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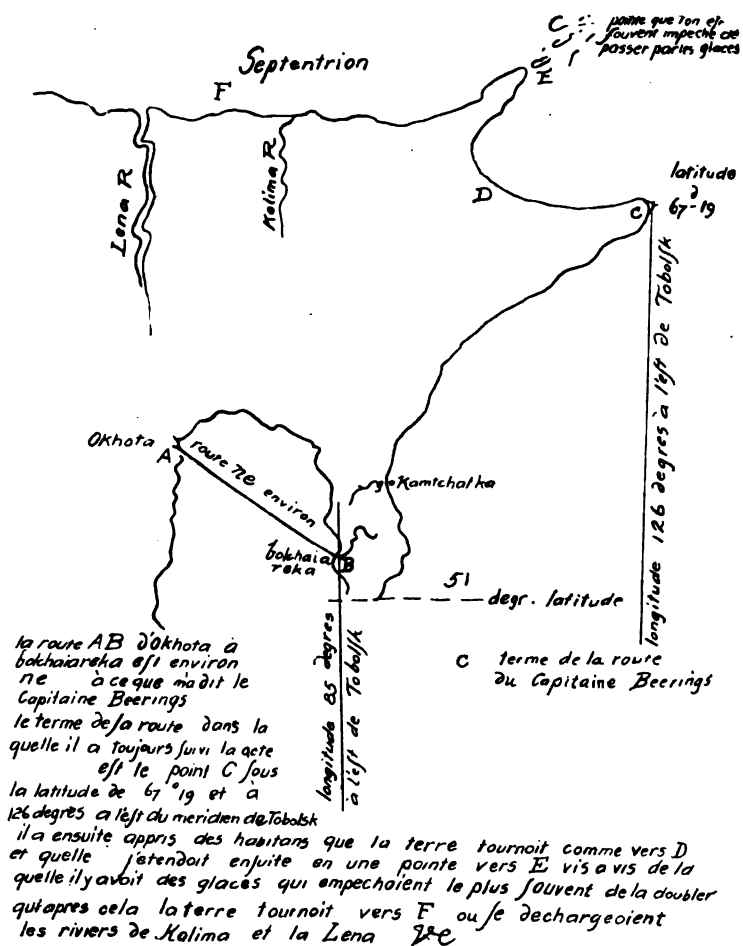
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**RUSSIAN EXPANSION
ON THE PACIFIC
1641-1850**

2720



SKETCH ILLUSTRATING BERING'S FIRST VOYAGE
 Made by J. N. Delisle and based on his conversation with Bering
 [Delisle Manuscripts, xxv, 6]

**RUSSIAN EXPANSION
ON THE PACIFIC
1641-1850**

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLIEST AND LATER EXPEDITIONS
MADE BY THE RUSSIANS ALONG THE PACIFIC
COAST OF ASIA AND NORTH AMERICA;
INCLUDING SOME RELATED
EXPEDITIONS TO THE
ARCTIC REGIONS**

BY

F. A. GOLDER



**THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
CLEVELAND: 1914**

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F. A. GOLDER**

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MAIN

In appreciation of their friendship
and inspiration I dedicate this
work to the professors at
Harvard under whom
I studied

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PREFACE

I became interested in Alaska during a three years' residence in that territory in the service of the United States government. On my return I began investigations with a view of writing the story of Alaska as a part of American history and of giving but little time to topics connected with the Asiatic side of the North Pacific Ocean. But as I proceeded I was compelled to modify my plans. I could not make intelligent headway with the Bering voyages without a sound knowledge of the cartographical and geographical ideas of the period in which they were undertaken. This led to the study of Terra de Jeso. In my expectation of working up the **background** of Siberian history from secondary authorities I was disappointed for they proved to be **unreliable** and I was obliged to go to the sources. Gradually it developed that which was planned as the background became the principal part of the picture. My point of view had in the meantime undergone a change: the discovery of Alaska which I had regarded as a beginning chapter of American history, I found to be the closing chapter of a period of Russian expansion. I realized also how closely the history of Alaska is bound up with that of Siberia, and that in order to know the one it was necessary to understand the other. Under the circumstances I concluded to devote this entire monograph to a careful study of the conditions and the history of Russian expansion on the Pacific up to 1750 and at some future time to follow up this movement and bring it up to date. This change of plan

called for investigation of certain topics not originally contemplated, such as the relations of Russia and China on the Amur, and the administration of Siberia. The results of the investigation of the last named topic are used here as an introductory chapter, and it is hoped that it will clear up a subject much talked about by writers but not clearly understood.

In this work the question as to the comparative merits of the officers who took part in the Bering voyages has not been brought up for discussion, because it seemed profitless; for the same reason speculation as to what might have been, if some one had acted differently than he did, has not been indulged in. Entirely too much emphasis may be laid on the actors in the play at the expense of the play itself. The Siberians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were part of a movement in which they were caught and carried along without leaving any impress of their personalities. They were men of, more or less, average ability, yet from the time of Muller to the present it has not been possible to speak of them with calmness. As soon as the banner, bearing the magic word "promyshlenik," is waved we are expected to fall on our knees and bow to heroes. As a matter of fact they were, at best, very ordinary men and some of them were vicious and depraved. To appreciate them at their full value one has but to study their descendants at Unalaska, Kodiak, and Sitka. If contemporary documents are to be believed, the race of Siberians has not degenerated by being transplanted into American soil. In every sea port town and in every frontier community one will find men who risk their lives and suffer hardships for the sake of pleasure and gain just as the Siberians did.

There is nothing heroic about all this and if we stop to think it will be seen that it is very commonplace.

The materials for this investigation were found at Harvard University, the Library of Congress, the Bibliotheque Nationale, and the Archives de la Marine in Paris where the Delisle manuscripts are preserved. The more important of the last documents have been copied and may be found in the Appendix. Several years ago the Library of Congress purchased the valuable Yudin collection of books on Siberia, among which were the publications of the Archaeographical Society containing source material on seventeenth and eighteenth century Siberia. A study of these original documents has forced me to reject many of the views that I had accepted on the authority of Muller and others and to rewrite a number of the chapters.

In the spelling of the Russian names of places I employed the system in use by the United States Bureau of Hydrography. The word "Cossack" is not used in a technical sense but synonymously with the term "Russian." Dates, wherever they apply to Russian events, are according to the old style. It may not be out of place to mention that in Russia during the seventeenth century, September was the first month of the year. If one will bear in mind that the nautical day was reckoned from noon and not morning he will be able to explain the seeming confusion in the accounts as to the day when a certain event occurred.

I am glad to have this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Channing for helpful suggestions during the first stages of this work. Professor Coolidge has been ever ready to assist me and I have profited by his advice. Mr. L. R. Wells of Cambridge

has criticised in a helpful manner two of the chapters. Professor W. A. Morris of the University of California and Professor W. G. Beach of the University of Washington read the complete manuscript and it has gained much from their criticisms. To all these good friends I am very grateful and I trust that they may not feel that their efforts have been in vain. F. A. GOLDER.
Pullman, Washington, February 1, 1914.

Since writing the above I have carefully examined the archives at St. Petersburg and have made many valuable and important corrections and additions. F. A. G.
St. Petersburg, Russia, August 1, 1914.

I. THE ADMINISTRATION OF EASTERN SIBERIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY¹

By Eastern Siberia is meant the region bordering on the Pacific Ocean, its western boundary being the Lena River and the southern the Stanovoi Mountains. Although this portion of Siberia is dealt with here separately, it would be wrong to infer that it had problems of administration unknown to other parts; for the government of this vast country was quite uniform, except where local conditions demanded modifications. Agriculture, mining, and military affairs, which reached a certain importance west of Jakutsk, were insignificant factors east of this city where all the energy was concentrated on the fur trade.²

Before taking up the study of a part of Siberia, it may be well to give a brief outline of the general scheme and development of the administration of Siberia as a whole. When Russia secured possession of this country in the last part of the sixteenth century, the natives were not altogether unprepared for the type of government which was offered them. Instead of giving their tribute to the Tartar chief, as the inhabitants had done

¹ The source materials consulted in the preparation of this work consist of instructions to officers, law suits, petitions, and complaints of men in the service and of the native tribes.

² The River Lena was discovered in 1630, and the Fort Jakutsk was built two years later, but a distinct Jakutsk Province was not created until 1640 or 1641, when a woevod and other officers were appointed. In 1675 there were in Jakutsk Province one hundred six people engaged in agriculture and stock raising. See *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. vi, doc. 136, 403.

formerly, they now presented it to the czar, and when it is all sifted down, the problem of administration centered around the taking and the giving of tribute. Even in the location of the so-called cities, the Russians, wherever possible, followed closely in the footsteps of the Tartars. Tiumen, founded in 1586, and Tobolsk, in 1587, were almost on the sites of former Tartar settlements. For a few years the conquered territory was administered from these two cities through woevods [officers] sent from Moscow. As the expansion to the eastward continued, Tobolsk gained in importance, so that from 1607³ to 1629 it was the only center of administration, having a seal and other insignia of office, which other cities did not secure until 1635.⁴ In 1629 Tomsk was selected as an additional seat of government. These two cities had a number of smaller cities under them, governed by local woevods subject to the orders of their superiors at Tobolsk or Tomsk who, in turn, were responsible to the Sibirski Prikaz at Moscow. This system did not work harmoniously owing to the envious feeling existing between the officers of the two districts. The boundary lines had not yet been sharply defined which led to numerous conflicts of jurisdiction, and it happened not infrequently that parties of tribute gatherers representing different districts, on meeting in some native village, would have a fight to determine who should carry off the tribute. The natives suffered the most because they were made to pay two and three times.

For this inefficient government the authorities at Moscow were in part to blame. The importance of this newly acquired region was not fully appreciated

³ Andrievich, V. K. *Istoria Sibiri*, vol. i, 113.

⁴ Butsinski, P. *Zaselenie Sibiri*, 233.

and no clearly defined plan for its government had been formed. Siberia was administered by one of the bureaus of foreign affairs [Posolski Prikaz] until 1599,⁵ when it was transferred to the department which looked after the government of Kazan.⁶ In 1637 it finally became an independent bureau known as the Sibirski Prikaz with a head and staff of its own.⁷ From this office at Moscow all orders were issued and officers appointed and to it reports and tribute were sent. It was found advisable in 1670 to have but one central office in Siberia, and Tobolsk was once more given the preference. Her woewod thus became the leading Siberian officer to whom matters of lesser importance were referred by the woewods of the various provinces; but more serious questions were taken up, as before, with Moscow. This system was in force until 1708 when Peter the Great reorganized Siberia according to the ideas of western Europe.

The chief officer⁸ of the province was the woewod

⁵ *Ezheneznyachinia Sochinenia i Izvestia O Uchenich Delach*, part i, 523.

⁶ — *Ibid.*

⁷ — *Ibid.*, 526.

⁸ In order that one may get an idea of the quality of the administration, and before taking up the duties of the Siberian officers in detail, something should be said of their character. Were it not for the fact that the evidence on this point is uncontradictory one could hardly believe that these men were as low and as depraved as the contemporary literature pictures them. They were without the fear of God and without the feelings of shame. They traded, gambled, mortgaged, and sold their wives and daughters as if they were chattel [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 44, 158]. The traffic in women was carried on publicly [*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. iii, doc. 1601] and from the proceeds of the sale the government received ten per cent as it did from the sale of ordinary merchandise [Butsin-ski, P. *Zaselenie Sibiri*, 139]. Other forms of vice were even less concealed. Although aware of this demoralizing state of affairs, the government was not in a position to put an end to it because it could not depend on the soldiers, who often mutinied and killed their officers, robbed whom they should protect, and then fled across the Chinese border and from there carried on their depredations [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 33, 85; also vol. xii,

who was appointed at first for two years, but after 1695 Peter extended the term to four, five, six years, and even to a longer period.⁹ Early in the seventeenth century the woewod had complete control of every department of administration, but he so abused his power and robbed the treasury to such an extent that it was found necessary, in 1623, to appoint a special customs officer, *golova*, to have charge of all the moneys and tribute and to act as a check on the woewod.¹⁰ But neither this nor any of the other devices that were tried to keep the woewod from stealing were successful.¹¹ When he came into Siberia he was accompanied by his family and friends, all of whom were bent on making their fortunes. By every legal and illegal means in his power he aided them, and they in return were not ungrateful for his favors.¹²

doc. 4, 13]. If caught and brought back two or three were punished by having their noses cut off and the remainder were reinstated in service [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 33, 85].

⁹ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. iii, doc. 1511.

¹⁰ Butsinaki, P. *Zaselenie Sibiri*, 235.

¹¹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 83, 100. In practice it was found that the *golova* joined with the woewod in robbing the government.

¹² Natives coming to the posts with tribute were met on the way by the woewod or those in collusion with him, their best furs were taken from them and the poorest left for the payment of tribute [*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. iii, doc. 1511]. If the native refused to obey he was beaten and deprived of his family [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 69, 264]. The money and supplies with which to pay the servants of the government passed through the hands of the woewod, who often appropriated a portion for himself and forced the men to sign a receipt for the whole amount. It was useless to sue him since he was the chief judge of the province, and complaints against him could reach Moscow only through his successor. On leaving his post to return to Russia, the woewod was permitted to export five hundred rubles' worth of fur and five hundred rubles in money and no more [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 119]. He got around this regulation by shipping his ill-gotten wealth through relatives, priests, and merchants [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, 46, 118], or to China for sale there [*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. ii, doc. 1578]; if he stole so much that the amount of the tribute decreased noticeably he reported to Moscow that on this particular year fur-bearing animals

The duties of the woewod were numerous. As soon as he reached his post he examined and counted everything on the premises and gave a receipt for them to his predecessor. When these matters had been arranged the old woewod departed for Moscow with all the furs on hand, leaving the new comer in full charge. His next prescribed duty was to assemble successively the officers and men of the station, the hunters and traders, the Russian settlers of the neighborhood, and finally the principal men of the tribute paying natives of the province. To each of these in turn he told how grieved the czar was that the woewod who had just departed had robbed and abused them, had not paid them their wages, and had not done them justice; that from now on there should be no more of such evil doings, for the czar had sent them an honest woewod who would look after their welfare. After this speech he sent them home to work for the czar with the expectation of returning two years hence to listen to exactly the same speech.¹⁸

were hard to catch [*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. ii, doc. 1578], or he would price the fur so high as to make it seem that although the number of skins were less their value was just as great as in previous years [*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. ii, doc. 1522]. The following quotation from a contemporary document shows in what low estimation the woewod was held. From Moscow instructions were sent to the golovas on the frontier of Siberia that before allowing a woewod and his party to enter Russia they should surprise him on the way and make a search for smuggled furs. They were also told to look "in the wagons, trunks, baskets, clothes, beds, pillows, wine barrels, boxes, in the baked bread . . . to search men and women without fear of any one . . . examine their persons, their trousers, and note especially whether the women have skins sewed in their petticoats . . . look sharp that they do not get away with any furs" — *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. ii, doc. 1443.

