

N.P. REZANOV'S INSPECTION TOUR OF RUSSIAN COLONIES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC AND HIS VISIT TO SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 25 - MAY 10, 1806

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I. INTRODUCTION

On August 7, 1803, after more than a year of preparations, two Russian naval ships, the NADEZHDA (under the command of Captain I.F. Kruzenstern [1770-1846]) and the NEVA (under the command of Captain Iu.F. Lysianskii [1773-1837]), weighed anchor at the Kronstadt naval base and set sail on the historic first Russian voyage around the world¹. The expedition had two broad assignments: to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan; and to inspect Russian colonial possessions in the North Pacific region. The sponsors were the Emperor; the Admiralty; the Russian-American Company (RAC); the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences; the Russian Orthodox Church; and many individual well-to-do members of the Russian noble elite in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

While each captain was in command of his ship, the Emperor designated N.P.Rezanov (1764-1807) to be in charge of the expedition's assignments. That choice was excellent, for Rezanov was a highly intelligent man with rich administrative experience at the highest levels of Russian government, and in addition he was a good linguist. To show

¹ The NADEZHDA, with sixteen guns, was the flagship of the expedition. Aboard her were: Rezanov, the leader of the expedition, and Kruzenstern, her captain; a three-man suite to accompany Rezanov on his mission to Japan; six scientists and artists; one representative of the Russian Orthodox Church; two representatives of the RAC; twelve naval officers of various ranks; and eighty sailors. The NEVA, captained by Lysianskii, had fourteen guns; three naval lieutenants; an ensign; a navigator; and forty-five sailors. The names and titles of officers of both ships appear in: Военский К. Русское посольство в Японии в начале XIX века. Посольство Резанова в Японии в 1803-1805 гг. // Русская старина. Т.26. No. 84 (июль 1895). С.140-141.

his complete trust in Rezanov, on the eve of the departure the Emperor bestowed on him the Order of St. Anne, First Class, and elevated him to the rank of High Chamberlain of the Imperial Court². In Imperial Russia that rank took precedence over all other civil, military, naval and religious ranks. Also, before the ships left Kronstadt, Russian authorities notified their English, Spanish, French, Dutch and Portuguese counterparts of the voyage and asked for their help in case of need³.

For a variety of reasons, Rezanov failed to establish the desired diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan. In fact, he and the NADEZHDA were virtually marooned in Nagasaki from September 26, 1804 to April 29, 1805. Because his stay in Japan has been treated adequately elsewhere in scholarly literature, it will not be elaborated here⁴. This essay will focus, instead, on Rezanov's inspection of Russian colonies in the North Pacific, and the reasons for and the results of his unscheduled March 25 - May 10, 1806, visit to San Francisco.

² Там же. С.127-128.

³ Болховитинов Н.Н. Н.П.Резанов и первое русское кругосветное плавание. 1803-1806 гг. // Новая и новейшая история. 1997. № 3. С.173. A carefully prepared sailing schedule directed the captains to stay close to each other. They were to make stops in Copenhagen (Denmark); Falmouth (England); Tenerife (Canary Islands); Rio de Janeiro (Brazil); sail around Cape Horn; stop in Valparaiso (Chile); rendezvous at the Marquesas Islands (in the South Pacific); and then proceed to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. From there the NEVA was to head for Kodiak Island, while the NADEZHDA was to sail to Nagasaki (Japan). Upon completion of their missions, the two ships were to rendezvous in Canton and then sail around the Cape of Good Hope and back to Kronstadt.

⁴ In addition to Voenskii's pioneering study, basic Russian/Soviet accounts of Rezanov's mission to Japan are: Файнсберг Е.Я. Русско-японские отношения в 1697-1875 гг. Москва: Восточная литература, 1960. С.71-91; Куратов Л.Н. Россия и Япония. Москва: Восточная литература, 1988. С.76-85. The best English-language account of that mission is: Lensen George A. The Russian Push Toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875. Princeton University Press, 1959. P.121-167. See also: Chevigny Hector. Lost Empire: The Life and Adventures of Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov. New York: Macmillan, 1937. P.109-120.

II. REZANOV'S ASSIGNMENTS FOR HIS INSPECTION TOUR
OF RUSSIAN COLONIES

Rezanov's duties and responsibilities on this mission were detailed in a 23-paragraph set of instructions he received from Count N.P. Rumiantsev, Minister of Commerce, on July 10, 1803⁵. These instructions, approved by the Emperor, contained two sets of directives. One dealt with general matters; the other covered specific areas. In the general set, Rumiantsev told Rezanov that during his inspection tour he was to keep a journal, and when he returned he was to bring to Russia samples of soil, minerals, rocks, metals, wood, and seeds (with a description of their use by local inhabitants). He was told to collect mammals, birds, fish, amphibians, insects, shells and corals, numbering each specimen and noting where it was obtained. He was directed to observe customs of the natives, their physical appearance, their costumes, art, religion, cultural rites, laws, manners, weapons, dwellings, food, hunting, fishing, and military activities, and bring the information back to Russia. He was to take note of the diseases of humans and animals and how the natives treated them. Rezanov was told that in his formal meetings with native chieftains he was to assure them that the Emperor of Russia was concerned about their welfare, and Rumiantsev gave him 25 gold and 300 silver medals to bestow upon loyal chieftains and deserving Russian servitors. And finally, Rezanov was instructed to record in his journal all astronomical, meteorological and other natural phenomena observed in that part of the world⁶.

Rumiantsev also placed two restrictions on Rezanov. He was not to discuss the boundaries of Russian possessions in the North Pacific region with any foreigner and, should he encounter any, he was to limit his remarks to a simple statement: "Our Sovereign, blessed with extensive territories, cares only about the security of his borders". And should

⁵ The complete text of Rumiantsev's twenty-three paragraph instruction to Rezanov is in: *Внешняя политика России XIX и начала XX века: Документы Российского министерства иностранных дел. Серия первая, 1801-1815.* Москва: Госполитиздат, 1960. Т.1. С.491-497. Hereafter cited: ВИИР. A slightly abridged English translation is in: *U.S. Department of State. The United States and Russia: The Beginning of Relations, 1765-1815.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1980. P.370-375. Hereafter cited: US&R.

⁶ For details see: ВИИР. С.494-496. Параграфы 9, 14, 15, 16 и 18. Rumiantsev assigned to Rezanov six scientists and artists to help him carry out his tasks.

Rezanov be forced, on his return voyage, to put in at any harbor in Asia or elsewhere he was to use his diplomatic skills to befriend European and native officials to enable Russia to reap benefits.

