mountains. Oahu produces such a vast amount of this most necessary plant, that great quantities are shipped annually to Hawaii. All products that existed on the islands before their discovery by the Europeans are most abundant on Oahu; furthermore, since the majority of Europeans who have settled among the Sandwich Islanders now live on Oahu where they have received vast land grants from the King, it is now the best cultivated island of the group. Many of them apply themselves to agriculture and develop all products that can possibly grow in this climate and type of soil.

For this reason no captain of an American ship ever comes here now without bringing seeds or sprouts of some yet unknown plant. The Spaniard Manini is most famous for his agricultural endeavor. At present, in addition to the native plants of taro, breadfruit, bananas, potatoes, sugar cane, coconuts, plantains and gourds, Oahu produces great quantities of watermelons and melons, as well as some lemons, oranges, pineapples, figs and grapes. The grape vines were brought from California; the grapes are large and tasty. Wine pressed from them is pleasant when young; I tasted both the grapes and the wine from Manini's vineyard. Manini started growing tobacco and makes cigars not inferior to those from Panama; if there is any difference it may be attributed to lack of skill in rolling them. European vegetables, such as cabbage, cucumbers, garlic, and mustard, thrive in this climate, and some others are being introduced. There is no difficulty in obtaining vegetables here now; I paid two piasters for fifty head of cabbage and one real (65 kopeks) each for eight watermelons, and even so we were overcharged. Watermelons grow in such abundance that they are often fed to hogs.

Recently Manini experimented with wheat and discovered that it grows very well, so this year he sowed more of it. He also used a small patch of land to plant some rice as an experiment. However, not so long ago, a visiting "naturalist", coming across the sprouting plants, tore out more than half of this "marvelous unknown specimen" and rushed to Manini in great excitement to inquire what the local inhabitants called this product of their island. Manini almost fainted at seeing his plants destroyed. So, when we arrived at Oahu, Manini asked me upon our first acquaintance whether we had a botanist in our midst and whether he knew his business, for if he did not, then Manini wanted to respectfully beg that his experiments not be destroyed. Manini, as well as the other Europeans interested in horticulture and agriculture, assured me that coffee and tea can be grown very easily in the Sandwich Islands.

This tireless Spaniard is making efforts to obtain coffee and tea bushes, but so far has not succeeded.

Of quadrupeds, in addition to a great many hogs and dogs native to the Islands, there are over 20 horses, many head of cattle, goats and rabbits. Of domestic fowl there are turkeys, chickens, geese, ducks and pigeons. The waters around the island must abound in fish for on the reefs surrounding the harbor we saw many boats constantly engaged in fishing. The number of inhabitants on Oahu, according to King's estimate is as high as 60,000.

Should the national policy of some European power find it necessary to establish a colony in the Sandwich Islands, a better place than the harbor of Honolulu can hardly be found in the entire group.

Next to Oahu comes the island of Kauai, the northwestern island of the group. It is almost round in shape and is about 40 versts in diameter. Captain King believes its population to be 54,000. This island is mountainous and has very little level land compared to the other islands, but it is abundant in all products native to the group and has some of the imported products although in smaller quantities than Hawaii or Oahu. The greatest wealth of this island consists of sandalwood; perhaps there is not much more of it here than on the other islands, but owing to the position of the mountains where it grows it is much more accessible. There is not a single safe harbor on the island of Kauai. The Bay of Waimea, on the southwestern side of the island, is unprotected and is very dangerous during the winter months, having a very limited space suitable for anchorage. On this Bay is situated the chief residence of the ruler of the island, by the name of Tamari [Kaumualii]. He had built a small stone fort which at the time of our arrival was flying a British flag, whereas about two years before the ruler hoisted the flag of another strong European power and wore the naval uniform of that country, made

according to the "pattern" given to him by the physician whom I have already mentioned.

The island of Molokai is not large: it is about 50 versts in length, but the widest section is not more than 10 versts across. It extends almost directly from east to west. Vancouver reported that its eastern section is beautiful, having fertile well-cultivated valleys, and that it is rich in many products but the western section has a wild and arid aspect and the population is poor, subsisting mainly by fishing, as its shore waters abound in fish. But even to obtain fresh water the fishermen must go to the eastern side. I did not see the eastern side, but passed quite close to the western side and it is indeed just as Vancouver described. There are no harbors for vessels at all on this island. According to Captain King there are 36,000 inhabitants on the island, but this time he must have tripled the actual number.

Lanai is even smaller than Molokai, being only 25 versts long and 14 versts across in its widest section, but it is inhabited, and, according to King, there are about 20,400 people living there. There are neither harbors nor roadsteads on this island, and it is very poor in natural products, so that ships never stop there, just as in the case of Molokai.

The island of Niihau is about the same size as Lanai but less populated. King estimates the number of its inhabitants at 10,000. It is more fertile than Lanai and is especially abundant in yam root and ti plant, and Europeans often call there for these products. They stop on the southern side of the island where there are two unprotected and very unsatisfactory roadsteads where many ships have been exposed to great danger. Except for the above mentioned plants this island is poor in natural products, but the inhabitants obtain great quantities of salt from its ponds.

The island of Kahoolawe is uninhabited because of its unproductive rocky soil, although it is about 40 versts in circumference. Countless numbers of sea birds dwell there.