¹⁸ Before appearing in the presence of the natives, the woewod and his staff put on gorgeous uniforms and glittering arms so as to awe and make an impression. In addition to the harangue just noted this message was added: the czar had heard how they had suffered from "the woewod, golova, prikaschiks, detiboyarski, atamans, streltsi, Cossacks . . . that their wives and chil-

With the exception of the handling of the tribute and the moneys coming in from various sources, matters which fell to the *golova*, all else connected with the administration was under the direction of the *woewod*. He sent men to gather tribute and to discover new lands. It was his duty to maintain peace in the province and to prevent lawlessness, distilling, drunkenness, and gambling, which would diminish the revenue and unfit the men for service.¹⁴

The judicial functions of the *woewod* throw interesting light on the conception of justice of the period. He had jurisdiction over all civil cases and all criminal cases except those of capital punishment, which were referred to Moscow. There was a graduated scale of fines and fees, the payment of which he was required to enforce.¹⁵ The liquor cases were very numerous, for in order to avoid paying the excise tax and the high price asked for liquor, much distilling and brewing was done in secret. If caught the machinery and product were confiscated (but not wasted), in addition other punishments might be inflicted which depended upon whether or not the offenders had been up on the same

dren had been taken from them and sold . . . that more tribute had been collected than the czar demanded, and that the *woewod* had not protected them" — *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 101.

¹⁴ On special occasions such as marriages, births, etc., and on the payment of two kopeks per gallon, the *woewod* was authorized to grant permission to make beer and mead [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 83, 309-313].

¹⁵ In civil suits involving two to five rubles the loser paid a fee of one-tenth of the amount in litigation. If a second trial was demanded, the loser paid two-tenths and the victor one-fiftieth. In cases the amount of which was less than one ruble, the loser paid according to the above scale and the victor was excused from any payment. Contracts of indenture of less than ten rubles required a fee of ten kopeks on the ruble, of more than ten rubles twenty-five kopeks [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 111]. In cases brought before court but settled outside a payment of ten kopeks on the ruble was required.

charge before.¹⁶ Prisoners were kept in close confinement and sometimes tortured. Petty criminals were beaten in public with rods and the more serious offenders with knouts, and if officials they were dismissed from the service.¹⁷ Other forms of punishment were branding on the cheek, cutting off fingers, and slitting of nostrils.¹⁸

The number of men connected with the service of the Jakutsk Province varied from year to year, but at no time during this period did it reach a thousand. It was difficult to persuade men to come into this region where the work was hard and dangerous. The more important officers such as the woewod, dyak or secretary, golova or scribe, golova or head customs officer, were on a temporary appointment, while those below them were on a more permanent tenure.¹⁹ Closely associated

¹⁶ When it was a first offense the maker and seller paid a fine of five rubles and the buyer and drinker paid twenty-five kopeks. For the second offense the maker and seller paid ten rubles and was whipped with a rod about three feet long and the thickness of a finger [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 56, 211]. In case of a third offense the maker and seller was fined twenty rubles and the buyer and drinker one ruble, and in addition they were both whipped with the knout and were liable to be put into a dungeon [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 30, 77].

¹⁷ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 83, 308; vol. xi, doc. 11, 27.

¹⁸ Strange as it may seem, very few criminals suffered capital punishment, even when guilty of killing superior officers. As a last resort the prisoner petitioned that instead of executing him, he should be permitted to go in search of new lands and tribute. Such petitions were nearly always granted. It was so in the case of Atlasof, Kozirefski, and others.

¹⁹ The following list of those on more permanent tenure is taken from the report of the woewod for the year 1675 [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. vi, doc. 136, 408]. Nine connected with the church, twenty-five *deti-boyarski*, five *sotniks* [officers of a hundred], three atamans [their functions were like those of the *sotniks*], thirteen in the customs service (they were usually taken from the merchant class), sixteen *pyatdesyatniks* [officers of fifty], forty *desyatniks* [officers of ten], five hundred fifty-three Cossacks, one blacksmith, two cannoneers, two mechanics. This makes a total of six hundred sixty-nine.

with the woewod were the secretary, who was a kind of vice-woewod,²⁰ and the scribe, and they shared with him the fruits of his thefts. How the golova came to exist has already been explained, and it is perhaps unnecessary to say that he was not as honest as he might have been.²¹ Although the woewod could bring charges against the golova, he could not remove him from office.²² About once a month the golova was required to submit his books and funds to the woewod for examination. Of the lower officers and their duties, which are quite obvious, one need not dwell.²³ For faithful service the men were promoted from one grade to another.²⁴

There was no completely uniform scale of wages.²⁵ Married men usually received more than unmarried, and length of service and efficiency were also determining factors.²⁶ The difference between the extremes was not very great, and the table offered here, which is made up from various sources, is fairly representative and accurate. The wages of the woewod and dyak here given are not based on as good sources as those of the others. What the golova received it is not possible to learn. As to the pyatdesyatnik, his wages must have been between that of an ataman's and a desyatnik's.

²⁰ He probably had charge of the silver seal on which were engraved an eagle holding a sable and these words: "The seal of his sovereign's new Siberian dominions on the River Lena."

²¹ He probably came into Siberia from the coast cities of Russia and was selected from the merchant class. On his seal was represented a panther catching a sable and around the edge were the words: "Seal of his sovereign's customs service on the Lena."

²² *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 36, 110.

²³ A word or two might be said of the *deti-boyarski*. They were descendants of the petty nobility of Russia, and in Siberia they ranked just above the *sotniks*.

²⁴ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. ii, doc. 76, 213.

²⁵ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 42, 96.

²⁶ Butinski, P. *Zaselenie Sibiri*, 248.

OFFICERS	RUBLES ²⁷	RYE ²⁸ chet- vert	OATS chet- vert	SALT puds	WINE (ordinary) buckets	WINE buckets	HONEY puds
Woewod	400	200 (inc. oats)			400	50	80
Dyak	200	150	" "			30	
Golova							
Golova (of Cossacks)	10	7 (inc. oats)		3			
Deti-boyarski	10	10	10				
Sotnik	9	8	6	3			
Ataman	9	7	4	2¼			
Pyatdesyatnik							
Desyatnik	5½	5½	4½				
Servants	5	5	4	1¾			

Over each of the twenty or more stations dependent on Jakutsk was a prikaschik, or agent, generally a petty officer. In his small circle the agent was as supreme as the woewod, having like powers and the same judicial functions.²⁹ Each prikaschik had under him a number of men, varying with the importance of the station, who collected the tribute, tolls, taxes, and carried out the numerous other tasks assigned to them. The length of service for which the men engaged was one year, but for the more distant stations they bound themselves for two and even three years.

At some time in August the prikaschik with his men and supplies left Jakutsk, traveling by boats, horses, or deer, as the condition of the country and the season per-

²⁷ One may get an idea of the actual value of the ruble (one hundred kopeks made a ruble) from the price of commodities at Jakutsk. In 1657 rye sold for twenty-five kopeks and salt fifty kopeks the pud [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 100]. All of the grain came from western Siberia and it was the aim of the government to have a year's supply always on hand, but for various reasons this was seldom realized.

²⁸ A chetvert was a measure, the contents of which when weighed varied from four and a half to five puds, or between one hundred sixty-two and one hundred eighty pounds [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 25, 69].

²⁹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. vii, doc. 71, 331.

mitted. When he arrived at his post he took an inventory of the goods on hand and gave a receipt for them to the agent in charge, who with his men returned to Jakutsk, taking the furs and money that had accumulated during their term of office. This annual shift was not, however, always possible on account of the scarcity of men and the vast area to be covered.³⁰

A station was known either as zimovie, ostrojok, or ostrog. A zimovie was a log cabin or underground hut for winter use, and was not unlike the present day "barabaras" of the natives and white hunters of Alaska. Two or more zimovies with some means of defense were known as ostrojok. An ostrog was an enlarged ostrojok surrounded by a wall.³¹ Armed guards were on duty night and day to prevent the hostages from escaping or committing suicide and to keep a lookout for fire³² which broke out very frequently. The location of a zimovie was selected usually near the mouth

³⁰ The lack of a sufficient number of well trained men brought about loss of life which could have been prevented. The natives used to waylay the small parties of Russians and kill them. Even in the matter of firearms the Russians did not always have the advantage, because the natives had acquired them by barter and other ways, and had become very proficient in their use [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. vii, doc. 71, 331].

³¹ Jakutsk had the largest ostrog in the province. The one built in 1684 was surrounded by four walls measuring four thousand feet, and on them were eight large watch towers [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 75, 317]. Within the enclosures were warehouses for different purposes, a powder house, a home for the woewod, quarters for the hostages, a jail for *raskolniks* [heretics], and another jail for criminals. About five hundred feet from the ostrog was the gorod, the settlement where the married men and traders lived, and about an equal distance still farther east were the church and religious houses [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. xi, doc. 61, 187]. In Remezof's atlas there is a crude drawing of Jakutsk which is here reproduced.

³² In the summer time no fires were permitted inside the buildings except for the purpose of baking bread, and then only on a damp day with plenty of water near at hand [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 116; *Akti Istoricheskie*, vol. iv, doc. 246, 526].

of a stream or near a watershed so as to be easily accessible. Hunters, however, built theirs on high ground where the best sables were to be had.

One of the great problems of the administration was how to get a great deal of tributé out of the natives and yet keep them in peace and alive. Once or twice a year the prikaschik sent out a company of armed men, accompanied by a tselovalnik,³³ to collect tribute from those who were willing to pay and to fight those who were not.³⁴ When in the presence of the natives, the officer in command summoned them to submit and pay tribute.³⁵ If they consented they at once delivered hostages. If they refused war was made upon them, the men were killed and the women and children were divided up among the Cossacks.³⁶

On account of this harsh treatment there were many uprisings and flights into Chinese territory.³⁷ Small-pox and venereal diseases killed off a great many others, leaving a still heavier burden on the survivors who had to pay for the living and the dead.³⁸ If the native had

³³ The tselovalnik sustained the same relation to the prikaschik that the golova did to the woewod. He took his name from the act of kissing the Testament on taking office. He was expected to know how to write so as to be able to sign receipts.

³⁴ Those who took part in these expeditions were not generally allowed to trade with the natives on their own account. But if they honestly acquired some pelts, either by barter or by hunting, the government took them off their hands and paid them at Jakutsk according to Siberian prices [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 30, 73].

³⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 83, 310.

³⁶ "And in this fight we took from the Tungus B. his two daughters A. and N. After dividing up, A. went to the trader Shaposhnik and N. to the hunter Chiruche. The wife of the Tungus U. was given to the hunter Pilikin, the daughter of the Tungus M. to the Pyatdesyatnik Michaelof, K's daughter to Matveef, K's wife to Werchote, B's wife to Federof. A Tungus boy about seven was handed over to Triahka, another about five went to Missalof," etc. . . - *Ibid.*, vol. viii, doc. 44, 175.

³⁷ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. iii, doc. 1526.

³⁸ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 3, 17. Although

no skins of any kind he was obliged to buy them in the open market; if he had neither skins nor money he was locked up.³⁹ He was forbidden to sell his furs to others than Russians.⁴⁰ He had the privilege of becoming a Christian and entering the service of the czar;⁴¹ and the unions of the baptized native women with the Russians were blessed with a marriage ceremony.⁴²

In theory each community was required to pay a definite amount of tribute, in practice the collectors demanded and obtained more than the legally required quantity which they kept for themselves. In addition to the tribute, the natives were also asked to offer gifts. The list below is taken from the report of the Jakutsk woewod for the year 1675.⁴³ He says that there were at that time twenty-two stations and thirty-five Jakut permanent settlements under his jurisdiction. From these figures it will be seen that the tribute was not very oppressive, considering that there were still a great many fur-bearing animals. The hardships came, as already noted, from the illegal demands of the collector.

STATION	NATIVES	No. of Natives	Sables	Foxes Red	Foxes Black	Foxes Cross	Serv-ants	Hos-tages	Servants Needed
Olekminsk	Jakuts ⁴⁴	206	377	30	1		11		
Charinsk & Ustpatansk	Tungus	137	356				11	6	

money was not generally received in place of skins, yet one kind of skin might be substituted for another, the relative value of the two being determined by the tselovalnik. For instance, if a Jakut had no sables but had foxes the tselovalnik priced and took enough foxes to make up for the sables. His prices were, however, always far below those offered by the trader, but in making his reports he valued them almost according to Moscow prices, managing in this way to keep a number of skins for himself [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 117].

³⁹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 3, 19.

⁴⁰ This regulation was to prevent trade with the Chinese.

⁴¹ Probably at a lower salary than the Russians.

⁴² *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 83, 311.

⁴³ — *Ibid.*, vol. vi, doc. 136, 401-408.

⁴⁴ Jakuts were not required to give hostages.

ADMINISTRATION OF EASTERN SIBERIA 29

STATION	NATIVES	No. of Natives	Sables	Foxes Red	Foxes Black	Foxes Cross	Serv-ants	Hos-tages	Servants Needed
Maiskoi	Tungus	258	531				20	13	100
Toutorsk	Yukagir	93	186				14	7	20
Butlask	Yukagir	120	188	32			5		
Wiluisk									
Upper	Jakuts and Tungus	393	655	62		1	15	10	30
Middle	Jakuts and Tungus	488	352	285		2	8	5	15
Lower	Jakuts and Tungus	124	45	114		2	5		
Zigansk	Jakuts and Tungus	332	378	89			14	1	
Olensk	Tungus	49	93	3			7	3	10
Okhotsk	Tungus	1172	2400				44	70	150
Jansk									
Upper	Yukagirs	195	422				50	6	
Lower	Yukagirs	64	152				10	8	15
Indigirsk									
Upper	Yukagirs	86	441				} 16	40	60
Middle	Yukagirs	32	274						
Lower	Yukagirs	57	348						
Lazesk	Yukagirs	46	321						
Koluimsk									
Upper	Yukagirs	43	328				} 20	25	60
Middle	Yukagirs	25	204						
Lower	Yukagirs	32	357						
Anaduirsk	Yukagirs	31	78				16	12	30
Chodonsk	Yukagirs	8	72				10	3	20

Counting the thirty-five Jakut settlements there were altogether ten thousand six hundred eighty-six Jakuts, Yukagirs, and Tungus, paying eighteen thousand, four hundred fifty sables, forty-nine sable backs, eleven black foxes, fifty-two cross foxes, six thousand, two hundred eighty-four red foxes, two brown foxes, one red brown fox, and one fox coat.

Traders were allowed to come into Siberia and do business there on the payment of a general license fee,

a certain percentage of all the goods bought or sold, and ten per cent import and export duty. In addition there were numerous other restrictions in the matter of buying and selling. Traders were carefully watched, their goods inspected at every post, and fees and fines were demanded at every stop. Liquor, tobacco, and smuggled Chinese goods they were not allowed to sell and certain kinds of furs they were not permitted to buy at all, while others they could purchase only after the tribute collector had made his rounds and had his pick.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding these regulations the traders found means to get around them, and they always had the best skins, many of them coming directly from the officers of the government.⁴⁶ The sale of beer, *kwas*, and such drinks, was let to the highest bidder for a term of years.⁴⁷

Each prikaschik on bringing the annual tribute and money from his station to Jakutsk submitted with it a detailed list of every article, stating where it came from, who collected it, whether it was received as tribute, gift, or as tenths from the traders and other Russians.⁴⁸ In a similar way the woewod submitted his list to the

⁴⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 109. Occasionally certain regions were closed to the trader when it was noticed that the tribute fell off [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 69, 270]. For special service rendered or for other reasons the czar gave to certain individuals the right to trade in Siberia without paying the customary fees and tolls [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 93, 234].

⁴⁶ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. iii, doc. 1443.