In the specific part of the instructions, Rumiantsev told Rezanov that in Kamchatka, which then was under the administrative jurisdiction of the Okhotsk office of the RAC, he was to survey the region; determine the needs of its inhabitants; review the working of its administrative apparatus; ascertain whether the region had the potential for development of agriculture, livestock raising and trade; examine past abuses of power by Russian authorities and take appropriate corrective measures; and report all his findings to the Emperor.

In compliance with this directive, on August 16, 1804, or seven weeks after his arrival in Petropavlovsk, Rezanov sent the Emperor a report in which he listed problems and potentials of the region. Among the problems he included were: 1) the absence of qualified medical personnel to treat smallpox, yellow fever, and other epidemics; and 2) the shortage of a qualified Russian labor force, of Russian women, of food, salt, and gunpowder. Rezanov felt that these inadequacies caused disease (e.g., scurvy), drunkenness, and licentious behavior, and thus were detrimental to the Russian national interest.

On the positive side of his report, Rezanov informed the Emperor that Kamchatka abounded in marine animals and such land animals as reindeer, wild sheep and horses, and that there were many warm springs. Rezanov also told the Emperor that he was very much impressed by the Petropavlovsk harbor, and noted that with proper planning the harbor could develop into a major center of trade between Kamchatka and Japan. To advance that goal, Rezanov ordered the Okhotsk office of the RAC to dispatch carpenters to build warehouses in Petropavlovsk, and to send cattle for starting a livestock industry. Finally, to improve the daily lives of Company servitors and of military personnel, he ordered

⁷ Там же, С.497. Параграф 22.

⁸ Там же, С.492-493. Параграф 4.

⁹ The English text of Rezanov's report to the Emperor is in: Dmytryshyn Basil, Crownhart-Vaughan E.A.P. and Vaughan Thomas, eds. *The Russian-American Colonies: A Documentary Record, 1798-1867*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1989, P.69-70. Hereafter cited: *Russian-American Colonies*.

that prices of many essential goods be lowered, and decreed that some necessities be issued without charge¹⁰.

Rumiantsev's instructions called for Rezanov to sail from Kamchatka to Unalaska and then to Kodiak, where the NADEZHDA and the NEVA were to take aboard goods of the RAC and proceed to Canton to sell them to the Chinese. If the Chinese should refuse to trade with the Russians, then both ships were to sail to Manila or another Asian port and exchange their cargo for Asian products, then cross the Indian Ocean, round the Cape of Good Hope and return to Kronstadt.

Rumiantsev's complex instructions failed to take into account the possibility of unexpected developments, of which there were two that were critical. One was a disagreement between Rezanov and Kruzenstern as to who was actually in charge of the expedition. The other was Rezanov's earlier-mentioned failure to establish diplomatic and commercial relations between Russian and Japan. When the NADEZHDA returned from Japan to Petropavlovsk on May 24, 1805, Rezanov ordered Kruzenstern to take aboard goods from local RAC warehouses, then reconnoiter around Sakhalin, and sail on to the vicinity of Canton and Macao to rendezvous with the NEVA. This Kruzenstern did. In December, 1805, after the rendezvous, both ships returned to Kronstadt, arriving on August 1, 1807, exactly four years after they had left there.

Meanwhile, on June 14, 1805 (accompanied by two original members of the expedition—Dr. Georg H. von Langsdorff, Professor of Natural History, University of Gottingen, and the hermit monk Gideon, a teacher at the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in St. Petersburg, whom Rezanov had persuaded to accompany him on the mission), Rezanov left Petropavlovsk aboard a RAC vessel, the MARIA MAGDALENA, which, in his words, was in poor condition¹¹. Fortunately, in Petropavlovsk he met two young Russian naval lieutenants, N.I. Khvostov and G.I. Davydov, who were in the service of the RAC. Also aboard the

¹⁰ Ibid. P.68-69.

¹¹ ВПР. С.495. Параграф 12.

¹² For details of that disagreement see Rezanov's reports to the Emperor in Russian-American Colonies. P.65-66, 95-99.

¹³ Rezanov expressed his concern about the MARIA's seaworthiness in a letter to M.M.Buldakov, dated June 6, 1805. See its content in: Архив внешней политики Российской империи. Ф. Р.А.К. Д. 172. Л. 1. 1-5 об. I am indebted to Dr. Alexander Petrov for this information.

MARIA were thirty Company servitors. Rezanov designated as the MARIA's skipper Khvostov, who successfully guided her to Pribilof Island (which was not on Rumiantsev's itinerary) and then to Unalaska and to Kodiak.

There is no information on what Rezanov did on his brief non-scheduled stop at Pribilof Island, then a major hunting ground for the RAC. On the stop at Unalaska, Rumiantsev's instructions were clear: Rezanov was to survey the island's harbor facilities, investigate thoroughly the needs of its inhabitants and their hunting practices, and "do all in your power to assist the Unalaska inhabitants and to organise good order on that island, one of the most important places to the trade of the Russian-American Company"¹⁴. Because his stop on Unalaska was brief, Rezanov left no evidence of his accomplishments there.

After Unalaska, Rezanov's next stop was Kodiak, then the Headquarters of the RAC in the North Pacific and the center of Russian Orthodox missionary activity in the region. He arrived there at the end of July, 1805. Rumiantsev's instruction for Rezanov's visit to Kodiak included the following assignments. He was to do everything possible to advance the spread of the Russian Orthodox faith on the island, and to promote education, trade, ship building, agriculture, animal husbandry, and other economic endeavours. He was also to investigate thoroughly the customs of the islanders and their needs, and the practices of the RAC administration on Kodiak. He was to furnish local officials of the RAC with his long-term plans for the area; distribute punishments and rewards; remove all burdens the Russians had imposed on the natives; lay a firm foundation for future good order; obtain reliable information about all Russian possessions around Kodiak and about its inhabitants; use all possible kindness and gentleness to win the natives to become loyal subjects of Russia; instruct Russian officials that they must respect the natives and treat them with kindness, and warn that should they fail to do so they would be punished; and to impress on Kodiak's natives that the Emperor of Russia was a true defender of their rights and properties¹⁵.

There was no way that Rezanov could have carried out all Rumiantsev's elaborate assignments on Kodiak. When the MARIA made a brief

¹⁴ ВПР. С.493. Параграф 5.

¹⁵ Там же. С.492-493. Параграфы 6,7.

stop there, Rezanov did three things. He put ashore the hermit Gideon and several RAC servants, instructing them to take a census of Kodiak inhabitants; to try to ease the burden the Russians had previously imposed on them; and to express Russian concern for the education of the natives. That concern fell on the shoulders of the hermit Gideon, who succeeded in establishing, in a primitive cultural environment, a school that later enabled young natives to become proficient in crafts, arts, and other activities so they could be employed by the RAC.