The small islands of Molokini, Kaula and Lehua are also uninhabited and are hardly worth mentioning. Although Captain King writes that there are 4,000 inhabitants on the latter of these three islands, he was mistaken. I was told on Oahu that it had never been inhabited, and Captain Vancouver, who came close up to the island, also relates that it is very small and consists of barren rugged rocks on which nothing can possibly grow and which makes it quite uninhabitable.

Two other small uninhabited islands should be included in the Sandwich Islands group. One of these, lying to the west of Kaula, was mentioned to Captain Cook by the inhabitants of Kauai who go there to catch turtles and sea birds. They call it Modu Papata*. The other one is called Modu Manu** by them and is situated 200 versts to the northwest of Niihau; the latter was discovered in 1788 by an English trading ship, "The Prince of Wales".

The climate of the Sandwich Islands is hot but very healthy; epidemics and infections are unknown to the inhabitants. The Europeans visiting here do not suffer from any local fever attacks as happens in the West Indies, Batavia, etc., and the climate itself is not as unbearable as one would expect from the geographical position of the islands.

In Captain Cook's third Voyage, which has been translated into Russian, all the products of these islands observed by the English are described in detail, but even so there still remains a great deal for a naturalist to study, though much time would be required for that. If some clever naturalist would consent to spend

* Modu means island and papata means flat.

** Manu means bird.

about two years among the Sandwich Islanders he would undoubtedly discover many new things. I shall mention here only those products which nature without any human assistance presents to the inhabitants for their various needs, thus placing these islands among the most bountiful countries in the whole world. I have already mentioned that from the bark of the so-called paper tree the Islanders prepare cloth and mats of different grades and colors; this bark is also used for making twine used for nets, fish lines* and other necessities. From the bark of a small bush called arima they make fine string and cords**. The coconut tree, in addition to its fruit which serves as a pleasant food and drink for the Islanders, also provides them with rope used as boat tackle and for various needs; they weave the rope from the fibers surrounding the nut and make it so long and in such large quantities that they are able to sell it to the visiting ships. Much rope was brought to us for sale, and the captains of American ships buy it for light use because they consider this rope but little inferior in strength, though much cheaper, than hemp rope. Then there is another tree called Pandanus from the leaves of which the Islanders very expertly make mats used for covering floors and for use in lieu of beds and mattresses; out of these same leaves they make a type of plain cloth. It must be mentioned here that all inhabitants of hot climates, and even the northern Europeans who live in such climates over a long period of time, cannot sleep on beds or on anything soft, but almost always use straw mattresses or grass woven mats.

The Sandwich Islands, as almost all of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, produce two beautiful hardwood trees: one is as good as real mahogany and the other is as hard and as black as ebony. From these trees the islands make their maces, spears, and arrows.

* The fish hooks the natives make out of shells, bones, and hardwood and prefer these to our iron hooks.

** For ornamental purposes, they plait a very fine cord from human hair.

For making their single canoes they use a fairly strong tree growing in the islands, and they formerly used the same tree and some other varieties, for making war canoes. Now, however, they no longer make the latter, for they build brigs, schooners, gunboats and armed launches of European type. The Sandwich Islands war boats used to be 8 fathoms long, although Vancouver saw one that was 61½ feet or 8 ¾ fathoms long, made from a fir tree that had been washed up on one of the islands, most probably having drifted from America.

The Islanders make their eating vessels out of gourds, coconut shells and a wood called etoe or sacred tree*. The chiefs, however, are beginning to use European dishes: in the house of any chief one may now find our tea kettles, cups, glasses, wine glasses, bottles, etc.

Of edible wild birds there are geese, swans, ducks, two or three species of snipe, and pigeons and in addition to these, especially on the uninhabited islands, there are masses of tropical sea birds of all kinds. All the above birds are used only as food by the Sandwich Islanders and not for any other purpose, but from the feather of a small red bird, described in detail in various Voyages, the chiefs make their ceremonial capes or robes which even to this day, in spite of the introduction of European clothes, they have not abandoned and still use on all ceremonial occasions. The governor of the island of Oahu, Boki, who is one of the highest chiefs of noble rank in the service of the King, being the brother of his Prime Minister, and Gekiri, the Commander of the naval forces, and brother of the first Queen, accompanied by many others of less importance, visited me dressed in such garments. I wanted to buy one of these cloaks and offered a good English hunting gun in a case with all the fittings and a large telescope in exchange for it, but I was told that all such garments belong to the King and without his permission cannot

* Cordia sebastina.

be dispensed with. While I was on Hawaii I wanted to purchase such a cloak through Mr. Elliot, but he also told me that no one but the King may sell them and that Kamehameha will not accept less than 800 piasters because that is the price that the captains of American ships offer. However, since they pay in kind, instead of 800 piasters they probably do not actually spend more than fifty; thus they do not lose anything on this transaction as they buy such objects to sell to curio collectors; but frankly I did not feel that I could pay four thousand rubles for an object good only as a show piece to curio lovers. Kamehameha evaluates these garments so highly because of the long hard work which must be spent in preparing them, and also because each cloak requires several hundred, perhaps more than a thousand, small birds which must be caught, the very tiny feathers selected, sewn together and pasted onto a cloth resembling loosely woven linen. The Islanders catch these birds by means of long rods, the upper ends of which are covered with a sticky substance obtained from a tree; the birds, alighting on the rod, stick to it and, unable to tear themselves away, become the hunters' prey.