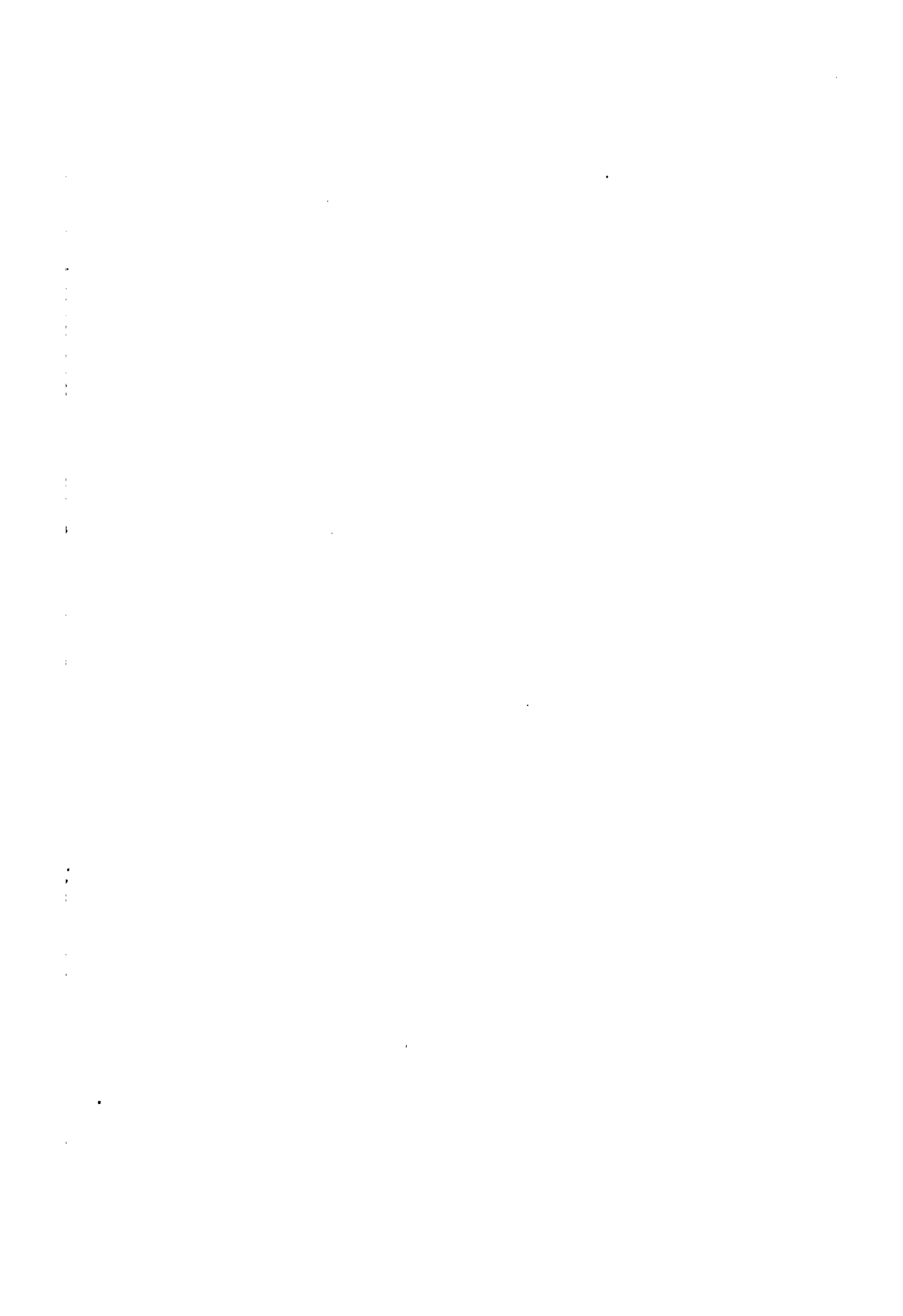
⁴⁷ There is reason to believe that the sale of the stronger drinks was in the hands of the government which received its supplies from the distilleries at Tobolsk [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. vii, doc. 9, 52].

⁴⁸ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. v, doc. 65, 335. Here is a partial report of a two years' shipment from the Koluima:

1765 sables – tribute
 1001 sables – tenths
 949 sables – gifts
 2247 rubles, etc.

Sibirski Prikaz at Moscow. To determine the value of the furs a mixed tribunal⁴⁹ composed of traders and officers, the former predominating, was appointed. This body arranged the pelts into three lots, best, good, and poor, and set a price on each according to the market value in Siberia, and their signed statements were forwarded with the furs to Moscow. Once a year the wowed took in person or sent by one of his men the government stores to the Sibirski Prikaz. Not all the furs, however, were shipped to Russia, some were kept for the Chinese trade.

⁴⁹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 46, 106.



II. RUSSIA AND CHINA ON THE AMUR TO 1689

It was very soon after the Jakutsk district was organized that the hunters, in following up the Lena to its source in the mountains, learned of the streams beyond, the Shilka and the Dseya. They were told that on the banks of these rivers was to be found much grain, and not a little silver. If this news were true it would be a great blessing for Jakutsk, which often suffered hunger on account of the difficulties of bringing grain from Western Siberia where it was grown. If food supplies could be had on the Dseya the bread problem would be solved, for the question of transportation from that river down the Lena was a comparatively simple one.

One of the first reports, if not the very first one, of the Shilka and the Dseya was made by Maxim Perofilyef at Jakutsk in 1641.⁵⁰ He gave as his authority a conversation he had with a Tungus, who from personal observation knew the country, its people, its agricultural and mineral resources. This clew was followed up and twenty men were despatched that same year (1641) among the Tungus on the Angara for more data. On their return they laid before the wowed articles made of silver, and blue paint, both of which they had bought from the natives.⁵¹ Other evidences came in to confirm the first report: Ivan Moskwitin

⁵⁰ *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich*, 1861, book 1.

⁵¹ — *Ibid.*

and companions testified in 1642 that in going from the Ouda to the sea (date of the voyage is not given), in a southerly direction, they met with a Tungus who told them of the Shilka and its grain fields.⁵² Several of the Jakut chiefs when questioned replied in a very positive manner that grains and metals could be had on the other side of the mountains because the Tungus who went there often had told them so. Early in 1643 Enalei Bachtayarof, bookkeeper or scribe at Witmsk, brought to Jakutsk a Tungus, Lawagu, who was so certain that in the valleys and hills of the Dseyra and Shilka bread and silver were to be found that he volunteered to guide a party thither, either by the way of the Aldan or the Olekma.⁵³ With all this uncontradictory evidence before him, the woewod ordered Bachtayarof and seventy men to proceed at once (1643) to investigate the truth of these statements.⁵⁴ The leader proved incompetent and returned shortly without having accomplished the desired result.⁵⁵

While Bachtayarof was on the way more testimony came in from various sources confirming the earlier reports. The failure of the "thievish" bookkeeper did not in the least cool the ardor of the woewod, Peter Golowin, who fitted out another expedition even on a larger scale. As a leader of the new company he selected Wasili Poyarkof, of whom very little is known, and whose chief qualification seems to have been the ability to wield the pen and the dagger. With him went along one hundred twelve Cossacks, fifteen hunters, two clerks [*tselovalniks*], two interpreters,⁵⁶ a guide,

⁵² *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich*, 1861, book 1.

⁵³ — *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Akti Istoricheskije*, vol. iv, doc. 31.

⁵⁵ *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich*, 1861, book 1.

⁵⁶ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 12, 50.

and a blacksmith. Each man was armed with a gun, and in addition a cannon with the necessary ammunition. Some provisions were also taken along. Poyarkof was given full instructions how to proceed. From Jakutsk he was to go up the Lena, the Aldan and its branches, thence across the mountains to the source of the Dseya and down that stream to the Shilka. Of the natives whom he would find there he should ask tribute, but only a small quantity to begin with. In case they refused to pay, war should be made on them. Inquiries were to be made as to the relation of the natives with China, whether officers of that empire came among them and for what purpose.

Poyarkof with his company departed from Jakutsk July 15, 1643, following the route mapped out for him. He experienced many hardships in going up the Aldan and its branches, and in the rapids of one he lost a boat. About the first of November, before he had quite reached the headwaters, ice had formed in the streams blocking further advance by water. Two weeks were spent in building a zimovie in which were left the heavier supplies in charge of forty-three men. The leader himself with the remainder of his command started to cross the mountains about the middle of November and after two weeks' toil he struck the Brynda, a branch of the Dseya. Because this region was uninhabited he hurried southward and on December 13 reached the Umlekan and camped there. On making inquiries the Russians learned that barley, oats, millet, peas, hemp, and buckwheat grew on the Shilka, but silver, copper, lead, and blue paint were not produced here but purchased in China.⁵⁷ In his expectation to find an abundance of food Poyarkof was disappointed,

⁵⁷ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 12, 50.

and it became necessary to forage for it at once. Hearing of a Dauri settlement not very far from the camp, seventy men were sent to the place, and by trickery they got into their power two of the leading men. Notwithstanding that they were well treated the Russians insisted that they should be admitted into the village. When this was refused they attempted to force their way, but were repulsed, and it was only after much difficulty and under cover of night that they got away at all. On their return to camp a number of them were not admitted, and these lived close by feeding on the natives whom they killed from time to time and on their fellow Russians who died of starvation or who were murdered by Poyarkof who argued "that men were cheap, a desyatnik was worth five kopeks and a private one kopek."⁵⁸

In the spring the party that had been left on the north side of the ridge crossed over and joined the main body and together they sailed down the Dseya. The report of the cruelty and deceit which the Russians had practiced on the natives and their inhuman treatment of each other preceded them down the river. They found the inhabitants on the alert and on the defensive, and here and there as they came in sight they were greeted with the shout, "Oh, you dirty cannibals!"⁵⁹ Poyarkof had to fight his way down the Amur,⁶⁰ or run

⁵⁸ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 12, 50. In the course of the winter fifty dead bodies were consumed. Forty of the seventy died of starvation and exposure. In the spring when vegetation made its appearance and food was more plentiful, it is charged that Poyarkof ordered his favorites to set fire to the grass about the camp of the starving men. On their return to Jakutsk, the men accused Poyarkof of the above named crimes. He admitted the facts as true but shifted the blame; the testimony of the witnesses, however, was against him and he was sent to Moscow for trial.

⁵⁹ — *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ The term "Amur" was unknown until Poyarkof's return when he made use of it in his report. In the instructions drawn by Peter Golowin in 1643

before the hostile natives, and once a party of twenty-seven men who had gone ahead to explore were surprised and all but two killed. It was only when he had reached the mouth of the Amur that he found rest for the winter (1644-1645). By capturing three Giliaks he was able to compel the others to give him tribute and to supply him with food. When the navigation season opened he sailed northward and landed at the mouth of the Ulja where another winter was spent (1645-1646), and in the following spring he went into the interior by way of the Maja and the Aldan, arriving at Jakutsk June 12, 1646.

Poyarkof's expedition was a success in so far as it separated myth from fact; it determined in a general way what the resources of the Amur and its tributaries were and what they were not. But the harm he and his crew did to the Russian cause was greater than the good. Whatever faults the Chinese tribute gatherers had they were not guilty of such inhuman acts as the Russians committed, and when the inhabitants of the Amur were called upon to decide whom they would have as master they never hesitated in their decision to remain faithful to China.

Before the return of Poyarkof information about the Shikla continued coming in, some of it of importance in determining a new way to the Amur. The ascent of the Aldan had been attempted and found difficult; the route by the way of the Olekma had been suggested but not yet tried. In 1647, there came to Jakutsk a hunter, whose camp was at the head waters of the Tugir, a branch of the Olekma, and he gave a description

that name is not used. Each of the peoples through whose territories the river flowed gave the stream a different name and this explains the confusion of terms.

of the country about him and the way to reach it. The new course recommended itself to the officers as preferable to the one by the Aldan and after a trial it proved more satisfactory. After this date all those who went from Jakutsk to the Amur followed the Olekma, while those coming from Yenisei and other parts of Western Siberia went by way of Lake Baikal.

When Poyarkof reached Jakutsk Peter Golowin was out of office, and his successor Pushkin does not seem to have been greatly interested in the exploration of the Amur. This is not to be wondered at when one considers that the attempts so far had proved costly and the material results were as yet of no importance. The few men that the officer had at his disposal could be employed to better advantage in Siberia. Only one insignificant expedition was sent out and that was a failure. It left in March, 1649, and returned that summer, having gone as far as the Shilka without meeting more than two or three people.⁶¹

Yarka Pavlof Khabarof, a man whose deeds have been eloquently praised and after whom at least one city has been named, made the next expedition to the Amur. Very little is known of him before his expedition and not much more after it.⁶² His plans and the energy with which he carried them out show him to have been a man above the average of his fellows. He realized the ultimate and, particularly, the immediate advantages to be derived from the conquest of the Amur, and he was ready to invest his time and his money in its accomplishment, expecting to repay him-

⁶¹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 50.

⁶² In 1658 instructions were given to a man on his way to the Amur to make use of Khabarof as guide, and in case he refused to act in that capacity he should be put into irons [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 53, 146].

self from the plunder. Dimitri Franzbekof, the new woewod, gave him his moral and financial support, regarding it no doubt as a good venture.⁶³ Pointing out the fact that all the previous efforts on the Amur had proved fruitless and expensive to the government, Khabarof, on March 6, 1649, petitioned Franzbekof to be allowed to raise entirely at his own expense a company of one hundred fifty volunteers, or as many as were willing to enlist under his banner, for the purpose of forcing the inhabitants of the Amur to pay tribute.⁶⁴ This request was, as might have been anticipated, granted; it could not have been more than a bit of formality, for at the time of petitioning the company must have been made up, judging from the fact that before the month was over it was already on the way.⁶⁵ On the march others, by one means or another, were persuaded to unite with the band.⁶⁶ With such an object to draw it, and such a leader to guide it, one had a right to expect positive results from this organization.

Going by way of the Olekma, Khabarof had no great difficulty in reaching and in crossing the mountains. Much to his chagrin he found the country deserted, although but recently populated; everything about him indicating that the inhabitants had fled at his approach. He passed one settlement and then another and it was only when he came to the third that he perceived signs of life. Three horsemen were seen approaching, and when they were near enough they entered into conversation with the Russians asking them who they were and why they came. Khabarof through his interpreters

⁶³ *Akti Istoricheskie*, vol. iv, doc. 31, 76.

⁶⁴ — *Ibid.*, 68.

⁶⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 72.

⁶⁶ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 40, 94.

replied most meekly that they were traders on a peaceful mission and that they had many presents to distribute. But this game was played out. "Why are you trying to deceive us?" the horsemen replied, "we know you Cossacks."⁶⁷ So deeply and so horribly had Poyarkof's deeds impressed themselves on the inhabitants of the Amur that the mere mention that "the Cossacks are coming" was enough to bring to their minds pictures of torture, abduction, death, and cannibalism. Shortly before the appearance of Khabarof, a Russian in company of three Tungus visited the Dauri and told them, perhaps out of mere bravado or as a threat, that five hundred Cossacks were coming, closely followed by many others, and that these would kill, plunder, and take their wives and children prisoners.⁶⁸ This explains why the country was deserted. Khabarof followed the riders for about three days without being able to overtake them, passing en route the fourth deserted village, bringing up finally in a fifth. In one of the huts he found in hiding an old woman whom he tortured to make her tell what she did not know and did not understand, for much that she said about the Amur he later discovered to be false.⁶⁹ Baffled on every turn Khabarof turned back to Jakutsk, arriving May 26, 1650, and made his report, which showed that he had not lost confidence in the Amur and its possibilities. He found concealed in pits large stores of grain, and he assured the woewod that if the country were conquered, for which purpose six thousand men would be necessary, Jakutsk could have all the grain it needed and which could be transported in two weeks from the Dseya.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 72, 258.

⁶⁸ — *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Akti Istoricheskije*, vol. iv, doc. 31, 172.

⁷⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 72, 258.