To help this cultural experiment flourish in the Russian colonies in the North Pacific region, during his preparation for the mission Rezanov had solicited and received from his friends a generous assortment of books, maps, scientific instruments and other items. K.T. Khlebnikov, who was assistant manager of the RAC on Sitka from 1817 to 1832, left a detailed accounting of the books and scientific instruments Rezanov brought to Kodiak and which later were transferred to New Archangel on Sitka Island¹⁶.

Because the colonial Headquarters of the RAC had moved from Kodiak to New Archangel on Sitka Island during Rezanov's voyage, the *MARIA* sailed on to Sitka, arriving on August 26, 1805. Rezanov met the *NEVA* and her crew in New Archangel and congratulated them for helping to repel an earlier massive attempt by the Tlingits to dislodge the Russian presence in their midst¹⁷. In New Archangel also, Rezanov met A.A. Baranov (1747-1818), chief administrator of Russian colonies in

¹⁶ For details see: Dmytryshyn Basil and Crownhart-Vaughan E.A.P., eds. *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1976. P.91-94. Hereafter cited: *Colonial Russian America*. According to Khlebnikov the total book collection numbered over 1,200. They were richly bound in leather and their languages included Russian, English, German, French, Latin, Swedish, Spanish and Italian. See comments by Voenskii. *Op.cit.* P.139. For additional details see: Andrews Clarence L. *The Historical Russian Library of Alaska // Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXIX (April, 1938). P.201-204. For the census records of natives on Kodiak and in other areas under the jurisdiction of the RAC, see: *Colonial Russian America*. P.143.

¹⁷ For Lysianskii's account of the *NEVA*'s engagement of the Tlingits, whom he called Sitkans, see: Лисянский Ю.Ф. Путешествие вокруг света на корабле "Нева" в 1803-1806 годах. Москва: Воениздат, 1947. С.142-163. An English translation is in: *Russian-American Colonies*. P.72-90.

the North Pacific region, and a number of other Company employees (civil and religious), who told him of their concerns.

Those concerns included: 1) the constant fear of attack by the Tlingits that forced the Russians to maintain a 24-hour vigil; 2) the critical shortage of qualified Russian workers and military personnel; 3) frequent visits by British and American ships, whose crews, while offering the Russians some help, were at the same time bartering with the natives, exchanging modern weapons for furs and other local products; 4) the threatened depletion of fur-bearing animals, thanks to the past practice of indiscriminate slaughter; and 5) the constant shortage of FOOD supplies and other necessities of life¹⁸.

Based on these concerns, Rezanov ordered two basic changes in the operation of the Company in Alaska. One change, which took effect immediately, was a new method of remuneration (cash) for Russian construction, security, sea-faring and defense personnel¹⁹. Another was a recommendation to the RAC board that it increase the number of Russian employees so as to expand the number of Russian settlements. Such growth, he argued, would enable the Company "to increase all aspects of industry to satisfy private and public needs, such as agriculture, construction, crafts and various other economic enterprises" and would also "provide indispensable resources for the protection and defence of these regions by [Russian] military forces"²⁰.

In New Archangel, Rezanov repeated the charge he had given to Gideon on Kodiak. He urged the Company to educate young Alaskan natives so that, depending on their abilities, they could become good hunters, accountants, craftsmen, low-level administrators, and security guards, or perform other useful service. He believed that if the Board accepted and implemented his educational proposal, in 20 years time the Company "would produce capable seamen, accountants, foremen, ex-

¹⁸ Rezanov had become aware of some of these problems during his visit to Kamchatka and reported them to the Emperor. For details of his report, see: Russian-American Colonies. P.68-70. The best study of the problem of provisioning Russian colonies in the Pacific Northwest is: Gibson James R. Feeding the Russian Fur Trade: Provisionment of the Okhotsk Seaboard and Kamchatka Peninsula, 1693-1856. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969.

¹⁹ For details see: Colonial Russian America. P.20-22.

²⁰ Ibid. P.48-49.

perienced artisans and fine master craftsmen" from among native peoples²¹.

Based on his conversations with Company and government employees in Kamchatka, Unalaska, Kodiak, and New Archangel, Rezanov rightly concluded that while Russian possessions in the North Pacific region were vast and rich in natural resources, they were deficient in Russian personnel (both male and female) and therefore were vulnerable to indigenous and foreign challenges. In his dispatches to the Emperor and to the Board, Rezanov identified several critical problems he felt required immediate attention. At the top of his list was defense. He urged the Board to persuade the government to dispatch naval ships to be permanently stationed in North Pacific waters, so they could protect Russia's and the Company's interests against native attacks and stop English and American intrusions into the Russian sphere of influence²².

His second concern was the lawlessness, licentiousness, and insubordination of some Company servitors. He attributed these manifestations to the inhospitable environment, alcoholism, shortages of basic needs, and the absence of Russian women. He approved the harsh measures Baranov took against insubordinates and condemned some missionaries for criticising Baranov²³.

Rezanov's third concern was the activity, or lack of it, by Russian missionaries. In a report to the Board, dated November 6, 1805, he accused the missionaries of incompetence and arrogance; of failure to appreciate and understand the beliefs of Alaskan natives; of unwillingness to learn native languages so as to be more effective in proselytizing Russian Orthodox Christianity; and of failure to understand the intent of the government and of the RAC in the North Pacific region²⁴. But while critical of some, Rezanov was impressed by the work of Fathers Nektarii and Herman, and assigned to them several young native men who were to be taught "how to plant grain, potatoes and garden produce, gather mushrooms and berries, tie fishing nets and the like". He also urged missionaries to teach these men "how to read and write and study their Catechism", and to compile a dictionary of native dialects so that every Russian official or servitor on assignment in Alaska could communicate

²¹ Loc. cit

²² For details see: Russian-American Colonies. P.68-71.

²³ Ibid. P.70, 105-108.

²⁴ Ibid. P.102-103.

directly with the natives without depending on unreliable interpreters. Indeed, with his affinity for languages, Rezanov himself began to compile such a dictionary after his arrival in New Archangel, and recommended to the Board that it be published and that in the future "everyone assigned to Company service in America should take a copy with him", and that a percentage of the receipts from sales be "set aside to educate young natives"²⁵.

During his inspection tour of Russian colonies in the North Pacific region (i.e., Kamchatka, Unalaska, Kodiak and New Archangel), Rezanov concluded that the most critical problem facing the region was FOOD. This resulted from: 1) the adverse climate of the region; 2) the shortage of persons competent to cultivate the available land; 3) the lack of salt to help preserve vegetables and the abundant fish and wildlife; 4) the presence of hostile Tlingits, who objected to Russian presence on their ancestral lands and prevented a Russian move into the interior of Alaska; 5) the inability of the RAC and of the Imperial government to provision the colonies because the great distances resulted in enormous cost and spoilage; and 6) the refusal of Company and government employees to change their diet from traditional Russian food to that of the North Pacific region natives.