I have already mentioned that the waters surrounding the Sandwich Islands abound in fish and that most of these fish are not very tasty, although the natives prefer them to the varieties of fish which we like. For instance, shark, or dog fish, is considered the choicest food by the island chiefs; the same is true of bonito, dolphins, grampus, Tetrodon mola [Puffer family], Bodianus guttatus [Wrasse family], and others;* but they do not like mackerel, sea bass** and two or three kinds of fish which we consider choice. There is one poisonous variety among the local fish which is called pihi by the natives; it is so remarkable that without a drawing or description it can be easily recognized for its head is shaped just like an owl's head and there is no other fish of that type here.

* I am using the Latin names of these fish which we do not have in Russia and for which I do not know the Russian terms.

** Persa marina venenosa: it is perhaps called poisonous because of harm caused by one fish which consumed some food which was poisonous, but it is used everywhere as food and is quite harmless.

Turtles are also caught in some parts of various islands, and crayfish are very plentiful; several varieties were brought to us, some having multi-colored shells resembling very fine filigree work.

Geographers even unto this day have not come to any conclusion as to whether the Sandwich Islands had been visited by Europeans before Captain Cook, or whether he was the first one to stop there. The pieces of iron found by Cook among the native inhabitants of the islands, and the high price which they would pay for this metal when trading for it with the English during their very first encounter, indicate that they were already familiar with the use of this metal, and it does not seem possible that they could have obtained it through any other source than through trade with some European nation engaged in extensive seafaring. Cook maintains that some part of a ship containing iron could have drifted in from American shores, or a mast, or an empty barrel dropped or thrown off a ship might have been washed up. This is all possible and I cannot decide this dispute, but as a conclusion to my remarks I will say that Manini and the other Europeans who have been living here for a long time related to me that the Sandwich Islanders have a legend to the effect that on the eastern side of the Island of Hawaii several whites settled a long time ago and married, that their descendents even to this day are much lighter than Sandwich Islanders and that an iron anchor had also been found there. Cook could not have heard of this because he did not know the language and conversed with the people by signs, but the Europeans who have been among the Sandwich Islanders for twenty years and longer have, of course, had an opportunity to master the language and to learn more than Captain Cook.

CHAPTER XII

Crossing from the Sandwich Islands to the Island of Guahan.*

Sojourn there with remarks about the Marianas Islands ...**

Upon leaving the Island of Kauai we steered SSW throughout the night of October 31st, having from the NE quarter a rather favorable trade wind which frequently became quite strong. The weather for the most part remained clear; taking advantage of the wind we reached latitude $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and longitude 172° on November 4th without encountering anything of interest and began to steer westward in the direction of the Marianas Islands. Proceeding along this parallel, we had strong trade winds with rough seas almost constantly; the wind blew in gusts, frequently bringing clouds with pouring rain. Sometimes the gusts of wind were so strong that they could have been extremely dangerous had we not been sailing directly with the wind. However, at times the wind was moderate and occasionally died down; the weather remained rather cool. But on the 16th, at latitude $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and longitude $204\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, the day was very hot: at noon the thermometer stood at $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ [Réaumur], and the weather became extremely hot and unbearable from then on. Some of the crew developed a rash and boils -- diseases which are not dangerous but unpleasant. I deemed it necessary to increase the ration of drinking water to five cups per person.***

* Foreigners call this island Guam, but the Spaniards themselves call it Guahan, which name I use.

** In the original text this chapter includes "Voyage to Manila and sojourn there" in its title, but that part of the chapter is omitted in this translation. [Trans.]

*** The usual ration of water on long runs was: with food -- one mug, and for drinking -- $7\frac{1}{2}$ cups; in addition to that, a tumbler of grape wine or vinegar and twice a week half a mug each of spruce beer, but from this date on the latter was increased to a mug full.

On November 19th at noon, we were located according to quite accurate measurements at latitude $13^{\circ}33'$, and longitude $212^{\circ}10'$. From this point, according to the Arrowsmith map*, the Island of Guahan toward which we were proceeding stood 128 miles directly west. Therefore we reduced sail considerably, and since the night was rather dark and I thought I observed some signs of land, we cast the lead at midnight but did not reach bottom by 180 fathoms and therefore proceeded ahead.