JAKUTSK ABOUT 1675
 [From Remezov's Atlas]

Khabarof's first effort, although fruitless, was not altogether in vain. He had seen the country and had studied the conditions on the spot and was therefore better fitted to carry out his plans than before. He remained at Jakutsk just long enough to strengthen his company and to arrange for its annual reinforcement, and to provide himself with cannon. Horses he also made use of in the campaign that followed, but whether he took them from Siberia or secured them on the Amur is not clear. Thus equipped, Khabarof hurried back across the mountains that same summer (1650) and at Albasin came upon the Dauri, who were probably not expecting him, and fought them one day from noon until evening. In the end the bows and arrows had to give way, as they had done so often in Siberia, before the firearms, and the natives fled leaving Albasin to the Russians who occupied it and made it their headquarters.⁷¹ Without giving the discouraged natives time to recover from their shock, Khabarof, on that very evening, despatched one hundred thirty-five men in hot pursuit. They paddled all night in their light boats and early next morning surprised the fugitives who, at the sight of the Siberians, set fire to their dwellings and ran away. Impeded by their families and their baggage the Russians had no difficulty in catching up with the Dauri and forcing them to fight and give up one hundred seventeen head of cattle; and with this booty the conquerors returned triumphantly to Albasin.⁷²

In knowing how to make use of the opportunities of the moment, Khabarof showed himself an able leader. He hurriedly fortified Albasin, leaving it in charge of

⁷¹ *Akti Istoricheskie*, vol. iv, doc. 31, 74.

⁷² — *Ibid.*

a small garrison, and with the bulk of his men, drawing cannon and supplies on sleds, he started, on November 24, in pursuit of the demoralized natives. On the tenth day out he came in touch with a force of Dauri horsemen and fought them all day and, as the woevod in his report to Moscow puts it, "against their [Russian] fighting and their cannon, they [Dauri] could not stand."⁷³ These successive defeats broke temporarily the resistance and spirit of the native chiefs, nearly all of whom offered tribute; and with these sable skins, prisoners, and spoils of war the Siberians returned to Albasin for the winter. In his report for the year 1650, Khabarof is enthusiastic about the resources of the country and states that at Albasin alone there was enough grain on hand to last five years, and that the natives of the Amur could be made to supply a quantity large enough to feed twenty thousand men or even a larger number.⁷⁴

On June 2, 1651, Khabarof took the field once more, having under him at the time over two hundred⁷⁵ well armed men, and, at least, three cannon.⁷⁶ His plan of campaign was to move quickly and take the enemy unawares. For this purpose he had built light boats to seek, surprise, and engage the foe until the heavier boats containing the main force, the cannon, and the horses should come up.⁷⁷ Four days he sailed down the river without meeting a human being. As far as he could see the settlements had been destroyed and the inhabitants had fled, repeating the tactics of 1649. From an old woman who had been left behind and

⁷³ *Akti Istoricheskie*, vol. iv, doc. 31, 75.

⁷⁴ — *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Dopolnemia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 102, 364.

⁷⁶ — *Ibid.*, 361.

⁷⁷ — *Ibid.*, 359.

whom he tortured, he obtained a clew which led him to several huts; but at the sight of the Russians the inmates set fire to their homes and ran away. Towards sunset of the fourth day, Khabarof surprised Guigudar, a settlement sheltering about one thousand human beings, including women, children, and several Chinese.⁷⁸ All during that summer night the cannon of the Russians bombarded the walls, tearing large holes in them and striking terror into the hearts of the women and children who had probably never before seen the flash of a gun. Daybreak found the two outer walls in ruins and the panic stricken natives huddled together behind the third and last one which was being rapidly knocked to pieces. When that frail defense was no more the natives attempted to escape, but it was too late, the enemy was upon them. The shouts of the Cossacks whose bloodthirsty appetites had been whetted by a night of excitement and fighting were drowned by the cries of children and women as they were being butchered or dragged into the arms of the Cossacks whose hands were dripping with the bloods of fathers, husbands, and brothers.

Listen to Khabarof's song of victory: "With God's help . . . we burned them, we knocked them on the head . . . and counting big and little we killed six hundred and sixty one."⁷⁹ Of the Russians only four lost their lives and forty-five were temporarily disabled, a small price to pay for the plunder which included two hundred forty-three women, one hundred eighteen children, two hundred thirty-seven horses, and one hundred thirteen cattle.

⁷⁸ *Dopolnemia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, 361. These Chinese took no active part in the battle, saying they had strict orders not to fight the Russians.

⁷⁹ — *Ibid.*, 360.

Six or seven weeks the victors rested at this place enjoying their captives and the good things which they had conquered. They were not altogether idle, for they sent messengers in different directions calling upon the natives to pay tribute or suffer the fate of Guigudar. These threats had no effect, there was still another alternative—flight, and as far as the Dseya the country was deserted. Here and there a straggler was caught and tortured to reveal where the inhabitants had gone. By these tactics Khabarof learned of several inhabited villages near the mouth of the Dseya, and with the light boats he hurried to the spot and surprised them so completely that they could neither fight nor run away. Captives there were many: and these pleaded that they had just paid tribute to China and had very little left, but they would give up that little to regain their liberty. Khabarof requested that a council of the leading men should be called, and about three hundred appeared, representing, they said, one thousand warriors. They promised all that was asked, gave hostages, offered sixty sables on the spot, and undertook to furnish more in the future. The captives were put up for ransom, bringing from forty to one hundred rubles a head, and this was one of the sources of profit on Khabarof's investment. Each side expressed sincerest friendship for the other, the Dauri supplied their conquerors with food, visited them in their camp and invited them to their homes. These acts of kindness misled Khabarof and he was taken off his guard. On September 3, 1651, the inhabitants in a body stole out of the village, leaving behind them two hostages and two old women, who, being unable to keep up, were caught and brought back. On the unfortunate hostages the disappointed leader vented his wrath, torturing and burning them, without

however succeeding in drawing a complaint or plea for mercy from these painwrecked beings, who justified the escape of their friends and told their torturers that they were ready to die.⁸⁰ This flight was a bad blow to Khabarof. Here he was at the beginning of winter in the midst of a hostile and barren country. To advance was his only hope. He went on board his boats on September 7, to go down the river, passing on the way the mouth of the Sungari and out of the country of the pastoral Ducheri, killing many of them and taking their families and property with him.

When Khabarof had come among the fish eating Achani, he decided to go no farther, and on September 29, he pitched and fortified a camp probably near the site of the present town of Khabarofsk. The Achani showed themselves friendly and the Russians thinking they had nothing to fear from them, sent one hundred of their men on the river to fish for a few days. In their absence the Achani and the Ducheri, numbering, according to Khabarof, eight hundred to a thousand men, attacked the camp on October 8. The cannon and guns proved themselves once more superior to the bows and arrows, and the natives were driven off. During the winter parties of Cossacks sought out their encampments and helped themselves to whatever they found.

Being well provided with the necessaries of life, the Russians believed themselves safe, being quite ignorant that a Chinese army was moving against them. Khabarof's campaigns of 1650 and 1651 had caused so much suffering among the Dauri and the Ducheri that they, in the early fall or late summer of 1651, sent their leading men to the Chinese officers in charge of the

⁸⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 363.

Amur to lay before them the true state of affairs and to petition that China either protect them or allow them to come under Russian jurisdiction.⁸¹ Their petition was forwarded to Peking and from there orders came to send an army to drive out the invaders, and it was this army which was now looking for Khabarof. In their first fight against the Russians the Chinese blundered, failing to understand the quality of the antagonist and the meaning of the invasion. At the beginning of the fight the Chinese had the best of it and for a time it looked as if they would carry the ostrog. It may have been that the Chinese commander was overconfident or it may have been in obedience to instructions that, just about the time when the Russians were most hotly pressed, he ordered his soldiers not to kill or injure the Cossacks but to take them alive.⁸² This was the turning point in the battle. When the Russians understood the situation they determined not to be taken alive and, calling upon the holy saints, they charged the Chinese and gradually drove them back. No other result could have been expected under the circumstances. An army cannot be shot at and not be allowed to return the deadly fire and yet retain the field. The Chinese soldiers became demoralized and retreated, leaving behind seventeen muskets, two cannon, eight flags, eight hundred thirty horses, and stores of provisions. On the Russian side ten men were killed and seventy-eight were wounded. On inquiry among the natives, an unreliable source, Khabarof was told that six hundred seventy-six Chinese lost their lives.⁸³

⁸¹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 101, 358; doc. 102.

⁸² — *Ibid.*, doc. 102, 367.

⁸³ — *Ibid.* Many who have written on this subject have dwelt on the bravery of the Russians in battle and the cowardliness of the Chinese. There is no good evidence for the latter statement. It must be remembered that all

Although the Chinese had been forced to withdraw from the field, their fight was not without important consequences. It checked the boldness of the Russians and filled them with fear. From now on nearly every report has a statement to the effect that owing to a rumor that the Chinese were in the neighborhood the Cossacks did not dare to go here or to go there. This coupled with the spirit of resistance which the natives displayed once more would lead one to question whether the defeat was so overwhelming as it has been made to appear.

testimony bearing on these fights comes from the Cossacks, to whose glory it would be to rate their own forces small and that of the enemy large. But even from their statements some points stand out to the credit of the Chinese. In every open field engagement between the soldiers of the two empires the Chinese were victorious. Out of four places besieged they took two, and the reason they were not more successful was due probably to lack of technical knowledge rather than to lack of courage. The Cossacks themselves did not underrate the Chinese. It is equally untrue that the Chinese were overwhelmingly superior in numbers. The estimates on which these figures are founded are not reliable since they are nothing more than vague rumors given out by ignorant natives, whose conception of numbers is limited, at the very best, to hundreds. On the other hand it should be pointed out that the Russians had a great advantage in military equipment, every one of their men had a gun, while the rank and file of the enemy was armed with a bow and arrow. The Chinese were not always superior in numbers. In one instance forty of their soldiers fought off three hundred Russians until thirty of the Chinese were killed, nine escaped, and one was captured. In this particular fight the whole Chinese force, according to the testimony of a captive and reported by Khabarof, including natives of the Amur and servants (a considerable proportion who did not fight) numbered fifteen hundred (possibly two thousand but rather doubtful). As to equipment it had six cannon, thirty muskets, eight powder bombs for blowing up the walls. On the side of the Russians there were two hundred six experienced fighters armed with guns, protected by a strong fortress, and defended by three cannon. The Russians had been resting during the winter and they had risen from a night's sleep to fight the Chinese who had been three winter months on the march and on their feet the whole or a good part of the night preceding the battle. When everything is taken into consideration, not omitting the stupidity of their commander, the Chinese have very little to be ashamed of. In nearly every case when the Cossacks were defeated they gave as an excuse the lack of ammunition. Is it not possible that some similar cause forced the Chinese to retreat this time?

On April 22, Khabarof left his winter camp and sailed up the Amur, meeting on the way a company of one hundred seventeen Cossacks with cannon, powder, lead, and other supplies, that had been sent to him the year before from Jakutsk.⁸⁴ Khabarof's victory over the Chinese was his last great achievement on the Amur. From now on he plays an insignificant rôle, due in part to his loss of control over his men. When near the mouth of the Dseya, on August 1, one hundred thirty-six men mutinied and left him, taking with them a considerable part of the plunder and tribute. What was back of this trouble is not clear; it may have been due to too much prosperity, or perhaps to inability to divide the spoil, or some such cause. Khabarof was left with two hundred twelve men and, strange as it may seem, he made no attempt, except by verbal persuasion, at least so he says, to force the rebels back into line. There are now two plundering bands, and what ever promise one made to the natives the other by its acts gave it the lie.

Khabarof was undoubtedly the ablest of the Cossacks on the Amur. For the period during which he was in command he made the power of Russia felt and feared along the whole of the great river. He did, however, very little more than this. His policy, on the whole, did much harm to the cause of his country. It involved her in undertakings which she could not at that time carry out successfully. His lust for wealth led him to antagonize all the people with whom he came

⁸⁴ The party numbered originally one hundred forty-four men. On reaching the Amur and being unable to find Khabarof, twenty-seven of the men were sent ahead to look for him, but they were unable to locate him. On account of the hostility of the natives they could not turn back and were forced to go out to sea, and after a time succeeded in reaching the Lena [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 100, 354].

in contact and to make friends with none. He destroyed the source from which the riches were to come, for even in his day the Amur region was in great part deserted. His weapons were always force and cruelty and never diplomacy and kindness. It was during his administration, and originating in his own command, that lawless bands began terrorizing the Amur and plundering not only natives and Chinese but their own countrymen as well.

In the late summer or early in September, 1653, an officer from Moscow by the name of Zinovyef came to the Amur bringing with him reinforcements in men and supplies, also pay for all hands, numbering three hundred twenty at that time.⁸⁵ On his return to the capital he took Khabarof with him; and in his place he appointed Onufria Stepanof, a man in many respects inferior to Khabarof. At the time of the transfer of command the little army was at the mouth of the Dseya where food was scarce, owing to the fact that the Chinese government had ordered the Dauri to abandon their fields and to remove to the valleys of the Sungari. The season being already advanced Stepanof with his company sailed down the river into the country of the Ducheri from whom he obtained grain and within whose boundaries he wintered, his camp being not very far from the territory of the Giliaks. In the spring of 1654 he retraced his course and at the mouth of the Sungari he was joined by fifty Cossacks, giving him a force of three hundred seventy men. Either being ignorant that Chinese soldiers were on the Sungari or perhaps feeling himself strong enough to fight them, Stepanof entered on a course which Khabarof had in mind but did not think it wise to undertake. On May

⁸⁵ *Dopolnenia K Akтам Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 122, 526.

20, he steered into the Sungari and sailed up that stream for three days without making a stop. A Chinese force which was at no distant point hurried to meet him, having orders this time to kill. A bitter fight took place in which the Cossacks were defeated and forced to retreat, claiming they did so because they had run out of ammunition. On his way up the Amur, Stepanof was joined by thirty more men from the Baikal.

The defeat had a bad effect on the undisciplined men. They lost confidence in themselves and looked for Chinese from all directions; and the orders to build several forts on the Dseya were not carried out for fear of the enemy. For the present the most important thing was to find a safe camp for the winter. A bluff on the Khumar River seemed well adapted for that purpose, and on this spot Khamarsk was built and during the fall and winter much labor was spent to make it impregnable.⁸⁶ After their victory the Chinese slowly followed up the Russians with the intention of driving them still further up the stream. On March 13, 1655, they came to the new ostrog and besieged it until April 4, without being able to take it and retreated after destroying the boats outside the fort.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 8, 29.

⁸⁷ The Russians had about four hundred men in this fight, but there is no reliable data from which the number of Chinese may be estimated. Stepanof said [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 8, 29] there were ten thousand of them, but he had no means of knowing. In 1684 the Russians boasted [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 244] that at this siege there were three hundred Cossacks and fifty thousand Chinese soldiers nearly all of whom were killed by Stepanof. Both of these claims merely show how little reliance can be placed on them. In none of the other sieges had the Chinese as many as three thousand men. After this repulse the Chinese attacked Stepanof in 1658 with about fifteen hundred soldiers. One would naturally suppose that the force of 1658, following, as it did, a defeat would be larger than the one of 1655, which came after the Chinese victory on Sungari in 1654.