During his visit to New Archangel, the FOOD problem became so critical that in early October, 1805, Rezanov purchased the 250-ton American vessel the JUNO and its FOOD cargo from a Boston Captain named John D'Wolf. According to D'Wolf's account, the purchase price was \$68,000.00, "payable in the following manner, viz., bills of exchange on the Directors of the Russian American Company at St. Petersburg for the sum of \$54,638.00; 572 sea otter skins for the sum of \$13,062.00; and \$300.00 in cash" plus a small Company vessel the YERMAK, "completely rigged, two suits of sails, four carriage guns, thirty muskets, with ammunition for the same, and provisions for my crew for one hundred days"²⁶.

D'Wolf and Rezanov were both pleased with their transaction. D'Wolf sailed the YERMAK to Canton with the cargo of furs. Rezanov was much impressed with the quality of the copper-bottomed JUNO, and dispatched her to Kodiak to bring back dried fish. When the FOOD

²⁵ Ibid. P.104.

²⁶ For D'Wolf's account of the transaction see US&R. P.424-426.

supply proved inadequate to meet the required needs, Rezanov resolved in January, 1806, to travel to California to gain access to a new source of FOOD, which, D'Wolf had informed him, was abundant there.

III. REZANOV'S VOYAGE TO SAN FRANCISCO

Rezanov made his decision to sail to San Francisco and, on January 24, 1806, instructed Khvostov to prepare the JUNO for a voyage by the end of February²⁷. Khvostov careened and caulked the vessel, raised masts, attached cables to anchors, placed aboard provisions including 37 barrels of fresh water, and various materials to be traded in California for FOOD. These included a few bolts of Flemish cloth; some sail cloth; a few yards of heavy woollen cloth; some cotton goods; needles; a pair of boots of Siberian leather; a few tempered saws and axes; and some yards of ticking²⁸. On February 25, 1806, the JUNO weighed anchor, raised topsails, saluted the fort with five guns, and proceeded from New Archangel in a southerly direction on a course toward Mount Edgcumbe.

Although Khvostov was the JUNO's skipper, Rezanov made all decisions. In addition to Rezanov and Khvostov, those aboard included: Langsdorff, Davydov, two sublieutenants, two sailors, four Englishmen (from D'Wolf's crew), and 14 RAC hunters. The JUNO's armament consisted of six 4-1/2-pound cannons; two 12-pound carronades; four 2-pound falconets; and two 3-pound copper howitzers on army gun-carriages. In addition, the JUNO had one long boat; two working boats; one ship's boat; and two three-man baidarkas²⁹.

The original sailing plan called for a stop at Kaigany Bay, on the South shore of Charlotte Island, but bad weather and a scurvy-sick crew caused it to be aborted. Khovstov then set sail for the mouth of the Columbia River. On March 15, at the entrance to Gray's Harbor, Rezanov dispatched Langsdorff and two experienced hunters to reconnoiter the bay in baidarkas³⁰. They returned safely to the JUNO, and three days

²⁷ This information is based on Khvostov's JUNO log, as translated and reproduced in: Richard A. Pierce, ed. *Rezanov Reconnoiters California, 1806. A New Translation of Rezanov's Letter. Parts of Lieutenant Khvostov's Log of the Ship JUNO, and Dr. Georg von Langsdorff's Observations.* San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1972. P.44. Hereafter cited: *Rezanov Reconnoiters.*

²⁸ *Colonial Russian America.* P.114.

²⁹ From Khovstov's Log in: *Rezanov Reconnoiters.* P.45.

³⁰ *Ibid.* P.48.

later the crew sighted the mouth of the Columbia River. Rezanov instructed Khvostov to enter the river, but stormy swells at the bar frustrated the JUNO's two attempts³¹. Rezanov's decision to explore Gray's Harbor and the mouth of the Columbia indicated that, in addition to trying to secure FOOD for the starving Russians in Alaska, Rezanov also sought to establish a Russian claim to the unexplored regions of the Pacific Northwest (he did not know that the American expedition led by Lewis and Clark had already reached the mouth of the Columbia).

Having failed to attain these intended objectives, the JUNO then sailed south and on March 25, 1806, sighted Cape Mendocino and later approached Bodega Bay, which Rezanov wanted to explore also. Unfavourable winds and the fact that half the men, including Khvostov and Rezanov himself, were ill with scurvy, caused the JUNO to abort exploration of Bodega Bay and set sail for San Francisco Bay, which she entered in the evening of March 27, 1806³².

Early the next morning the Spanish became alarmed at the presence of a foreign vessel in the Bay, but could do little since the JUNO moved beyond the range of Spanish guns. Don Luis de Arguello, acting (in the absence of his father) as commandant of the Presidio, accompanied by a Franciscan monk, Father Jose de Uria and 15 armed cavalymen, galloped from the Presidio to the shore to inquire who these uninvited guests were. Seeing them, the JUNO lowered the ship's boat and Rezanov dispatched Langsdorff and Davdov to explain the reasons for the JUNO's presence in the Bay. Since the Spaniards did not speak Russian and the Russian plenipotentiaries did not speak Spanish, Langsdorff and Father Uria conversed in Latin³³.

Langsdorff saved the day by twisting a number of facts. He told Spanish officials that the JUNO was a part of the Russian voyage of discovery (which was not true), and that Rezanov, its leader, was aboard (which was true). Langsdorff then said that the JUNO's destination was Monterey, the capital of Spanish California (which was not true), but that stormy weather had damaged the ship (which also was not true)

³¹ Ibid. P.48-49. For Rezanov's recollection of the voyage see: Russian-American Colonies. P.112-113.

³² For Langsdorff's observations see: Rezanov Reconnoiters. P.56-57. for Khvostov's account see: Ibid. P.50.