At six in the morning we still could not reach bottom with a leadline of the same length, and at dawn we observed that there was not a sign of land anywhere. A steady trade wind made it possible to proceed with full sail at a good speed. The weather was clear; at noon the latitude by our observations was $13^{\circ}19'$, the longitude was $214^{\circ}12'$ by our chronometers. According to the map mentioned above, Guahan should have been within 15 miles of this location, but we could not sight it. Our lunar observations on the previous night were good, and the observations made today confirmed their accuracy. This made me conclude that Arrowsmith had located the island according to some inaccurate observations. Comparing his location with the latest tables, I discovered that my supposition was indeed correct for in Norie's tables published in 1816 Umata Umatac/ Bay on the western side of Guahan is indicated at $144^{\circ}19'45''$. By adding to this figure the difference in map longitude of the width of the island ($18'$), we obtained $144^{\circ}37'45''$ longitude for the eastern side of the island. On Arrowsmith's map it is indicated at longitude $145^{\circ}36'$, which is 58 miles to the east. This error was soon confirmed, for at three in the afternoon when according to the map we should have reached the island, we could barely distinguish it from the top mast; it only became visible from the quarter-deck toward evening. Its northern side at first appeared as three small islands, but shortly after we could also discern the lowlands connecting them. At six in the evening

* Arrowsmith, John (1790-1873). English geographer and cartographer whose map was published in 1793. /Trans.7

the island became obscured and at that time its north eastern tip was at NW 53° from us and the south eastern end at WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W. That evening and all through the night it was absolutely still, and clouds came up from all sides and spread in all directions. The sky looked most ominous, but there were no strong gusts of wind nor much rain.

At dawn on November 21st, when Guahan became visible to us, we discovered that we had come closer to it in the night and at this time were 15 miles to the south east of its north eastern tip. Toward morning the sky cleared, but clouds were still spread across the horizon. With a slight wind from the south eastern quarter we hardly moved forward in the direction of the southern end of the island. Toward noon the sky became overcast, but we managed to take the sun's altitude in order to determine the longitude by the chronometers and the latitude by the noon altitude; the former was $214^{\circ}56'18''$ and the latter $13^{\circ}16'20''$; variation of the compass, $4^{\circ}10'$ east; however, we could not measure lunar distances. At noon, the north eastern promontory of Guahan was within NW $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and the south eastern-- within SW $79\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; the distance to the latter was not more than 10 or 12 miles, therefore its latitude must be $13^{\circ}14'50''$, whereas on Arrowsmith's map it is indicated at latitude $13^{\circ}00'$. Shortly after noon the sky became completely overcast, and at two in the afternoon we had pouring rain with a NE wind. Although the island was only within six to eight miles, because of the pouring rain, it disappeared out of sight as if covered with fog. After three o'clock the rain stopped, the clouds began to disperse and soon it cleared up completely, so that the shores of the island became visible together with a small island located on the southwestern side of Guahan. This small island is indicated on Arrowsmith's map as Yurajano, while the inhabitants call it the Coconut Island*. We steered along the southern side of Guahan toward the southern extremity of this islet, and because of slack winds from the north

* Isla de Cocos

eastern quarter we advanced at no more than one and a half miles per hour with all sails set. Within seven miles of the shore we cast the lead, but could not touch bottom by 120 fathoms. In the meantime we saw two boats coming toward us, one of which approached and turned aside in front of us, at which point I issued orders to take in the sails and to wave a white flag attached to a pole; upon seeing the signal the boat immediately came close. It carried three naked Indians* and one mulatto in European dress; the latter came aboard the sloop, and we learned from him about the location of Umata Bay where the Governor was. According to him we should go around the southern end of Coconut Island and steer directly toward the shore of Guahan, which was one Spanish league from the promontory mentioned above, where we should see the Bay. We could not learn the reason for his visit, but could only assume that he was sent to get information about our sloop. I gave him a note to be delivered to the Governor; he left immediately in the direction of a ten-oared boat which was approaching, and after an exchange of a few words the boats started toward the shore while we continued on our way.

At six in the evening the north eastern extremity of the island was at NE 30° from us by the compass, and the south western promontory -- at NW 24°, being at that point aligned with another, more distant promontory, to the north; the southern extremity of Coconut Island was at NW 45°. All through the night the sky was clear and there was a very slight breeze. We proceeded at reduced sails and at such a distance from the shore that we could hear the noise of the breakers; occasionally we changed course in order to round the island.

From six in the evening of the preceding day to six in the morning of the 22nd we covered only 15 miles, but at dawn we could not see Coconut Island. I concluded that it was not noticeable because it merged with the shoreline in the cloudiness; however, to the east we sighted a high flat promontory with cliffs,

* The Spanish name for local aborigines. [Trans]

which stood out like a two masted vessel. From this we assumed that it was Umata Bay toward which we were tacking with a brisk north easterly wind. Soon a Spaniard came out and informed us that he was authorized by the Governor to deliver provisions to newly arrived vessels. Around noon we approached the bay. The Spaniard offered to lead the sloop to anchorage, but I did not dare entrust him with such an important job without first studying the location of the passage and all the other conditions. After some discussion I realized that even if he knew the passage he had no conception of navigation, for, sailing by the wind he intended to take the sloop into the wind within 50 fathoms of the dreadful promontory as tacking any farther away was not possible on account of shoals. In view of this, while tacking at the entrance, I felt it necessary to send an officer to the Fort with the Spaniard in order to ask the Governor for a qualified pilot. Our boat left, but I soon noticed that it was not going toward the Fort but was heading south along the shore. I did not know the reason for this until two o'clock that afternoon when a rowing boat which had been in sight pulled up at the Governor's orders it brought the mulatto who was on board the previous day, a pilot, and an Englishman by the name of Johnson* who was in service of the Spanish as an ensign. We learned from them that we were not at Umata Bay but at Caldera and that we had drifted that far north with the current, which is always in a north easterly direction here. We would have determined this from the midday latitude had I calculated it immediately after taking the meridian altitude of the sun. But the Bay, its Fort, and the sailing ship made me feel so certain that we were at Umata that, preoccupied with tacking, I had put off measuring the latitude. Having discovered our error, we immediately set out at full sail toward Umata Bay. In the meantime the pilot told us that with the north easterly wind we could not have possibly entered Caldera without endangering the sloop, which made me feel very happy that I had not listened to the Spaniard. At noon our