Pushed on by hunger and encouraged by his victory and by the addition of fifty men,⁸⁸ Stepanof, in the latter part of the summer, went down the Amur and up the Sungari, where he was successful in the gathering of grain enough to last him during the winter which he spent among the Giliaks. Having failed to drive out the Russians the Chinese resolved to starve them out, and therefore commanded the Ducheri living at the mouth of the Sungari to burn their homes and to settle on the banks of another stream in the interior, out of reach of the Cossacks.⁸⁹ This move brought hardships on Stepanof, for it was more and more difficult to provide for his little army. But bare of food as the Sungari now became it was still better to remain in this neighborhood where fish, if nothing better, could be had, than to go up the stream where bands of Siberian outlaws, one of which numbered three hundred, were in control, plundering on both sides of the mountains without distinction as to faith, color, or rank.⁹⁰ This helps to explain why during the years 1656 and 1657 Stepanof confined his operations to the lower part of the stream.

China had in the meantime been making preparations for another struggle which took place on the Amur, below the mouth of the Sungari, on June 30, 1658. No details of the battle have come down, but the results, as a whole, are known. When the fight was over Stepanof with two hundred seventy of his men had disappeared,⁹¹ two hundred twenty had escaped, and out of this number one hundred eighty took to the hills

⁸⁸ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 12, 35.

⁸⁹ — *Ibid.*, doc. 31, 80.

⁹⁰ — *Ibid.*, doc. 10, doc. 24, doc. 33.

⁹¹ As to the fate of Stepanof and his men, authorities differ. The sources [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 110, 260], written by Pash-

and became outlaws.⁹² In this one campaign the whole Russian force⁹³ was wiped out and the Amur was free of Cossacks as far as Nertchinsk.⁹⁴

The Russians did not at once recover from this blow. For a time they were compelled to limit their activities to the region of Nertchinsk where they had seventy-six men in the three ostroms, Irgen, Telenge, and Nertchinsk.⁹⁵ Early in 1664, thirty-six of these deserted and the remaining forty were besieged by the Mongols. The Tungus, too, profited by this state of affairs to come under the walls of the ostroms to steal the horses of the

kof, Stepanof's successor, say that Stepanof was taken alive. In Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. ii, doc. 215, there is a document intimating that these men were taken prisoners and led to Peking where they settled down and married with the Chinese. In Parker's *China*, page 127, it is stated that "the Cossack Stepanof was killed by the Manchu troops in 1658; and this event is also recorded by the Chinese." A Russian writer claims, without giving his authority, that just before the fight a large part of Stepanof's men deserted him; but he with the remainder of the loyal troops fought until they were all killed. This deed the writer compares with that of Leonidas and the Three Hundred [*Vestnik Imperatorskavo Russkavo Geograficheskavo Obschestva*, 1853, part 7].

⁹² They refused to join the forces of the new woewod and went down to the mouth of the Amur. There they fell in with a company of Manchu soldiers and were almost annihilated. A few escaped to Siberia to tell the story [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 110, 260].

⁹³ When the fight started Stepanof had five hundred men. A Cossack who survived the battle said that the Chinese force came in forty-seven junka. These boats accommodated, whenever figures are given, from twenty to forty persons, thirty would probably be a fair average. This would make the number of Chinese, including crews and servants, about fourteen hundred. There was, however, this difference between the two armies. Every one in the Russian camp was a fighter, while a large number of those in the Chinese army were non-combatants, crews, servants, etc. Of the three thousand men in the Chinese army that went up to Nertchinsk in 1689 not more than fifteen hundred were soldiers [Du Halde, *China*, vol. ii, 308].

⁹⁴ This post [*Vestnik Imperatorskavo Russkavo Geograficheskavo Obschestva*, 1853, part 7] had just been built by Afanase Pashkof, the woewod, who was the first to bear that title on the Amur, and who arrived in 1658, but not soon enough for his messengers to reach Stepanof asking him to come up the stream.

⁹⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 116, doc. 133.

Cossacks. During the three or four years immediately succeeding the battle of 1658 the Chinese watched the lower Amur, and once seven of their junks came as far as Tougourski Gulf [Okhotsk Sea] to make inquiries as to the movements of the Russians, and it was rumored that seventy more of their boats were at the mouth of the Amur.⁹⁶ Finding the field clear, China must have concluded that her troubles from this quarter were at an end for she withdrew her troops. This was a sad mistake on her part and indicates that she had not yet got the measure of her opponent, who, left undisturbed, gradually returned and became stronger than ever before.

By the end of 1664 there were one hundred twenty-four Russians in the neighborhood of Nertchinsk,⁹⁷ and during each succeeding year their number was greatly augmented. A noticeable addition came from an unexpected quarter and was the cause of much of the trouble that followed. Early in the sixties Nikifor Chernigofski and other Cossacks of Ilimsk killed the woewod of that place and fled across the mountains and settled and fortified Albasin. Other criminals enlisted under their banner, bringing up their number to three hundred. Without consulting the woewod at Nertchinsk, Nikifor sent his men to extort tribute from the Dauri and the Ducheri. They appealed to China for help, and she sent officers to the woewod at Nertchinsk, asking him to stop this lawlessness.⁹⁸ The woewod was quite helpless in the matter. All he did was to despatch a mission to Peking in 1670. It returned loaded with presents for themselves and the czar and with re-

⁹⁶ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 122, 278-279.

⁹⁷ — *Ibid.*, doc. 15, 85.

⁹⁸ *Akti Istoricheskie*, vol. iv, doc. 210.

quests that the men of Albasin should not harm the natives. But neither the Nertchinsk woewod nor any other officer had any influence at Albasin.⁹⁹

Another cause leading up to the war was the renewed attempt of Russia to expand and to colonize.¹⁰⁰ In 1681 an ostrog was put up on the Arguni, the first one in that region.¹⁰¹ That same year ostrogs were built on the Dseya and its branches, interfering greatly with the Chinese hunters and traders.¹⁰² China remonstrated but was loath to act.¹⁰³ In 1683 a party from Albasin found on the Bureya River twenty Chinese hunters and traders and burned them alive in their huts and carried off whatever property they had.¹⁰⁴ There were other matters which irritated China and finally drove her to take up arms. The presence of a foreign lawless population within her borders brought it about that many of her own criminals fled to Albasin where they were protected.¹⁰⁵ It became also at times difficult to gather tribute from certain native tribes who tried to play off one government against the other.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ On his return from China in 1677 the Russian envoy, Nikolai Spafaria, sent word to the Albasin robbers not to go down the Amur, and asked them to desist from encroaching on the territory of the Dauri, which acts, he said, were not authorized by the czar [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. vii, doc. 67]. They respected his message no more than they did that of the woewod.

¹⁰⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 109. In 1681 seventeen families of criminals were taken to Nertchinsk and put to till the soil. This was the first attempt of the Russians to farm on a large scale. These colonists claimed they were not successful on account of the climate, insects, and the poor tools and animals furnished by the government [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 57]. Albasin seems to have been better adapted for agriculture, but the lawless population of that region stood in the way of honest toil [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 231].

¹⁰¹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 101, 235.

¹⁰² — *Ibid.*, vol. ix, doc. 104, 214.

¹⁰³ Parker. *China and Russia*, 17.

¹⁰⁴ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 227.

¹⁰⁵ Parker. *China and Russia*, 17.

¹⁰⁶ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. ix, doc. 100, 208.

Before going to war China tried by peaceful means to persuade the Cossacks to give up the Chinese outlaws, to be more merciful to the natives,¹⁰⁷ and to go back to Russia or to accept asylum in China.¹⁰⁸ Twice, in 1681 and 1682, China sent messengers to Nertchinsk asking for a conference.¹⁰⁹ At the same time a letter was despatched to Albasin,¹¹⁰ complaining of the cruelty of the inhabitants and asking that they withdraw into their own country.¹¹¹ Whenever Russians fell into their hands, the Chinese invariably treated them kindly and sent them back, sometimes with letters to their own people. But neither these acts of goodness, nor the entreaties, nor the letters to Moscow¹¹² succeeded in bringing satisfactory results. The inhabitants of Albasin not only did not fear the woewod at Nertchinsk and the power which he represented, but they openly defied and threatened him.¹¹³

Realizing that kind words were to no purpose, China began at last to prepare to act.¹¹⁴ About 1682 the Mongols near Nertchinsk became aggressive and demanded that the Russians should give back to them the Bur-

¹⁰⁷ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. viii, doc. 104, 330.

¹⁰⁸ Parker. *China and Russia*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 227.

¹¹⁰ — *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ The question of the title to Albasin, which up to this time had not been raised, was now brought to the front. If the Russians had been willing to live peaceably it is doubtful whether China would have attempted to drive them out of Albasin.

¹¹² Parker. *China and Russia*, 17.

¹¹³ In 1682 a number of Nertchinsk tribute gatherers on their way home from the Dseya were attacked and robbed by the Albasin Cossacks. Taking advantage of the opportunity, they sent a message to the woewod at Nertchinsk that they would kill him if good fortune should send him their way [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. ix, doc. 104].

¹¹⁴ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. ix, doc. 100, 208. By 1682 the Cossacks of Nertchinsk and Albasin were already discussing the coming war and writing to Jakutsk and Moscow for help.

iates.¹¹⁵ It was generally understood that there was some kind of a secret understanding between the Mongols and the Chinese.¹¹⁶ Spies were sent to the Russian camp, representing themselves as hunters¹¹⁷ or as deserters. These were pursued to Albasin by Chinese army officers who demanded their return and, taking advantage of the occasion, examined the fortifications.¹¹⁸ Inquiries were also made of the natives as to the strength of the Russians. The first authentic news of the Chinese army came in 1683 when sixty-seven Albasin Cossacks ran into a Chinese force on the Bureya River.¹¹⁹ A number of Russians were taken prisoners and kindly treated, tempting offers being made to enlist them into the Chinese army, where a number of other Russians were already serving.¹²⁰ On the Dseya and below it forts were erected to prevent the Russians from going down the river.¹²¹

On June 12, 1685, the Chinese army planted its standard before Albasin and surrounded the place.¹²² According to Muller one hundred Russians lost their lives

¹¹⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 242.

¹¹⁶ — *Ibid.*, vol. ix, doc. 100, 208. There is some ground for this belief. About the time that the Chinese besieged Albasin the Mongols threatened Nertchinsk.

¹¹⁷ Parker. *China and Russia*, 17.

¹¹⁸ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67.

¹¹⁹ — *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ — *Ibid.* The Chinese promised immunity to all those who would not fight against them. Several of the captives were allowed to escape to spread these reports. On another occasion the Chinese officers promised to each Cossack who would enter their service two wives and two married Chinamen and their wives as servants [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 261].

¹²¹ — *Ibid.*, vol. x, doc. 67, 239.

¹²² As in other engagements it is rather difficult to ascertain with exactness the size of the two opposing forces. In 1683 there were at Nertchinsk and neighboring ostrogs (not counting Albasin) two hundred men [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67], but their number in 1685 is not known. One is equally ignorant as to the population of Albasin at the outbreak of the

during the first day of the siege,¹²³ and after several days more of ineffectual resistance Tolbusin, the officer in charge, yielded because, says Muller¹²⁴ the Cossacks ran short of ammunition. The cannon and hostages were left in the hands of the Chinese, who allowed the Russians to retain their side arms and to withdraw to Nertchinsk,¹²⁵ and supplied horses and provisions, and even arms, to those that needed them.¹²⁶ Instead of

war. Between 1683 and 1685 strong efforts were made in Siberia to reinforce the posts on the Amur in view of hostilities in the near future. From Tobolsk five hundred and from Yenisei one hundred thirty men were ordered to the front [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 240-242], and probably from other points as well. Muller [*Voyages*, vol. ii, 12] states, without giving authority, that at the beginning of the siege there were inside the fortress four hundred fifty men. In 1687, just after the capitulation, in correspondence between the plenipotentiaries of the two empires, the fact was incidentally brought out by the Chinese that at the time of surrender there were at Albasin more than one thousand Russians [Du Halde, *China*, vol. ii, 286]. When one comes to determine the size of the Chinese force there is no end of vague rumors, some of which have been used as facts by historians. One said that nine thousand soldiers were coming carrying provisions for twenty years [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 244]. Another said that fifteen thousand were ordered against Albasin and as many more against Nertchinsk. A third claimed that fifteen thousand were advancing on Albasin, twenty-five thousand on Nertchinsk, in addition to ten thousand that were coming by water; and these fifty thousand men were bringing with them supplies for three years. Still another rumor was to the effect that there were fifteen thousand soldiers in all, six thousand intended for Albasin and nine thousand for Nertchinsk [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 252]. What reliance can be placed upon such evidence! There is, however, something more tangible to go on. After the fall of Albasin the besieging force was taken to Aihun and quartered there and the year following was led once more against Albasin. From a Russian and a Chinese who had been in the camp of the Chinese army we have testimony (see footnote 134) that this army numbered somewhere between two and three thousand men, including non-combatants. In the matter of equipment the Russians had probably fewer cannon, but had a hand gun for each man, while the Chinese, although having more cannon, had only bows and arrows.

¹²³ Muller, *Voyages*, vol. ii, 125.

¹²⁴ — *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 252. The reason Nertchinsk was not taken was because the Chinese Emperor thought it would make a good frontier [Parker, *China and Russia*, 17].

¹²⁶ Du Halde. *China*, vol. ii, 286.

leaving the army here to prevent the Russians from reoccupying the place, the Chinese general destroyed Albasin and marched his troops to Aihun, committing another blunder which brought on another campaign, much more difficult than the one just concluded.

When the news of the fall of Albasin reached Moscow, instructions were despatched to the woewod at Nertchinsk to take under his jurisdiction the men of Albasin and the government property, and send Tolbusin to Yenisei.¹²⁷ All this shows that it was the intention of the government to abandon the post. But before these orders arrived the Cossacks had taken matters into their own hands. Tolbusin and his men, soon after reaching Nertchinsk, July 10, petitioned to be allowed to go back to gather the harvest of grain. Before granting the desired permission the woewod of Nertchinsk ordered out his scouts to learn whether the field was clear. On their return they reported that Albasin was deserted and that the grain fields had not been disturbed.¹²⁸ Under the circumstances Tolbusin with a large force, including soldiers from Siberia and Moscow who had just recently arrived, were instructed to go down the river and after they had harvested the crop they were to build a fortress below Albasin on some point easily defended. They reached their destination August 27, and set to work taking in the grain. By the time this was done it was already too late to look for a new site. Tolbusin, therefore, decided to build a new Albasin on the ruins of the old one.¹²⁹ During the winter all hands were kept busy in erecting fortifications, this work being under the supervision of a trained

¹²⁷ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 257-258.

¹²⁸ — *Ibid.*, vol. x, doc. 67, 252-253.

¹²⁹ — *Ibid.*

and experienced German military engineer, Afanase Baiton, to whom great credit is due for the able defence of the ostrog. Feeling himself strong enough to defy the Chinese, Tolbusin, in March, 1686, ordered a company of three hundred men to go down the river to gather tribute. At the Khumar they came in touch with forty Chinese soldiers and in trying to capture them seven Russians were killed and thirty-one wounded; of the Chinese thirty lost their lives, nine escaped, and one was taken. This captive said that he and his companions had been sent to ascertain whether it was really true that the Russians had reëstablished themselves at Albasin. He also reported that China had abandoned the small posts on the Dseya and on the north bank of the Amur and had concentrated all her forces in the new city of Aihun.¹³⁰

China had to take notice of this bold, defiant, and fearless challenge of the Russians. She ordered her army to advance from Aihun, and on July 7, 1686, it arrived before Albasin and surrounded the fort from all sides, allowing neither entrance nor exit, by land or water.¹³¹ A Cossack who left Albasin on July 26 succeeded in getting through the lines, and reported at Nertchinsk that at the time of his departure there were in the fort eight hundred twenty-six armed men, eight brass cannon, four cannon of another kind, one hundred thirteen puds (thirty-six pounds each) powder, sixty puds lead, one hundred forty hand grenades, and other war supplies.¹³² There was enough food to last a year, and a newly dug well supplied all the fresh water needed.¹³³

¹³⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 254.