³³ Ibid. P.57.

and that the scarcity of food had forced the ship to make for the nearest harbor, which happened to be San Francisco (which was true).³⁴

When Langsdorff mentioned Rezanov's name, Spanish officials were relieved because their government in Madrid had informed them of the Rezanov-led expedition and directed them to offer every help and courtesy should the Russians stop there. Since the Spaniards were aware of the names of the NADEZHDA and the NEVA and their captains, but knew nothing of the JUNO, they inquired what had happened to the other two ships. Lansdorff replied that both of them were on their way back to Europe (which was true), but that on orders from the Russian Emperor, Rezanov had been instructed to visit the Aleutians and Alaska, where he had resolved to establish contacts with the neighbouring Spanish possessions.³⁵

The Spaniards were satisfied with Langsdorff's explanations and invited him, Rezanov, Khvostov and Davydov to be their dinner guests at the Presidio, where they were welcomed by Senora Arguello, wife of the Commandant who was at the time in Monterey visiting Governor Don Jose de Arrillaga. Senora Arguello welcomed the officers, offered them appetizers, and treated them to a nourishing dinner. Also present at the dinner was Father Uria (who invited the Russian guests to visit the San Francisco Mission), and members of the Arguello family, including their beautiful teen-age daughter, Dona Concepcion, who attracted the widowed Rezanov's attention and who apparently fell in love with him.³⁶

³⁴ Loc. cit. For Khvostov's account see: Ibid. P.50; for Rezanov's account see: Russian-American Colonies, P.113-116.

³⁵ For Rezanov's account see: Ibid. P.116; for Langsdorff's observations see: Rezanov Reconnoiters, P.59.

³⁶ For Khvostov's account see: Ibid. P.50; for Rezanov's recollections see: Russian-American Colonies, P.113-116; for Langsdorff's observations see: Rezanov reconnoiters, P.56-59. Langsdorff provides the following description of Dona Concepcion: "She was lively and animated, had sparkling, love-inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form, and a thousand other charms, yet her manners were perfectly simple and artless. Beauties of this kind are to be found, though not frequently, in Italy, Spain, and Portugal". Rezanov's own assessment, in a report to Rumiantsev at a later date, of his relationship with Dona Concepcion, as quoted in: Russian-American Colonies, P.127, is as follows: "As I daily courted the Spanish beauty [Concepcion], I noted her enterprising nature and boundless ambition, which in

The Arguello family extended their hospitality not only to the officers but to the crew of the JUNO as well. They sent them refreshments and food that included four oxen, two sheep, onions, garlic, salad, cabbages and other vegetables. The quantity was sufficient to feed the entire crew for several days³⁷. For some reason, the crew's four English sailors were not pleased with their status and, on April 2, 1806, requested that they be allowed to disembark in San Francisco. Rezanov and Khvostov interpreted their request as an insult, and, with the consent of the friendly Spanish officials, deposited them on a barren island in San Francisco Bay [Alcatraz?], which the Russians named the Island of Humility³⁸. There is no information on the ultimate fate of these possibly original inmates of Alcatraz[?].

During the first official dinner Don Luis informed Rezanov that he had sent a courier to Monterey to inform the Governor of Rezanov's presence in San Francisco. He also asked Rezanov to tell him the current whereabouts of the NADEZHDA and the NEVA. Rezanov's response was identical to that offered earlier by Langsdorff. In his initial encounter Rezanov did not mention the critical FOOD problem in Alaska. However, Don Luis was aware of the problem from American sea captains, but, being the host, he did not want to embarrass Rezanov. All present at the dinner were impressed by Rezanov's eloquence, charm and dignity, and they learned something of his background. He, in turn, detected some difference of opinion between Spanish civil and religious spokesmen in regard to trading with the Russians³⁹.

spite of her age of fifteen years had already made her the one member of her family who was not satisfied with her homeland. Always in a facetious manner she would speak of it as a 'beautiful land, warm climate, lots of grain and cows and nothing more'. "I portrayed Russia for her as a land with a more rigorous climate, but one which abounded in all things. She was eager to live there, and at last, imperceptibly, I engendered in her an impatience to hear something more serious from me, so I proposed marriage to her and received her consent to my proposal".

³⁷ Ibid. P.116. For Langsdorff's observations see: Rezanov Reconnoiters. P.59-60.

³⁸ For Rezanov's account of that event see: Russian-American Colonies. P.118: for Khvostov's log, see: Rezanov Reconnoiters. P.50.

³⁹ For Rezanov's recollections see: Russian-American Colonies. P.116-117.

Next day, March 29, 1806, Father Uria arranged for horses to take the JUNO's officers to his Franciscan mission. Father Uria welcomed the visitors, took them to the church to see its modest decorations, and gave them three important bits of information: 1) that Spanish authorities were firmly opposed to allowing foreign vessels to enter Spanish ports (except in extreme emergency); 2) that they barred any trading with foreigners; and 3) that Spanish missions and settlers in California needed iron goods, household utensils, sheep shears, axes, saws, glassware, plates and all kinds of leather products, while the ladies in the Presidio would like cotton goods, muslins, shawls, and other such items⁴⁰.

Rezanov, in turn, told Father Uria that while Russian colonies in the North Pacific region were in no position to satisfy all the Spanish needs he had aboard the JUNO some goods he would like to exchange for FOOD. To thank him for the information and to solidify his friendship with Father Uria, Rezanov gave him a piece of fine English cloth and some decorative ornaments for the church. Later that day Rezanov sent Don Luis an English hunting gun and appropriate gifts for the ladies of the Presidio as a token of appreciation for their hospitality. As a result of that gesture, Rezanov was perceived as a friend and subsequently spent more time with the Arguellos and the missionaries than with the JUNO crew⁴¹. That approach was prudent, for the purpose of his mission to San Francisco was to procure FOOD for the starving members of the RAC in Alaska.

The news of the JUNO's arrival in San Francisco spread through the region and attracted the interest of the near-by missions, including San Jos. A representative of that mission, a certain Father Pedro, came to the JUNO and negotiated an agreement whose terms stipulated that, in return for four pieces of English blue cloth and seven pieces of linen, he would deliver to the Russians 104 measures of the best wheat, with the actual exchange pending approval by Spanish authorities. But that approval was not forthcoming at that time⁴².

On April 2, 1806, Don Luis, the Presidio Commandant's son, came aboard the JUNO in full military uniform to pay his respects to

⁴⁰ This information is based on Langsdorff's conversations with Father Uria. See: Rezanov Reconnoiters, P.60-62.

⁴¹ Ibid. P.61-62.

⁴² Ibid. P.62.

Rezanov: to offer him all possible assistance; and to request, formally, that Rezanov show him documents indicating that the JUNO was a bona fide vessel of the original Russian round-the-world expedition. Rezanov showed Don Luis copies of letters from all the governments, except the Spanish, that he had received prior to his departure from Kronstadt. The absence of a letter from Madrid was not a problem because, during the NADEZHDA's and the NEVA's stop at Tenerife, a Spanish possession (in the Canary Islands), its governor, Marquis de la Casa Cabigal, had given Rezanov a letter of recommendation. Don Luis was fully satisfied with these documents, and from that point on Rezanov and the Arguello family became close friends⁴³.