* The Spaniards call him Don Jose Jonson.

latitude was $13^{\circ}28'49''$ and the promontory with the Fort* in Caldera Bay was SE 46° from us by the compass at a distance of three miles, which made its latitude to be $13^{\circ}26'37''$. At six in the evening we pulled into Umata Bay and at once dropped two anchors. This bay is completely open on the western side, but since the winds from the west and south west blow only during September, October and November, it is perfectly safe to be anchored here at any other time of the year when the trade winds are prevalent.

While approaching the bay I dispatched my warrant officer, Baron Wrangel, with Johnson to see the Governor** to explain to him who we were, why we had come, and to obtain his permission to water and purchase victuals.

Early the next morning, on the 23rd Baron Wrangel and Johnson returned. Wrangel had been assured by the Governor that provisions would be delivered and that we could get water on our own from a river at a nearby settlement; he was also told that our salute would be answered by an equal number of shots. We gave a seven-gun salute and received the same number. Johnson brought several poods of meat and fruit as a gift to the crew from the Governor, and also an invitation to us for dinner in his name; he added that following local custom the Governor requested me, as the captain of a warship, to use his formal boat, and that he apologized for having misled us the previous day. The reason for this deception was the fact that they had not had any news from Manila for the past two years; not a single Spanish vessel had been in port until the schooner, which we saw at Caldera, had arrived three months ago from Manila with the information that the frigate Argentina, belonging to the Chilean republicans under the command of the Frenchman Bouchard, was intending to attack the island. Since they mistook our sloop for Bouchard's frigate, they were trying to mislead me, but now that they had learned who we were the deception was no longer necessary. The above mentioned Bouchard was in the

* This Fort is called Rota and the main Fort inside the bay, Santa Cruz.

** Don Jose Medinia Ipanado.

Sandwich Islands shortly before our arrival and had left, according to his announcement, for California to overthrow the King's rule and establish a Republic. Bouchard had been in the service of Napoleon, escaped from France, and out of necessity became a seafarer serving Chile. Americans on the island of Oahu told me that his crew consisted of men of all nationalities and were so debauched that at any moment they could be expected to mutiny and kill him. There was no discipline at all on his vessel and he did not punish culprits in an appropriate manner but gave them a whipping himself while holding a pistol in the other hand.

At eleven o'clock in the morning the Governor's boat came to fetch me. It was a most ordinary boat, unpainted and stained all over, with oars held by bast, but the cushions, parasol and curtains were made of sumptuous raspberry colored silk material with gold braid. The oarsmen were dressed in navy blue cotton pants and jerseys and wore navy blue caps with a red border, similar to our former soldiers' forage caps, with a silver Spanish coat-of-arms in front. When we pulled away from the sloop, a Spanish silk flag and pennant were raised; we were brought back in the same manner. The Governor with all his officials received us most cordially, apologized that for lack of space he could not entertain us as he would like to, and asked us to consider his house as our home. In the meantime lunch and cigarillos were served. After that we went to inspect the local settlement, which is so poor and sparsely populated that it can hardly be called a settlement. At four o'clock we dined; the meal did not reflect the poverty of the locale for it consisted of numerous excellent courses and very good wine. The captain of the schooner from Manila dined with us. He had served as lieutenant with Malaspina's expedition. During his stay in Manila, the brig Rurik, which belongs to Mr. N.P. Rumiantsev, was also there. He told us a few details concerning it. The Rurik had spent five days at this island before proceeding to Manila. At six o'clock we returned to the

sloop. During our absence some boats had arrived from the shore bringing greens, fruit, chickens, and piglets.

On November 24th, at ten in the morning the Governor paid me a visit accompanied by some of his officials and the captain of the schooner; they were received with due courtesy and had lunch with me. The Governor invited me to have dinner with him, but I declined because I had some astronomical observations to make. However, several of the officers accepted his invitation. He asked me to take some papers from him to Manila, which I gladly agreed to do. This evening we received pigs, chickens, greens, fruit, and other provisions sent by the Governor. We had already obtained the needed amount of water and were quite ready to depart.

On the following day at nine in the morning I went to call on the Governor to thank him for his kind hospitality and to settle my account for the provisions, but he would not accept payment saying that it was his duty, and being certain that he acted in accordance with the wishes of his sovereign. This made me feel obligated to present him with several items which he needed according to Johnson, including certain medicines. It was close to one in the afternoon when I returned to the sloop. At five o'clock, the Governor brought his papers, spent half an hour with us, and bade farewell; at which point we immediately started on our way.