¹³¹ — *Ibid.*, 257.

¹³² — *Ibid.*, 258.

¹³³ There were at Nertchinsk about this time three hundred ninety-four

The Chinese fighting force numbered at the beginning of the siege about two thousand men, armed with bows and arrows, and it had between thirty and forty cannon. How many Russians there were in the fortress on July 7, the date of the opening of hostilities, the documents consulted do not say, a thousand would be a low estimate. The fight was a bitter and fierce one and many lives must have been lost by July 26, when Tolbusin's messenger left Albasin and reported eight hundred twenty-six.¹⁸⁴ From time to time when Russians fell into the hands of the besiegers they sent them to Albasin with a message to the garrison that if it would abandon the place a safe conduct would be granted. Late in September a party of seventy men from Nertchinsk were sent to learn of the situation but they could

men, seven cannon, sixty-six puds powder, seventy-eight puds lead [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 261-262].

¹⁸⁴ The figures for the Chinese forces are drawn from two sources: a Russian soldier who was held as prisoner among the Chinese and who came up with them to Albasin, said that the Chinese army was transported in one hundred fifty boats, each holding from twenty to forty men, including the crew and servants who were not fighters. They had forty cannon but no other firearms. Three thousand horses followed along the bank, the men in the boats taking turns in driving them. There were also scythes on board to cut the grain outside of Albasin so as not to commit the mistake of the year before [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 259-260]. These figures correspond closely with those of a Chinese soldier captured by the Russians. He told the Russian officers that in the spring of 1686 there were at Aihun two thousand soldiers, five hundred workmen, and thirty cannon [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 255]. There is another bit of evidence confirming these estimates: to the peace conference at Nertchinsk in 1689, the governor of Aihun was ordered to come with all his soldiers [Du Halde, *China*, vol. ii, 307]. He came with fifteen hundred soldiers and it took a crew of fifteen hundred to bring them [Du Halde, *China*, vol. ii, 308]. At this time there about four or five hundred other soldiers watching Albasin [Du Halde, *China*, vol. ii, 312]. All this data shows that there were about two thousand Chinese soldiers armed with bows and arrows outside the walls, and about half as many soldiers armed with guns inside. The Chinese had the advantage of numbers and cannon, the Russians in guns, experience, and a trained military engineer.

not approach close enough to accomplish their purpose. In November news from Albasin came by three men, who had eluded the vigilance of the Chinese, to the effect that the besieged were living underground, that there was enough food to last until Easter, and that water was becoming scarce. The saddest news was the death of Tolbusin, whose place was being filled by Baiton. Several sorties had been effected in which the Russians with their hand grenades had killed a number of the enemy.¹³⁵

The siege lasted until May 6, when the Chinese were withdrawn from the immediate neighborhood of the city, and on August 30, they were removed still farther from the walls.¹³⁶ This was done at the request of the czar, who sent a messenger to Peking asking that the siege be raised and announcing the coming of a special plenipotentiary to treat about the frontier.¹³⁷ Upon the receipt of this request, the Emperor of China immediately sent to the front this order:

We had no intention of organizing a massacre; our desire was to let them off easily. Sabsu and his colleagues are hereby ordered to withdraw their troops from before Yaksa. . . He can at the same time notify the Locha inside the town that they are free to pass in and out, but must not commit any depredations. The rest can stand over until the Russian envoys arrive.¹³⁸

The Chinese general also supplied Baiton with provisions towards the beginning of the year 1688.¹³⁹ On November 19, Stephen Korowin was also hurried from Moscow to ask the Emperor to name a place where the

¹³⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67.

¹³⁶ Muller, *Voyages*, vol. ii, 143-145.

¹³⁷ Parker, *China and Russia*, 18.

¹³⁸ — *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ — *Ibid.*, 20.

ambassadors should meet.¹⁴⁰ This request was granted, but for various reasons the time and place of meeting was changed so that it was not until August 22, 1689, that the plenipotentiaries of both powers greeted each other near Nertchinsk. The Russians proposed that the Amur should be the dividing line of the two empires; the Chinese, appreciating the importance of Albasin and Nertchinsk, "because they were in a way a key, through the Amur, Sungari, and Hurka Rivers, to Manchuria proper,"¹⁴¹ made a counter proposal that the Russians should withdraw beyond the Selenga. For about two weeks conferences were held, the Jesuits, who were with the Chinese, taking a prominent part. Several times it seemed as if the negotiations would fall through and war would result. The show of force by the Chinese helped to bring matters to a point. By the treaty which was signed September 7, it was agreed that Yaksa, or Albasin, should be entirely demolished, that the Russians should withdraw from the Amur, and that the ridge of the Stanovoi Mountains should in the future form the boundary line of the two empires.¹⁴²

In looking back over the period as a whole, one is struck by the fact that the importance of the Amur was not fully understood by the statesmen of either empire. At Moscow the problem was not fully grasped. The conquest and administration of that district was regarded in the same light as that of a province in Siberia—it was left to take care of itself. If Russia had had a definite plan of action from the beginning, honest

¹⁴⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. x, doc. 67, 274.

¹⁴¹ Parker, *China and Russia*, 19.

¹⁴² The full text of the treaty may be found in the "Appendix."

and able leaders, and a disciplined and less cruel force to carry it out, China could not have driven her from the Amur and probably would not have attempted to do so. But all these she lacked; at no time was there a clear and far reaching policy; the officers at Moscow followed blindly whatever opening her lawless bands made instead of directing their actions. Not a single one of her leaders on the Amur showed high class statesmanship or capacity other than brute force. Not one of them could see farther into the future than the immediate acquisition of a pack of fur. Force which succeeded in Siberia was not in itself sufficient on the Amur; a little diplomacy was also needed and this her officers did not possess. These leaders with those under them ruined the cause of Russia. They were physically brave and fearless and had the making of a good army if they could have been kept in control, but this was never realized. The men on the Amur were disorganized, they had no sense of honor, no feeling of shame, no love of country, no respect for treaties or promises. Time and again they turned against their leaders, their comrades, and their nation.

China, too, was blind to the possible consequences of Russia's getting a foothold on the Amur. Until the very last she regarded the troubles on that river in the same light as Tartar raids. She acted half-heartedly and only when forced to do so, and never did the work thoroughly. Had China displayed some of the vigor and energy of her antagonists, the Amur question could have been settled in 1658, at the time of the Russian disaster. A fort at the mouth of the Dseya, one at Albasin, and one or two farther up on the Amur, would have kept the Cossacks in their place and would have

prevented the later troubles. Only once did China show that she profited by her mistakes and experience, and that was in 1686, when her army brought scythes to cut the grain at Albasin. The saddest reflection of all is that after these fifty years of conflict with Russia on the Amur the lesson was completely lost on China.

III. A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF DESHNEF'S VOYAGE

During the years 1630 to 1650 Russia made remarkable progress in Siberian expansion. Drawn by the profitable fur trade, her hunters and Cossacks pushed on eastwardly in search of new rivers and peoples until brought to a halt by the Pacific Ocean. The Amur was discovered and navigated in the early forties and the Anadir about a decade later. Jakutsk was the center from which these adventurers started and to which they returned, bringing with them the spoils of conquest and accounts of the regions which they had traversed. At this fort were also to be found men interested in the geography of Siberia, and they have left us memoirs dealing with various problems connected therewith. The study of Siberian geography and cartography was promoted by the czar, who, during the second half of the seventeenth century, commissioned Siberian officers to go through their districts, make inquiries and studies, and draw up maps, giving distances between places and other necessary details. The memoirs and maps of Godunof¹⁴³ and Remezof¹⁴⁴ have come down to us and have lately been published, and Witsen's excellent maps, based on Siberian source material, have been known since 1687.¹⁴⁵ From all this evidence it is possible to get a clear idea of the Siber-

¹⁴³ Titof. *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century* (Ymer, 1887).

¹⁴⁴ Remezof. *Tschertekhnaja Knigi Sibir*.

¹⁴⁵ Map of 1687, in F. Muller's *Remarkable Maps*; also in Witsen's *North and East Tartary*.

ians' geographical knowledge of Siberia, particularly from about 1650 to near the time of Bering.

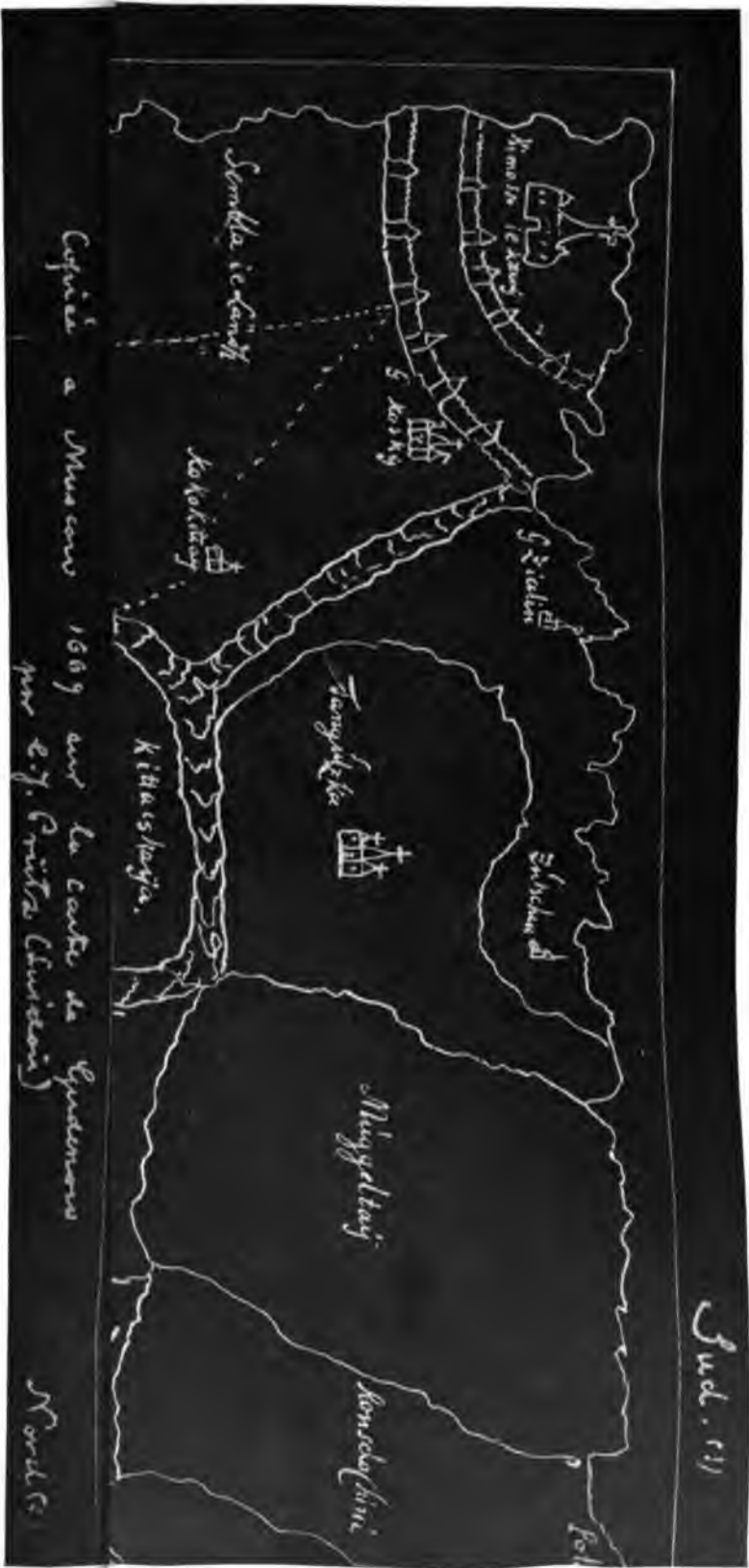
If we compare the Siberian maps of that time with those of today, we find that the regions west of the Koluima and those of the Amur were well known and accurately enough indicated. The description of the coast line between these rivers is, however, very defective. But even in their errors the Siberians are agreed which shows how general were those views. Neither the terms "Chukotski Peninsula," "Chukotski Cape," nor the bodies of land which they represent were known in the seventeenth century. According to the ideas held at that time the northern and eastern shores of Siberia met at nearly right angles east of Shalagski Cape, the eastern shore being quite regular. The Anaduir, wherever mentioned or represented, is made to flow parallel to the Koluima discharging its waters either into the Amur Sea [the Pacific Ocean], or the Lena Sea [Arctic Ocean]. The memoirs and maps note two impassable capes—one south of the Amur and the other between the Koluima and the Amur. A document of the latter half of the seventeenth century says:

To go from the Amur to China is not possible on account of the mountain barrier, nor is it possible to go around it on account of the ice.

A few lines farther on one may read,

And the river Anaduir rises in the mountains which continue into the sea for an unknown distance. It is impossible to go around them on account of the ice. But one can walk across [these mountains] in one day and from the summit view both seas [Lena and Amur]. To this [narrow band of mountains] one may sail from the Koluima in a kotsh [boat] in one summer; but when the ice blocks the way, it might take two or three years and even longer.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Titof. *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century*, 110.



GODUNOV'S MAP OF EASTERN SIBERIA



This view, the impossibility of water communication between the Koluima and the Anaduir, should be kept in mind, for it is held by all who deal with this subject during this period.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the historian Muller wrote a book, based on original manuscripts which he found in Siberia, making positive assertions that in 1648 a Cossack by the name of Deshnef went from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water.¹⁴⁷ Since that time Deshnef's name has been written on the book of fame alongside that of Captain Cook, Sir John Franklin, and men of that class. One no more doubts¹⁴⁸ the exploit of Deshnef than the achievement of Nordenskjold. A deed so bold and unusual deserves a more critical study than it has received so far, in order that it may be known on what foundation it rests. The documentary evidence consists of reports by Deshnef and associates, and their interpretation presents peculiar difficulties, owing (a) to the ignorance of the writers, the indefiniteness of the language and the vagueness of the descriptions, (b) the doubtful credibility of the witnesses whose lives were made up of fighting, gambling, robbing, and killing, and (c) the character of the evidence which is *ex-parte*.¹⁴⁹

According to Deshnef's own account, written out in 1662 at Jakutsk for submission to the czar, whom he petitions for pay, we learn that Deshnef was already in the government service in 1638. From 1642 to 1646

¹⁴⁷ Muller. *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 5-20 (found in the Appendix).

¹⁴⁸ Slotvsof in his *History of Siberia* questioned the veracity of Deshnef and refused to accept Muller's account.

¹⁴⁹ A report of a Siberian Cossack reads something like this: I left Jakutak on such and such a day, I suffered this and that hardship, I fought and killed so many natives, was wounded so many times, and secured a great amount of tribute; wherefore I pray that your Majesty may take into consideration my

he was associated with and under¹⁵⁰ Michaelo Staduchin, with whom at a later time he had misunderstandings. Staduchin was one of the first white men to reach the Koluima, probably in 1644, and remained there during the years 1645 and 1646.¹⁵¹ At this place he obtained information about the Chukchi and a river Pogicha.¹⁵² He was told that from the Koluima, going eastwardly, he could reach the Pogicha in three days and that the banks of that stream were thickly populated and abounded in fur-bearing animals.¹⁵³ With this news he went to Jakutsk to ask for permission and an outfit to enable him to investigate the truth of the story. These being granted, he departed on his mission in 1647, making his way by water and land as well as he could to the Koluima. In July, 1649¹⁵⁴ he left this station in two boats and after being out a week one of them was wrecked.¹⁵⁵ A few Koriaks whom he met told him that they had never heard of the river he was seeking. In the course of the summer he had a fight with the Chukchi.¹⁵⁶ The reports are not clear as to how far he went, but it is known that he returned to the Koluima on September 7, 1649.¹⁵⁷

Others, besides Staduchin, went in quest of the Pogicha. About this time there was on the Koluima, sufferings, wounds and loss of blood and pay me my wages for the last three years.