On April 7, 1806, the missionaries informed Rezanov that Don Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga, the Governor of California; Don Jose de Arguello (Luis' father), the Commandant of the Presidio of San Francisco; and some other officials, were expected to arrive in San Francisco from Monterey. Local officials greeted their arrival with a cannon salute, and Rezanov sent Davydov to welcome the party. Because the Governor and the Commandant were tired from their trip, they postponed the meeting with Rezanov until April 9, at which time he was to be their guest of honor at an official dinner. Rezanov accepted the invitation, and when he and his associates arrived at the Presidio they were greeted by "smiling Spanish beauties" and military men in parade uniform⁴⁴.

In the subsequent cordial dinner atmosphere, Rezanov displayed fully his social and diplomatic skills. He briefly disclosed a few highlights of his background so as to impress his hosts. He then turned his remarks to the real purpose of his mission to San Francisco. He had, he said, a two-fold goal: to secure FOOD for Russian colonies in the Pacific Northwest region; and to promote mutually beneficial economic relations between Spanish and Russian colonial possessions in North America. He told his listeners that he was aware of California's economic potentials and (thanks to Father Uria's revelations) also of its shortcomings. Rezanov emphasized, too, that Russian possessions in the Pacific Northwest also abounded in potentials and shortcomings. He said that the Russians in Alaska needed to tap California's abundant FOOD supplies, but observed that if California officials were unwilling

⁴³ Loc. cit.

⁴⁴ For Rezanov's account see: Russian-American Colonies, P.119-120.

to reach an agreement on this vital issue the Russians could procure their FOOD needs from China. Rezanov concluded his presentation by asking the Governor for a speedy decision⁴⁵.

While the Governor was impressed with the merits of Rezanov's presentation, he declined to give a positive response because he was aware of turbulent events in Napoleonic Europe that could, at any moment, place Russia and Spain on opposite sides of a conflict. In subsequent meetings the two men discussed many issues. But, based on strict instructions from Madrid not to trade with any foreign powers, the Governor rebuffed Rezanov's efforts to establish a long-term trade commitment between California and Alaska. He reluctantly approved, however, Rezanov's proposed one-time purchase agreement to buy grain and other FOOD supplies from local missions for cash in piasters, and complimented him for his skillful dealings with the missionaries.

At the last moment, though, the Governor had misgivings about his decision, and asked Rezanov for advice on how he could give his approval and "at the same time remain above suspicion [of disobeying instructions from Madrid]". Rezanov's response was quick and ingenious. He suggested that the Russians would pay cash in piasters to the missionaries for their grain, at the same time giving Russian promissory notes. It was tacitly understood that this was for the official record and the notes would not be presented for payment, and that the prices were to be manipulated to make a presumably fair exchange. To protect the Governor from approving an illegal arrangement, Rezanov's name did not enter into the transaction, except for his signature on the invoice of goods the Spaniards had received. Rezanov's signature simply attested that those goods belonged to the JUNO's Supercargo, and that "to fulfill the need of the inhabitants of California as well as to oblige the Spanish government", Rezanov had permitted the Supercargo to sell a few goods brought from Alaska⁴⁶.

Rezanov was jubilant about this one-time arrangement, which he hoped would result in establishing permanent trade relations between Spanish California and Russian colonies in the North Pacific. To celebrate, on April 12, 1806, Rezanov invited the Commandant of the Pre-

⁴⁵ For Rezanov's account of his dialogue with Governor de Arrillaga, see *Ibid* P.121-138.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*. P.129.

sidio, his wife, their three sons and four daughters to be his dinner guests aboard the JUNO. According to Khvostov's log, the guests were treated to the ship's delicacies and were entertained with Russian music. On April 24, 1806, Rezanov invited Governor Arrillaga for a formal dinner aboard the JUNO and the ship saluted him with seven guns⁴⁷.

After he had established cordial relations with Spanish officials of California, Rezanov felt deeply that Russian inhabitants in North America would never again suffer FOOD shortages; that California could provision Kamchatka and the Okhotsk region with grain and other basic needs; that this new source of FOOD would greatly lessen the burden on the natives of the Yakut region; that the Russian Treasury would be able to cut expenses "For the maintenance of soldiers;" that the high prices of grain in Irkutsk" would also be reduced; that customs collection points would generate new revenues; that Russian domestic industries would reap numerous benefits; that thanks to his California arrangement, ways could be found "to promote trade with India, via Siberia;" and that Russia would be able to establish commercial contacts with China and attract Chinese to settle in Russian colonies in North America⁴⁸.

During his brief stay in San Francisco, once he became familiar with Spanish goals and problems, Rezanov concluded that if the Russian government "had given its attention to this part of the world earlier, if it had had proper respect for it, or had persistently pursued the sagacious visions of Peter the Great, who with the small resources of his time dispatched the Bering Expedition on its voyage of discovery, one may be certain that New California would never have become a Spanish possession"⁴⁹. He also correctly observed that the Spaniards moved into California only in the 1760s, and owed their success primarily to the enterprising efforts of their missionaries.

On April 21, 1806, Rezanov reported to Spanish authorities that two of his hunters, Mikhail Kalinin and Peter Polkanov, had run away, and asked for help in finding them. The search effort was futile because, given the location of the JUNO, the two men were in no position to

⁴⁷ This account is based on Khvostov's log in: Rezanov Reconnoiters, P.51.

⁴⁸ Rezanov expressed these thoughts to Rumiantsev in a letter dated June 17, 1806. See: Russian-American Colonies, P.129-130.

⁴⁹ Ibid P.131.

escape. This was simply a ruse Rezanov used to secure Spanish permission to enable him to send two row boats, headed by Khvostov, with a sub-lieutenant and eight men, to explore and chart the Bay. In their three-day excursion around the Bay the Russians compiled a chart; found that the north side of the Bay abounded in large trees good for ship building; that the area also had wild goats, bears and wild fowl; and that since there were no Spanish settlements north of San Francisco Bay, the Russians were free to establish settlements there⁵⁰. That perception culminated in 1811 in the establishment of Fort Ross, some 100 miles north of San Francisco.

As well as provisioning the JUNO crew with food and other necessities for regaining their health, as part of their hospitality during the visit Spanish officials also tried to entertain and amuse their guests. Almost every morning they brought horses to the shore so that officers of the JUNO might take rides through the countryside where, except for inspecting fortifications, they were free to see anything⁵¹. Almost every afternoon the officers were invited to the Presidio where they were entertained with Spanish music, dance and song. They were also treated to bull fights and cock fights, and even, on one occasion, a fight between a bear and a wild bull was arranged. However, the sudden death of the bear canceled the show⁵².