Marianas, or Ladrone Islands

The Marianas, or Ladrone group consists of twelve islands and lies between North latitude 13° and 20° , and on longitude 146° East of Greenwich, all being almost on this same meridian. The main islands are Guahan, Tinian (made famous without any apparent reason by Lord Anson in his accounts), Saipan, Sariguan [Sarigan], Guguan, Palan [Pagan], and Grigan [Agrihan]. The rest of the islands are small and insignificant. This group when first occupied by the Spaniards was heavily populated, but enforced Christianity and the attempt to do away with old native customs,

especially that of polygamy and the non-observance of fast, caused rebellions among the pagans. This led to wars in which many inhabitants perished; others moved south to neighboring islands known as the Caroline Islands to which Spanish rule had not yet spread. According to the last Spanish explorer, Malaspina, in 1792 the population of the entire group of inhabitable islands (the majority of them are uninhabited) was forty thousand. This number was confirmed by the Governor. In Manila I obtained records of the population of these possessions; the number of inhabitants of the Marianas was estimated at only 4,680 in the year 1815. I do not know how to account for this disparity, although both Malaspina in his account, as well as the Governor when talking to foreigners, may well have increased the population figures because of "the dignity of their official position."

Guahan is the main island of the group by virtue of its size, fertility of soil, and population, as well as because it is the residence of the Governor. The Governor's residence is located on the western side of the island and is called Ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña*. It has neither a harbor nor suitable roadstead for landing of ships, and therefore the Governor has homes at two different landings to which he proceeds when ships come in. One is the port of St. Luis of Apra**, and the other is the Umata roadstead, both located on the western shore of the island. The first of these is well protected from the sea winds, but has a narrow and dangerous entrance. Not so long ago a frigate of a Philippine company carrying half a million piasters was wrecked; all but eighteen hundred of these were recovered with the assistance of the Sandwich Islanders who live in these parts for reasons to be explained later. There are two or three small forts for the protection of this port, of which Santa Cruz and Rota are well located. The Umata roadstead is completely exposed, but because of the depth and the type of bottom it is well suited for

* Agaña is the name which the local inhabitants give to that part of the island where the town is located.

** The anchorage at this port is called Caldera (which means a cauldron).

anchoring, and from December to June it is absolutely safe, for during those months there is a constant trade wind or monsoon from the north east, that is, directly from the shore, and while it brings heavy gusts it is harmless to vessels. The Governor told me that during his six years' stay here he does not recall a single occurrence of winds blowing in from the west at that time of the year; but in June, July, August, September and sometimes, though not often, in October and November this landing is dangerous because with the western monsoons there are severe storms, especially during full moon and new moon.

There are no other anchorages on this island, as it is surrounded by reefs, as are all the other islands of the group, some of which have only open roadsteads and some have none at all. The length of Guahan (from N-E to S-W) is about 45 versts (7 Spanish leagues) and the width about 20 versts (3 Spanish leagues).

The local climate is not as hot as might be expected from the geographical position of the island. This is due to the northeastern winds and frequent down-pours that cool the atmosphere. While the climate is not as deadly as that of the West Indies, it is dangerous to many inhabitants, frequently causing fevers and dysentery which are usually fatal due to lack of medical care. The Governor himself admits that the yearly death rate from these two diseases is very high.

The island has good land and ample fresh water. It is extremely fertile; before the Spanish occupation the food products grown here in abundance were: rice, maize [sic], breadfruit, yam roots, sweet and plain bananas, and cocoanuts. The last four mentioned plants constituted the chief food source of the natives; on the eastern side of the island cocoanut trees form vast forests. The Spaniards have introduced lemons, oranges, pineapple, water melons, melons, grapes, and tobacco. It is strange that there were no gourds on the islands before our arrival; I gave the Governor ten of the best gourds given to us by the Sandwich Islanders to be used for

their seeds.

The quadrupeds here originally consisted of pigs, wild deer and wild goats, rats, and flying squirrels*. At present they breed sheep, goats, dogs, and horses. As for cattle, there are about thirty thousand head, mostly on Tinian where there are no permanent residents except an official and some attendants who butcher the cattle and dry and salt the beef which is later distributed to all the other islands. The Spaniards have introduced turkeys, geese, and ducks but only in small quantities. Chickens were native to the islands and are now found in great quantities and are very well cared for because of the local love of cock fights; the natives sell the large strong roosters at high prices to ships going to Manila where Marianas' roosters are considered next to those from China as the strongest and bravest. Several of these birds were brought to us at Guahan and I have never seen such large roosters. For some of these they asked two piasters (10 rubles) each, and for one of them ten piasters (50 rubles). Not realizing at first the purpose of these birds we suspected that the natives were trying to make fun of us and offered them one real (65 kipecks) each, which we needed for food and not fighting. This offer offended the natives, but finally, after much explanation, we understood each other and saw that each one of us was right in his own way. There is a great abundance of wild sea birds typical of the tropics.

Fish is not abundant here and is usually coarse sea fish, but there is one very tasty variety called batate by the Spanish. It is about half an arshin** long, thin and rounded. There are many round crayfish and a great variety of edible shellfish with the exception of oysters.

These islands most probably contain metals, but the Spaniards do not mine them. Wood for building is plentiful, but it is useless here as nothing is made

* An animal which looks like a squirrel in appearance and size, except for wings like a bat.