¹⁵⁰ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnovo Prosveschenia*, 304, contains the account (the original is in the Appendix) of Deshnef here given. In these documents Deshnef, referring back to the time when he was with Staduchin, speaks of himself as *slujiloi* [servant] and designates Staduchin as *slujiloi* and *prikaznoi*, a title similar to our factor or agent.

¹⁵¹ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, doc. 98, 350.

¹⁵² — *Ibid.*, vol. iii, doc. 99-100.

¹⁵³ — *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 6, 13.

¹⁵⁵ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 7, 21.

¹⁵⁶ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 4, 8.

¹⁵⁷ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 6, 13.

Fedot Alexeef, agent for a Moscow merchant. He went to look for the stream in six kotshi, containing ninety men, one of them being Deshnef, who had been allowed to go at the request of Alexeef.¹⁵⁸ In due time Deshnef reached the Anaduir, but whether he went all the way by water or partly by land is the question under consideration.

The year (1648) in which Staduchin was trying to find the Pogicha, a company of Cossacks, in a fight with a village of non-tribute-paying Chodinski, on the upper waters of the Aniui, captured and led to the Koluima one named Angora, who, when questioned, said,

That on the other side of the mountains there is a new river Anadir and that this river Anadir¹⁵⁹ comes very near the upper waters of the Aniui.¹⁶⁰

This information led to the organization of another company of hunters in 1649 under Motora for the purpose of conquering the people of the Anaduir district.¹⁶¹ This party was encamped on the Koluima in the fall of 1649 and was found there by Staduchin on his return from his fruitless search. According to the testimony of a follower of Staduchin, Motora and his men were in possession of the quarters and provisions left by Staduchin.¹⁶² This was the beginning of the bad feeling between the two leaders which followed them to the Anaduir. During the winter the two camps broke up and began their march to the Anaduir, and after many quarrels, threats and some fighting on the way, they reached Deshnef's camp on the Anaduir on April 23, 1650.

¹⁵⁸ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnovo Prosvetchenia*, 303.

¹⁵⁹ During this period the words Anaduir and Koluima were more often written "Anadir" and "Kovyma."

¹⁶⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 7, 16.

¹⁶¹ — *Ibid.*

¹⁶² — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 4, 8.

Motora and Deshnef, having a common enemy in Staduchin, joined forces. The point at issue was not who discovered the Anaduir, but who was the government officer in charge. Staduchin was without doubt the highest in rank,¹⁶³ but since these were independent expeditions there was no reason why Motora or Deshnef should allow themselves to be superseded. Each man was responsible to Jakutsk and to no one else. Staduchin was disappointed and vented on his enemies his bitterness, which occasionally led to bloodshed.¹⁶⁴ Conditions reached such an unbearable state that Deshnef and Motora left the Anaduir that fall to live on the Penjinsk River. But not having guides, they wandered about for three weeks without finding that stream, and were obliged to come back for fear of starving and freezing to death. Staduchin for one reason or another, probably tiring of the petty and profitless warfare, abandoned the Anaduir and set out, February, 1651, to find the Penjinsk.¹⁶⁵ He was not heard of again until 1658, when he reported the discovery of a number of streams and told about his experiences on the Anaduir, but not once did he mention Deshnef.¹⁶⁶

Staduchin being out of the way, the other leaders were able to do as they pleased. During the summer of 1652 they built boats and went down to the mouth

¹⁶³ In addition to the evidence on this point given in footnote 150, we know that Staduchin held the rank of *desyatnik* [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv., doc. 47]. In 1654, when the Jakutsk office sent instructions to the Anaduir they were addressed to Staduchin and not to the other leaders. A document of the year 1662 [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 13, 267] refers to Ataman Michaelo Staduchin.

¹⁶⁴ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 7, 18.

¹⁶⁵ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 4, 8.

¹⁶⁶ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 47. It is strange that Muller who has seen this document should say: "Darauf begab sich Staduchin nach dem Penschina, und nachher ist nichts, weiter von ihm gehöret worden."—*Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 16.

of the Anaduir, this being the first time that Deshnef or any other Russian had ever been there. They found a *korga* or sand bank on which were many walrus tusks.¹⁶⁷ In the same year, 1652, Motora was killed in a fight against the natives of the country,¹⁶⁸ and it appears that Semenov succeeded him in command. This man and Deshnef say that in the summer of 1653 they cut timber for the purpose of building a boat on which to go to Jakutsk, but lacking the necessary tools and gear, and owing to rough seas, they gave up their plan.¹⁶⁹ On April 27, 1654,¹⁷⁰ Yurya Selivestrof came overland from the Koluima to the Anaduir. Selivestrof was a friend of Staduchin, having been associated with him in the Pogicha expedition of 1649. These facts are in themselves sufficient to explain why Deshnef refused to allow him to gather walrus tusks on the Anaduir.¹⁷¹ Each made claims and counter-claims. Deshnef, in his reports, states that Selivestrof wrote a letter, in 1654, to Jakutsk in which he said that Staduchin and he (Selivestrof) discovered the walrus bank in 1649 and not Deshnef, which claim Deshnef denied.

The year 1655 is an important one because during that time the various factions on the Anaduir sent their reports to Jakutsk. There are five documents in all. Three of them bear on Deshnef's voyage. One is written by Deshnef, another by Deshnef and Semenov, and the third by Vetoshka and companions, friends of Deshnef. So much alike are the three reports that it is quite probable that they were written by one and the

¹⁶⁷ The price of walrus tusks at Jakutsk during this period was sixty rubles a pud [36 pounds]. *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 45, 99.

¹⁶⁸ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 7, 19-20.

¹⁶⁹ — *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ — *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, doc. 5, 10.

same person. The fourth report was written by Selivestrof, and the fifth by two men who had originally come to the Anaduir with Staduchin, but since his departure had served under Motora, and were at the time of writing with Selivestrof.¹⁷² New material bearing on this question has recently come to light. A Russian archivist, N. Ogloblin, published in 1890 four documents bearing the dates 1662, 1664, and two dated 1665, addressed to the czar by Deshnef.¹⁷³ In these petitions the writer tells of his long service and hardships and begs that his wages be paid to him.¹⁷⁴

From the above documents Muller and his followers have drawn a number of arguments to prove that Deshnef came all the way by water from the Koluima to the Anaduir:

I. Deshnef left the Koluima on June 20, 1648, and made a stop at Chukotski Nos [East Cape].

II. The Bolshoi Kamennoi Nos of Deshnef is Chukotski Nos because it lies between north and northeast, the direction given by Deshnef.

III. The islands described by Deshnef opposite his cape are the islands in the Bering Strait.

IV. Since in his report he does not mention ice, it proves that the sea was free from ice in 1648.

V. In 1653 Deshnef talked of building a boat to take the tribute to Jakutsk and that indicates that he came from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water.

VI. Rumor that Alexeef was wrecked in Kamchatka should be accepted as good evidence for the voyage.

¹⁷² It is worthy of note that neither the fourth nor the fifth reports makes mention of Deshnef's voyage.

¹⁷³ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvetshenia*, December, 1890, 300-306.

¹⁷⁴ In the "Appendix" the reader may find Muller's version, the originals and the English translation.

VII. Deshnef, in 1662, used the words, "and having passed the mouth of the Anaduir," therefore it is clear that he passed through Bering Strait.

VIII. The reasons why in the time of Deshnef the voyage was unknown are (1) Deshnef disappeared after 1655, (2) no one was interested in the matter, and (3) the records were hidden away in Jakutsk and had it not been for Muller the world would still be ignorant of the deed.

The defenders of Deshnef are almost willing to base their whole case on the proposition that the cape mentioned by Deshnef is East Cape.¹⁷⁵ In his report Deshnef is attempting to explain to the officers at Jakutsk just where his cape lies; and to help them he gives them a land-mark, the Koluima. The cape, he says, is not the Sviatoi Nos, west of the Koluima, but another cape east of that river. Which one? There are many, all unknown to them. Under the circumstances one would naturally name the one nearest the Koluima, or the most northerly or the most dangerous. East Cape comes under neither of these heads. In describing a new country one does not pass by the nearer and the more important points to speak of similar places farther removed and less important. Shalagski Cape is farther north, more dangerous, and nearer the Koluima than East Cape.

¹⁷⁵ In *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnovo Prosveschenia*, 264, Ogloblin says, "If the Bolshoi Kamennoi Nos of Deshnef is Chukotski Nos [Ogloblin has in mind the cape at the southern entrance to Bering Strait], then Deshnef passed through the whole of the strait. If it means East Cape, Deshnef went only as far as the entrance [northern] of the strait. If it means Chaun or Shalagski or the capes lying east of Shalagski, it follows that Deshnef did not reach the Anaduir." Ogloblin concludes his learned discussion with the statement that Deshnef's cape is no other than Muller's Chukotski. The interesting part about this argument is that the Chukotski Cape in the mind of Ogloblin is the one at the southern entrance of the strait while Muller's Chukotski Cape is at the northern entrance. See Muller's map.

Bolshoi Kamennoi Nos lies between north and north-east and turns toward the Anaduir, therefore, according to Muller, it is East Cape. The geographical directions that are given by the Siberians of this period are imperfect and unreliable. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether they had a compass or knew its use.¹⁷⁶ At the very best the directions indicated are merely approximate. But if one should admit that the description is accurate, it applies with equal force to many of the other capes in northern Siberia as well as to East Cape.

Some of the other statements of Deshnef must be examined. In two different places he says that the Bolshoi Nos is "far from the mouth of the Anaduir." In a third place he observes that

In good weather one can go from the cape to the Anaduir in three days and *no longer*; and it would take *no more time* to go by land, because the Anaduir falls into the sea.

The distance from East Cape to the Anaduir is about one thousand forty-five nautical miles;¹⁷⁷ across Holy Cross Bay it is not less than five hundred miles,¹⁷⁸ a distance by far too great for any kotsh to make in "three days" and "no longer." Were there even a possibility of sailing that distance in three days, walking it in that

¹⁷⁶ Among the numerous seventeenth century documents examined, the writer did not come across the word compass, although sails, anchors, etc., are often mentioned. In the documents of the early eighteenth century the word appears [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 26, 82, year 1715].

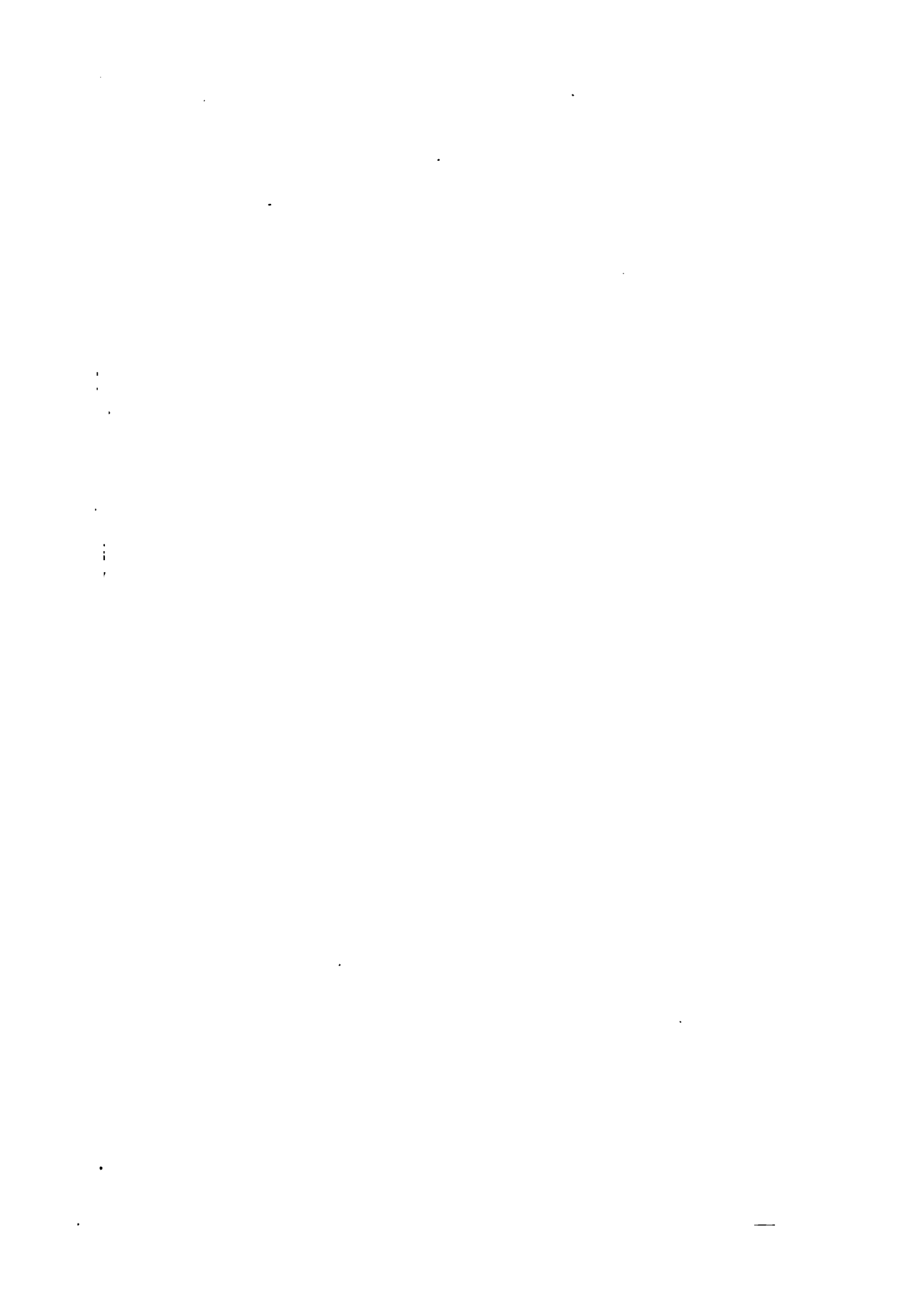
¹⁷⁷ Information obtained from the United States Hydrographic Office, October 1, 1909:

"Replying to your letter of September 22, 1909, in regard to the distance in nautical miles from Koluima River to the Anaduir River following the windings of the coast, the following information is furnished:

"Koluima River to East Cape . . .	1115 miles
"East Cape to Anaduir River . . .	1045 miles

"Total	2160 miles"
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¹⁷⁸ Letter from United States Hydrographic Office, September 15, 1909.