In addition to the urgent securing of food and the covert surveying of San Francisco Bay, the most celebrated accomplishment of Rezanov's visit to San Francisco - one that has attracted attention in romantic literature in the United States and in Russia - was Rezanov's engagement to Dona Concepcion, teen-age daughter of the Commandant of the Presidio. We do not know how the romance began. All we know is that the two were attracted to each other, even though there was a substantial difference in their ages. Rezanov was 42 and the young beauty

⁵⁰ See Khvostov's log entries of April 21 and 25, 1806. in: Rezanov Reconnoiters. P.51-52. See also Rezanov's comments in: Russian-American Colonies. P.118.

⁵¹ In his report to Rumiantsev. Rezanov said that some of his men, without his approval, "secretly inspected ... [a] battery" and informed him that "it had five twelve-pound brass cannon ... and seven guns in the fort". See: Russian-American Colonies. P.119.

⁵² This information is based on Langsdorff's observations in: Rezanov Reconnoiters. P.66-69.

was fifteen. Rezanov told her about the splendor of life at Court in St Petersburg and of the charms of Russia with its harsh climate, in contrast to the boredom of colonial life in the mild, unchanging climate of California. When she expressed a desire to live in Russia, Rezanov proposed marriage. The proposal caught her parents by surprise. The main problem was not the age discrepancy, but the fact that Rezanov was a member of the Russian Orthodox Church, while the young lady was a Roman Catholic. Her parents consulted Catholic officials who offered the following solution: since the marriage involved two important persons of different faiths, before it could be consummated it had to be sanctioned by the Pope and by the Russian Emperor (nominal head of the Russian Orthodox Church). The betrothal made Rezanov a *de facto* member of the de Arguello family, and he seemed to believe sincerely that the marriage would bring many benefits both to Russia and to Spain⁵³.

One of the first benefits, which had been the prime reason for Rezanov's trip to San Francisco, was his success in obtaining FOOD supplies for starving Company employees in Alaska. In his ship's log, Khvostov recorded that when the JUNO left San Francisco she had "about 4,250 poods [a pood, or pud, equals 36.11 pounds, or 16.38 kilograms] of various kinds of grain"⁵⁴. According to Khlebnikov, when the JUNO arrived in New Archangel she brought the following FOOD supplies: 381 arrobas of flour [an arropa equals 25.3 pounds]; 797 arroba of lard and tallow; 105 arrobas of salt, 26 arrobas of jerky; 671 fanegas of wheat [a fanega equals 1.5 bushels]; 117 fanegas of barley; 140 fanegas of [unspecified kinds of] peas and beans; 60 fanegas of frijoles; 14 fanegas of garbanzos; and other goods. For these supplies Rezanov paid 5,587.25 piasters cash, plus a few items the JUNO had

⁵³ For details see Rezanov's account in: Russian-American Colonies. P.127-128. For Concepcion's recollections of her Romance with Rezanov, see: "The Concha Arguello Story: Memory Visits with Old Vinnie", by Father Maurice M. O'Moore, O.P., in The Romance of Nikolai Rezanov and Concepcion Arguello, by Eve Iverson. Kingston, Ontario and Fairbanks, Alaska: The Limestone Press, 1998. P. 100-101.

⁵⁴ These figures are based on Khvostov's log in: Rezanov Reconnoiters. P.53.

brought from New Archangel to San Francisco". In short, Rezanov's mission to San Francisco was a resounding success for him and for the RAC.

The JUNO left San Francisco in the early evening of May 10, 1806. The Governor, the Commandant and his family, and other dignitaries waved their hats and kerchiefs as the ship sailed by the Presidio and the JUNO saluted them with seven guns⁵⁶. A few days before his departure, Rezanov had sent a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, in Mexico City, in which he re-emphasized the following points: 1) that the proximity of Russian and Spanish possessions in North America required close cooperation between the two countries; 2) that the Russians were willing and eager to exchange Alaskan products for California's FOOD; 3) that for the time being, Russian-Spanish trade in California should be based on barter; 4) that Spanish approval of the barter concept would enable the Russians to develop their crafts and industry so that they could (in the future) provide the Spaniards with needed products (it should be noted that, at that time, the Russians in Alaska had no developed crafts and industry with which to satisfy Spanish needs); and 5) that to realize these noble goals, Rezanov desired to travel either to Madrid or to Mexico City to work out details of a long-term trade agreement between Spain and Russia, and to thank Spanish officials for the generous reception he and the JUNO crew had received in San Francisco⁵⁷. In accordance with Rezanov's suggestions, in April, 1808, Count Rumiantsev (with the Emperor's consent) instructed the Russian Minister in Madrid to urge the Spaniards to allow Russian goods from Alaska to come to California. Worsening relations between Russia and Spain prevented a positive Spanish response, however⁵⁸.

On their voyage to New Archangel, many JUNO crew members, including Rezanov, were plagued with "a terrible rash" and scurvy. While

⁵⁵ These figures are from Colonial Russian America, P.113-114. Some of those piasters came from the 20,000 Rumiantsev had given Rezanov to use at his discretion. See: БИП, С.496. Парашаф 20.

⁵⁶ See Khvostov's log in: Rezanov Reconnoiters, P.53, and Langsdorff's observations on p.73; and Rezanov's account in: Russian-American Colonies, P.141-142.

⁵⁷ The full English text of Rezanov's message to the Viceroy of New Spain, Jose Iturrigaria, is in: Russian-American Colonies, P.109-110.

⁵⁸ An English text of Rumiantsev's dispatch is in: Ibid, P 156-158.

Company employees cheered the arrival of the FOOD cargo, they complained to Rezanov of the constant attacks (or rumours of impending attacks) on Russian settlements during his absence, by the Tlingits, the Chugach, the Alegmiuts and other indigenous peoples who resented the Russian presence in their midst and exploitation of their ancestral territories. Rezanov was heartened, however, by two things: the defensive measures Baranov had introduced in New Archangel during Rezanov's stay in San Francisco; and Rezanov's conversation with Jonathan Winship, captain of a three-masted vessel from Boston, the O'CAIN.

Winship gave Rezanov and Baranov both bad and good news. The bad news was that the Americans' Lewis and Clark Expedition had reached the mouth of the Columbia River on November 15, 1805. Rezanov's response to that news was that the Russians "could have occupied that region more easily"⁵⁹, even though his own two efforts to enter the Columbia aboard the JUNO in mid-March, 1806, were fruitless (and, in any case, too late). Winship's good news was his direction of Rezanov's and Baranov's attention to Hawaii. He told them that thanks to the efforts of an American navigator named George Clark, King Kamehameha I of Hawaii wished to come to New Archangel in person to lay the foundation for trade by sending fruits, vegetables, pigs, and grain to Alaska in exchange for ticking, canvas, iron and lumber for shipbuilding⁶⁰.