** Arshin is an old Russian measure of length equal to 28 inches. /Trans./

of wood except a few row boats. Residences of officials and important people are made of stone, while common folk live in huts made of thin posts with matting for walls and floor, and are covered with thatch roofs.

All the inhabitants of the Marianas Islands are Catholics, and all are born here except for the Governor and two or three of his officers who arrived on the royal schooner. All local officials are appointed and promoted by the Governor from among the native inhabitants. I learned about this from the Governor himself in a rather peculiar manner: when he first invited me and my staff to dinner he quietly asked me, before sitting down, whether I would object to eating at the same table with his staff, consisting of natives appointed to their posts by himself, while we were all Europeans appointed to our ranks by our Sovereign. The local priests also come from among the natives, but are educated in Manila. A strange and an unheard of thing for a Catholic colony is the fact that in all the Marianas Islands there is not a single monastery.

The islands, though rich in food products, are poor in all other respects. Not only do they bring no profit to the Spanish Crown, they actually bring losses. The Governor receives a salary of three and a half piasters a day, which would equal about 6400 rubles a year, and in addition twenty thousand (100,000 rubles) a year is assigned for the maintenance of the staff and garrison. This latter sum is sent to him in goods which he sells to the natives at his own prices, so that more than half of the sum is retained by him. Some of the natives told us that they had to pay three to four piasters for an ordinary cotton under garment and four piasters for a short, ten vershok* knife which is indispensable in their work and which they also use as a weapon. Since the Governor's expenses cannot possibly be high in

* Vershok is an old measure of length equal to 1 3/4 inches (there were 16 vershoks to one arshin). /Trans./

such a remote and fertile place, he is well compensated for his exile, so to speak, to such a lonely spot. But many of the natives, though born in the islands, are bored -- especially those among the working classes. A great many of them repeatedly asked us to take them into service, and one very nice young man was even willing to leave his wife and two children in order to get away. They knew that we were proceeding to Manila and wanted to come along in order to jump ship there.

No revenue is collected by the King, and even the lease on tobacco owned by the Crown in all the Spanish colonies does not exist here. Anyone growing tobacco is free to do with it what he wishes, so that the natives walk around with a cigarillo between their teeth constantly. I was assured that many of them, even the poor ones, smoke as many as thirty cigarillos a day.

The Marianas Islands do not carry on trade with anyone. One small ship a year comes in with goods from Manila, but even that does not happen every year, and only rarely do two ships arrive. Although the Philippine Islands are only two thousand versts away, it takes a Spanish vessel about fifty days to reach here from Manila because of the winds, while in the opposite direction the crossing is made in twelve or fifteen days. Foreign ships stop here only once in a great while to replenish their water and food supplies, and on these occasions it is a veritable holiday for the natives. They get good prices for their products in goods or money. The Governor, who does not sell anything but makes presents of food products to foreign ships, is also glad to see them, for each captain of a vessel must reciprocate by presenting him with some European things which are unobtainable here. Formerly the Manila galleons stopped here, but now they had discontinued this practice.

The Spaniards retain these islands merely to keep them from being occupied by someone else who might prove to be a dangerous neighbor to their rich possessions in the Philippines. Not long ago a North American group of ship owners trading on

the Northwest coast of that vast continent began a colony on the northern most island of the group, Grigan, in order to have a stop-over on the trip from North America to Canton where their ships could obtain supplies free instead of buying them in the Sandwich Islands. With this end in mind the company brought over to Grigan several families of Sandwich Islanders under the command of two or three of their own sailors. The Spaniards were long unaware of the existence of this colony, but as soon as they learned about it in Manila the Governor General ordered all the colonists to be taken to Guahan and to be employed there according to their abilities. There we found about twenty poor Sandwich Islanders. Their condition would have been bearable if only taro were grown in these parts, as they use it to make a type of soft, sour dough which is their favorite food. When they saw taro plants in tubs aboard the sloop, they became wildly excited; at once they began begging me to let them have the plants in order to cultivate them on shore, and without waiting for my permission were all set to put them in their boat.

In conclusion, I shall mention that the Spaniards give the name of Caroline Islands (Las Carolinas) to the Sandwich Islands as well as to the islands to the south of the Marianas and refer to the Sandwich Islanders as Caroline Islanders (Carolinos).

APPENDIX NO. 8

The Sandwich Islander, Lauri, is about 25 years of age, tall, well-built and lively; he is not bad looking and his skin is of a dark chestnut color, the color common to all the Sandwich Islanders. He has a merry disposition and a kind heart and is clever and adaptable by nature. While still on the sloop, and here in Petersburg, he liked to follow our customs and tried to please his friends, and for this he was loved by all who knew him. On the sloop he became especially attached to one of the non-commissioned artillery officers, who for that reason was assigned to take care of him upon our arrival in Russia and to show him all things of interest to him in the city. It must be noted that this officer could converse with him better than the rest of us.

Lauri lived in one of the houses of the Russian-American Company, near the Semenovskiy bridge, but came to see me often. He was so clever that within a few days he learned where his friends lived and went about without a guide even to the Galernaya Harbor. He once bought a hat in a shop on the Sennaya Street and brought it to show me; seeing that he had been cheated I sent a non-commissioned officer with him to the shop to redeem the money. Lauri took him directly to the shop where he had bought the hat.