On June 20, 1806, based on Winship's information and on Rezanov's own personal experience and observations in Kamchatka, Unalaska, Kodiak, New Archangel and San Francisco, Rezanov handed Baranov a set of "Secret instructions". These "Instructions", consisting of a brief Foreword and 17 Articles, represented Rezanov's critical assessment of problems facing Russian colonies in the North Pacific region and his suggestions for their future well-being. His most important points were: 1) that the interests of the RAC and of the Russian Empire demanded that well-qualified civilian personnel, supported by military and naval forces, be dispatched to the region to provide security; 2) that, to survive, the Russians must seek FOOD supplies from Spanish California (south of San Francisco), or from Japan, or from the Philippines, or from China, or from New Albion (i.e., Northern California, where Rezanov

⁵⁹ Ibid. P.144.

⁶⁰ Ibid. P.146.

thought Russian settlements could be established), or from Boston ship captains; 3) that to survive, the RAC must alter many of its past policies and practices towards its own personnel and towards the natives; 4) that the colonial administration must introduce a set of rules governing the behavior of everyone under its jurisdiction; 5) that to cut down operating costs, the Company must establish a network of schools for native children, where they could acquire skills in various trades which would make them useful to the Company; 6) that to function properly, Russian colonies in North America must have adequate medical service and decent living quarters for its employees; and 7) that Baranov and his successors should have the authority to award medals to deserving Company employees⁶¹.

On June 26, 1806, Rezanov left New Archangel aboard the JUNO for Okhotsk. From there, along the tortuous 2,000 mile overland journey to Yakutsk he caught a bad cold, and was hospitalized for a few days in Yakutsk. Although his condition had not improved sufficiently, he insisted that he must push onward to Irkutsk and then to St. Petersburg to report to the Emperor and the RAC Board on his findings. Unfortunately, he was not to reach his goal. Along the way, on March 13, 1807, he died in Krasnoiarsk, where he was buried in the cemetery of the local cathedral⁶².

When Baranov learned in 1808 of Rezanov's death, he communicated the sad news to the de Arguello family in San Francisco. Because the young Dona Concepcion was evidently deeply in love with Rezanov, she never reconciled herself to the loss. Subsequently she entered a Catholic nunnery and, until her death on December 23, 1857, devoted her life (somewhat like the 20th century Mother Teresa) to helping un-

⁶¹ The text of Rezanov's instructions to Baranov is in the Yudin Collection, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Box 1, Folder 11. The English translation is in: Alaska History Project. Documents Relative to the History of Alaska. Directed by Cecil F. Robe. Translated by Tikhon I. Lavrischeff. College: Alaska, 1936-1938. Vol.3. P.176-185.

⁶² In the 1930s, in the frenzy of the Stalinist period, the Soviets destroyed the Cathedral and the original grave marker of Rezanov in Krasnoiarsk. But for reasons that are not clear, they allowed a simple inscription to be placed there. It included only Rezanov's name and the dates of his birth and death. See: Bolkhovitinov N.N. Op.cit. P.184.

fortunates. For her work, Dona Concepcion became known as La Beata, i.e., the Blessed⁶³.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

While Rezanov's sudden death deprived the RAC and the government of their most knowledgeable spokesman on the Russian colonies in the North Pacific region, both his inspection tour of Kamchatka, Unalaska, Kodiak and Sitka, and his visit to San Francisco were mixtures of successes and failures. The successes were manifested in: 1) his realization that the vast region abounded in natural resources but was deficient in FOOD and in qualified Russian personnel; 2) his introduction of a number of measures aimed at improving the lives of Russian Company servitors and of the indigenous peoples; 3) his discovery that the Spaniards did not control California north of San Francisco and that, therefore, the Russians were free to establish a settlement there that could provision Russian possessions in the North Pacific region⁶⁴; and 4) his formulation, on the basis of his own experience and observations and on suggestions of Captain Winship, of a set of "Secret Instructions" for Baranov (and his successors) in which Rezanov outlined his vision of Russia's Manifest Destiny in the North Pacific and in Hawaii⁶⁵.

That a portion of Rezanov's inspection tour of Russian colonial possessions could be deemed a failure, stemmed primarily from the unrea-

⁶³ Ibid. P 185. For Concepcion's devotion to her missionary work, as recalled by one of her early admirers and confidants, see: Iverson E. Op. cit. P. 105-34.

⁶⁴ In 1811 the Emperor approved the Company's request to establish a Russian settlement subsequently known as Fort Ross, some 100 miles north of San Francisco. For a number of reasons, Fort Ross performed its intended service inadequately until 1841 when, with the approval of the Imperial Government, the RAC sold it to a Swiss-American entrepreneur named John Sutter. The most comprehensive study of the problem is: Mitchell Kathryn E. Fort Ross: Russian Colony in California, 1811-1841. M.A. Thesis (Portland State University, 1984) 349 p. It includes an extensive bibliography.

⁶⁵ For a variety of reasons, Rezanov's visions of establishing a fruitful cooperation between Hawaii and Russian possessions in the North Pacific turned into a disaster, thanks to the activities of some Company officials. For details of this story see: Pierce Richard A., ed. Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965; and Bolkhovitinov Nikolai N. The Adventures of Doctor Schaffer in Hawaii, 1815-1817. Translated by Igor V. Volobyyoff // The Hawaiian Journal of History, 1973. N 7. P.55-78.

sonable list of assignments Rumiantsev had imposed on him. No person, however capable or qualified, could have carried out all these tasks in the allotted time. Moreover, Rumiantsev failed to take into account the possibility of such problems as the acute shortage of FOOD, the dearth of qualified Russian personnel, the hostility of the indigenous peoples to Russian presence in their midst, and the frequent visits by foreign ships (English, American, French and Spanish) that challenged Russian monopoly in the region.

Because, for a variety of reasons, neither the Imperial government nor the RAC was able to correct the many problems, and because, from the mid-1820s on, Imperial Russia faced many critical domestic and foreign policy challenges, the Emperor approved the sales of Fort Ross in 1841, and of Alaska in 1867⁶⁶. In all likelihood, Rezanov would not have approved of these sales. But he would undoubtedly have been elated by Russia's subsequent acquisition of the Amur Basin and of Central Asia, which more than compensated for the loss of colonial possessions in North America and the Pacific.



⁶⁶ The best English-language study of the sale of Alaska is by Ronald Jensen. *The Alaska Purchase and Russian-American Relations*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975. The best Russian-language study is: Болховитинов Н.Н. Русско-американские отношения и продажа Аляски. 1834-1867. Москва: Наука, 1990.