Some of his actions surprised and puzzled me. For instance, he would never sit down in company if there were anyone whom he considered more important than himself standing up; when tea or anything else was being served he always tried to help himself last; he was very careful not to sit or stand with his back to anyone. I knew that no one had taught him these manners, and that he could not have acquired them by observation in so short a time; therefore, could he have possibly learnt

such polite manners among his own people? When he was asked to sing or dance his native dances he did so right away without excuses and always with obvious pleasure. He did not like our soft subdued music, but was delighted with drums and trumpets. Once a famous singer performed in my house; we led Lauri to the piano to see what impression the music, which everyone admired, would make on him. He listened for a couple of minutes, then said, "Enough, not good"* -- his usual expression when something did not please him.

He loved to serve others and was ready to do anything in order to please. Once when we were in the Marianas Islands several Spanish officials came aboard the ship; noticing that they kept their hats on while talking to our officers, and having observed that none of our men ever dared do this on the sloop, Lauri tore off their hats and put them in their hands. We laughed, but the Spaniards were far from being amused until we explained to them who did it.

In Petersburg he saw so many things surpassing his understanding, that he did not know what to marvel at most; the mountain-like buildings, the huge ships, the splendor of the garments -- especially in the churches -- the carriages, all of these enraptured him equally. But best of all he liked the cavalry parade. He watched the infantry go by in astonished silence, but when the cavalry started forward and the trumpets were sounded, he was beside himself: he put his hands to his mouth imitating the trumpets, and started prancing around bending his neck down like the horses. One can well imagine that the people watching the parade took him for a lunatic for he was always well dressed and in appearance did not look in the least like a savage.

Lauri did not like to be laughed at. When we reached the temperate zone, and for the first time in his life, he witnessed a hail storm he started

* This quotation is given in broken Russian. /Trans./

collecting the hailstones, undoubtedly taking them for pebbles, and at the same time indicated by signs that he would take them back to Oahu, his birth place; as soon as he noticed that these pebbles turned to water and disappeared he was the first one to laugh at his mistake; but when the sailors collected the hailstones and brought them to him he at once became angry at this joke and complained to me. I recall another occasion, when the ship's cook, who usually brought the sailor's soup for me to taste, was taking it back to the kitchen, Lauri also wanted to taste it. The cook gave him the cup and Lauri, not knowing what was in it, took a mouthful and burned himself; he cried out at first, then started to laugh, but noticing that the sailors were laughing at his expense, he started weeping and came to me complaining about the cook.

He did not like strong drinks and detested drunken people, but for sweet things he had a particular liking. He had only one niticeable vice: he was very miserly. On the sloop we provided him with clothing, underwear, and all that he needed; the officers were constantly giving him presents, and he had many things that he did not need at all, yet he was always picking up bits of rags, pieces of string, broken needles and such trifles, and hiding them in his trunk. In Petersburg he loved to dress well when going out, but at home he would wear the most dilapidated clothing that should have long since been discarded. For the winter, the Company supplied him with very good winter clothing, which he liked very much, especially the wolf-skin fur coat. He took such good care of it that when coming to see me he would carry it over his arm and would put it on only when ascending the stairs and would then put it away in a safe place. As a result, he often suffered from colds and coughs and we were compelled to tell him that all these things were not his own, but had been given him by the Company only temporarily and would be taken away upon his departure and replaced by new ones. Only then did he stop saving

them and wore them around more freely. Once some ladies purposely lost several rubles to him playing dominoes; he was delighted and took the money willingly, but as soon as he himself began to lose he did not pay anyone and saying, "I do not know how," put the money in his pocket and left the game. "I do not know how," was his usual negative answer meaning, "not so, that is not true, I do not want to," etc.

At first Lauri liked Russia very much and did not even want to hear about his homeland, but later, when all the new objects lost their novelty and especially when winter imparted to all nature a more deathly aspect than he could have ever imagined possible, our Lauri began to recall Oahu and to complain about the local climate. Eventually he frankly said that he did not want to live here and would die if he could not return home. He particularly disliked ice and snow of which he always complained. He also had no liking for beards, especially grey beards.

At the time of Lauri's departure from Petersburg I was in Ryazan. He would often come to see our officers to inquire about my return. At first he thought that we would again sail on the same ship to the Sandwich Islands and take him along, but learning that he would have to sail on a different ship, with people whom he did not know, he became very upset, wept and was even ready to remain forever in Russia. Fortunately for him, four of the sailors on this ship had served on the Kamchatka and were thus well known to him.

If Lauri has safely returned to his home country, his trip will be a great boon to the Russian-American Company and to our navigators in general who may stop at the Sandwich Islands, for there is no doubt that his gratitude and devotion to the Russians will create a friendly feeling toward us among his country-

men, while the impression of Russian might which he will impart to the chiefs will make them have more respect for the nation of which they had previously received a very unfavorable impression.*

* Golovnin's hope was justified. When Kotzebue, on his second voyage in 1825, visited Queen Namahana she received him very cordially and expressed great admiration for the Russians because Lauri praised them very highly in his accounts of life in Russia, although he complained about the dreadful Russian winter. (See: A New Voyage Round the World in the years 1823-26, New York, Da Capo Press, 1967, Vol. II, pp. 236-41.) /Trans./