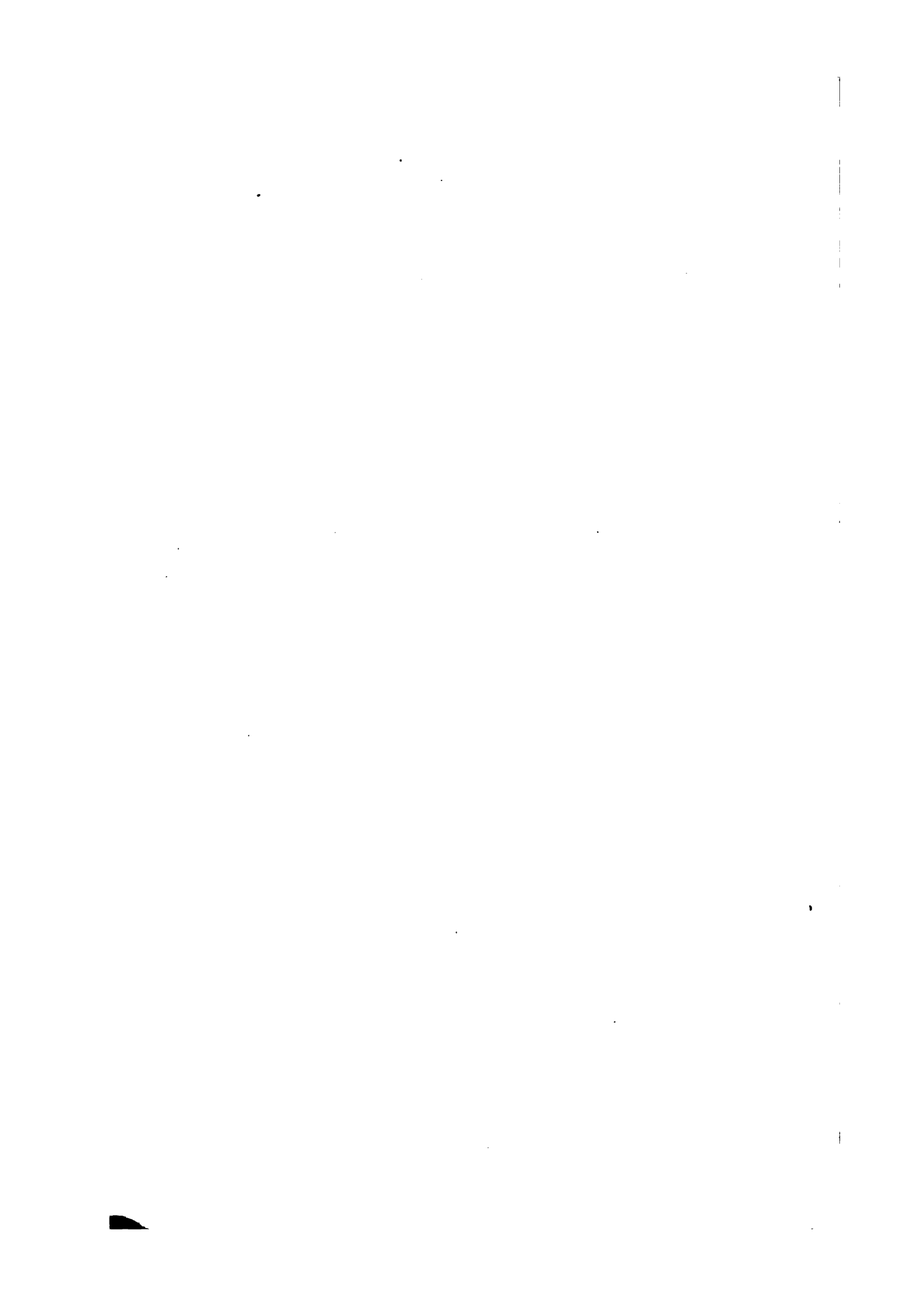




REMEZOV'S MAP OF THE KOLYMA RIVER BASIN. East of the Koluima River he indicated an "Impassable Cany



s MAP
Cape." The Koluima and Anduir Rivers are parallel



period is utterly impossible. This ought to be sufficient to show that Deshnef's cape is not East Cape, not even Chukotski Cape of to-day. A cape such as he describes does not exist on the eastern shore of Siberia. It is fair to ask why it took him ten weeks to walk from the spot where he lost his boat since from the cape it is only three days to the Anaduir. Ankudinof's kotsh was wrecked on the cape and the survivors were taken on board the other boats and the voyage continued, and yet the party did not come any nearer to the Anaduir, but was wrecked miles and miles from the river.

Deshnef says,

In the year 1648, September 20, in going from the Koluima River to the sea . . . the Chukchi in a fight wounded the trader Alexeef.

Taken as it stands, and there is no reason why it should be read in any other way, the statement means that on that late day Deshnef was not very far from the Koluima, and therefore by October 1, about the time he was wrecked, he could not possibly have reached East Cape, and, it goes without saying, the Anaduir.

In the report written by Vetoshkin and other friends of Deshnef it is said, though not very clearly, that the Bolshoi Nos lies in front of the place from which Staduchin, in 1649, turned back from his search of the Pogicha.¹⁷⁸ Since Staduchin had gone only about seven days from the Koluima, it follows that the cape in front of Staduchin can not be very far from the Koluima.

Opposite Bolshoi Nos are islands on which live Chukchi with pieces of bone in their lips. The Diomedé Islands are not opposite East Cape and are very far from it, far enough away, at least, to make it impossible

¹⁷⁸ "Avperede tova mesta yest Kamennoi Nos Bolshoi."

to observe from the sea just what ornaments the inhabitants wear. One who assumes that he has landed is forced to admit that (1) he used up precious time, and (2) that he is not keeping close to the shore where he should be in order to find a river. Here again his description fits Shalagski Cape.¹⁸⁰ As to the tower of whale bone, it is probably similar to the piles of whale bone noticed by Wrangell in the neighborhood of Shalagski Cape.¹⁸¹

In order to make the voyage seem plausible Muller assumes that the Arctic was free from ice in 1648. Muller says:¹⁸²

Es wird keiner Hindernissen von Eise Gedacht. Vermuthlich waren auch keine. Denn Deschnew erinnert bey einer andern

¹⁸⁰ Wrangell, in *Siberia and Polar Sea*, 325, tells of two islands opposite Shalagski. See also Wrangell, *Siberia*, 276.

¹⁸¹ Wrangell, *Siberia*, 327: "We saw several large heaps of white bones, but very little driftwood."

So far as known, the Chukchi do not now wear the labret and have not worn it in historical times. If they wore it in Deshnef's day, the description applies with equal force to the Chukchi near the Koluima as to those off East Cape. On the other hand, if the Chukchi never wore the labret, and the people Deshnef talked about were the Eskimos, this in itself does not prove that he was at East Cape. Wrangell and Nordenskjold, from their study of the subject on the spot, concluded that not very far back the inhabitants of the northern shore of Siberia were not Chukchi, but a people like the Eskimos or Aleuts, labret-wearing tribes. There is nothing, however, in the account to make us believe that this information was necessarily obtained on this voyage. Deshnef's report was not written till 1655. He had in the interval, opportunities for gathering information and for making observations. Perhaps Admiral Sarytchef's suggestions about Deshnef may be correct. He says, "Great doubts, however, are entertained of his veracity and it is strongly suspected that Deshnef collected most of his information respecting these shores from the Tschukschians and supplied the rest by his own invention." — *Sarytchef*, 36.

There is some foundation for this view. In speaking of the labret-wearing people, Deshnef says, "they are known as *zubati*." By whom are they known as such? He does not say "we named them *zubati*." Again, if Deshnef had actually seen the Eskimos, he would not have mistaken them for the Chukchi. He had always lived among primitive peoples, his eye was well trained, and by 1655, the time of writing, he had had numerous opportunities to observe the Chukchi.

¹⁸² Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 9.

Gelegenheit, dass die See nicht alle Jahre, so wie dieses Mahl, von Eise rein zu seyn pflege.

In the original one does not find the words "so wie dieses Mahl;" without them the argument loses much of its force. The fact that he does not mention the ice would prove, if it proves anything at all, that there was ice, that the usual conditions prevailed. One generally notes the uncommon and not the common things. In another place Deshnef describes the "zubati" Chukchi because they are different from the other natives. The burden of proof that there was no ice falls on those who make the claim.

Another argument advanced in favor of Deshnef is derived from misinterpreting one of his sentences and making it read thus:

Im Jare 1653 liess er Holz fällen, um eine Kotsche zu bauen, womit der bis dahin eingenommene Tribut zur See nach Jakutsk abgesendet werden könnte. Weil es aber an dem übrigen Zubehöre fehlte; so unterblieb die Sache. Man hörte auch, dass die See um das grosse Tschuktschische Noss nicht alle Jahre vom Eise frey sey.¹⁸³

The argument loses much of its weight because the last sentence in the quotation is not in the original. What Deshnef says is this,

The natives told us that the ice does not leave the shore every year.

Because he intended to build a boat to go to Jakutsk it must not be inferred that he came there by water. If one assumes this he must also admit that Selivestrof came to the Anaduir by way of Bering Strait, for in his report he says that he had not decided whether during the coming year he would take the tribute to Jakutsk by land or sea.¹⁸⁴ In his case it is positively known that

¹⁸³ Müller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 16-17.

¹⁸⁴ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 5, 10.

he came to the Anaduir by land in 1654. Both these statements indicate that their authors were quite unaware of the danger and the distance; and that they, like other Siberians, believed that the Koluima and the Anaduir were close to each other and parallel. The part of the statement reading, "that the ice does not leave the shore every year" refers, not to the Arctic Sea, but to the Anaduir, where the natives with whom Deshnef talked were living, and the year in question was not 1648, but 1653. If the words of the natives are to be believed, the inference would be that on certain years the navigation of the Anaduir Sea was entirely closed. Indeed, in one place Deshnef complains that the ice left the Anaduir shore very late in the summer.¹⁸⁵

The argument that Alexeef was wrecked in Kamchatka is unusually weak and almost childish.¹⁸⁶ Deshnef in his report states that in 1654 he found a Jakut woman (belonging to Alexeef) among the Koriaks, and she told him that Alexeef and Gerasim died of scurvy, some of their companions were killed, and the other men ran away. This is unlike Muller's mythological account.¹⁸⁷ In the time of Deshnef the Koriaks were a warlike people and roamed up and down Siberia more than they have done since.¹⁸⁸ It is quite possible that Alexeef was wrecked somewhere between the Koluima and the Shalagski Cape and died there of scurvy, and that some of his companions were killed. The

¹⁸⁵ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. 4, doc. 7, 20.

¹⁸⁶ Muller, in *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 19, says: "Sie sollen so angesehen und geehrt gewesen seyn, dass man sie fast vergöttert habe. Man hat nicht geglaubt, dass eine menschliche Hand ihnen schaden könne: nachdem aber die Russen unter sich selbst in Streit gerathen; nachdem einer den anderen verwundet, und die Kamtschedalen das Blut von ihnen fließen sehen . . . so sind alle theils von den Kamtschedalen, theils von den Korjaken, erschlagen worden."

¹⁸⁷ — *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Staduchin, in 1649, met them not far from the Koluima.

woman, for obvious reasons, was spared and in due time found a home among the Koriaks.

In the report of 1655 Deshnef tells that he was wrecked on the "forward end" [*peredni konets za Anadir reku*] of the Anaduir. Later in 1662, he states that "after having passed the mouth of the Anaduir" his boats were lost. Both these descriptions are vague and may mean anything, and they show that one must not try to prove too much from them. Before proceeding farther with this point, the question may be asked for what river was Deshnef looking. If he sailed in 1647 or 1648 he was in search, not of the Anaduir, but of the Pogicha.¹⁹⁹ It was not before the fall of 1649 that anything at all was known of the Anaduir, and in 1648 Deshnef knew no more about it than Staduchin who was still looking for the Pogicha in 1649. It was only on his return in the autumn that Staduchin heard of the Anaduir and the way thither. The words of Deshnef that he went from the Koluima to find the Anaduir have no weight because they were written in 1655.

From the material that has come down one is in doubt, not only whether Deshnef reached the Anaduir, but whether he went even farther than Chaun Bay. Looking, as he did, for the Pogicha he should have stopped at any one of the many streams in the Arctic Sea which, so far as he knew, might have been the Pogicha. The words "having passed the mouth of the Anaduir" may mean that he passed one of these northern rivers, probably in the neighborhood of Chaun Bay, and later confused it with the Anaduir. After being wrecked he wandered about here and there¹⁹⁰ for ten weeks and

¹⁹⁹ There is no evidence for Muller's statement, "Nun wuste man schon, Pogitscha sey eben derselbe Flusa, welcher auch Anadir genennet warde"—*Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 14.

¹⁹⁰ Whether he went east, west, north, or south, he does not say. It is,

accidentally struck the Anaduir without having a very clear idea as to his whereabouts.

Even if he had known the situation of the Anaduir, he had no time to reach it. He left his winter quarters, the lower Koluima or some place near it, June 20, which would bring him to the sea about a month later, for the navigation of the river is open much earlier than on the sea.¹⁹¹

however, fair to assume that he would go in a southerly direction so as to have the cold north and northwest winds at his back.

¹⁹¹ After reading the different accounts of navigation in the Arctic, and the fact that all attempts to sail east of the Koluima have failed, one is almost forced to believe that the cold is greater east of the river than west of it. It is, of course, impossible to prove or disprove this from the insufficient data at hand. Wrangell, in *Siberia*, 46, says:

"The severity of the climate of this district may be attributed as much, or perhaps more, to its unfavorable physical condition, as to its high latitude. To the west there is the extensive barren tundra, and to the north a sea covered with perpetual ice; so that the cold northwest wind, which blows almost without intermission, meets with no impediments [page 49]. . . Though from all that has been said, the climate is one of the most severe and unkindly."

Nordenskjold in *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. i, 426, says: "East of the Bear Islands heavy sea ice in pretty compact masses had drifted down the coast."

In Wrangell's *Siberia* [pages 163-167] is evidence to show that the navigation on the river begins much earlier than on the sea: "We were not able to launch our shallop, which we named the Koluima, until the eleventh of June, when the inundation subsides. [They started down the Koluima in this boat]. . . The next day (July 3) some men . . . returned with the information that Tchukotskaja Bay, and even the mouth of the river itself, were still covered with ice. I was therefore obliged most reluctantly, to await a change in the wind, which was now blowing freshly from the north and northwest, and drove the ice into the river instead of clearing it. Day after day we examined the state of the ice and still found it impossible for a boat to pass." The attempt was finally given up.

The Vega was held in the ice until July 18 [*Voyage of the Vega*, vol. ii, 67].

On July 29, 1740, Laptef sailed from the mouth of the Indigirka and reached the mouth of the Koluima, August 4; but during the remainder of the summer, on account of the ice, he did not go any farther than Baranof Cape. In the following year Laptef left Lower Koluima on June 29 and came to the mouth of the river July 8, and from this time until August 4 he had advanced only twenty-five miles to the eastward and was forced to abandon his plans.

If Deshnef really did go to the Anaduir by water, would it not have been more natural that the officers sent to relieve him should have been told to follow his course and go by water, which is much easier, than to go overland? When this party¹⁸² received its instructions, the Jakutsk office had no other guide to the Anaduir than Deshnef's reports and the other reports here mentioned, yet these officers do not discuss or even mention the water route.

The defenders of Deshnef deal with this voyage as if it differed in no way from Nordenskjold's. Deshnef is pictured as starting from the Koluima, passing rivers and capes, sailing through Bering Strait, setting his course for the mouth of the Anaduir, missing it only on account of the weather, and as being wrecked at a place ten weeks' walking distance from the river. Why endow him with such unusual powers and capabilities? To give Deshnef credit of having discovered Bering Strait on no better evidence than his own words "having passed" is unthinkable. His description of Bolshoi Kamennoi Nos has shown how unreliable his words are.¹⁸³

If one is going to allow Deshnef the honor of having doubled East Cape just because he says "having passed the mouth of the Anaduir," why not be consistent and give equal praise and accept as true the claim of Seli-

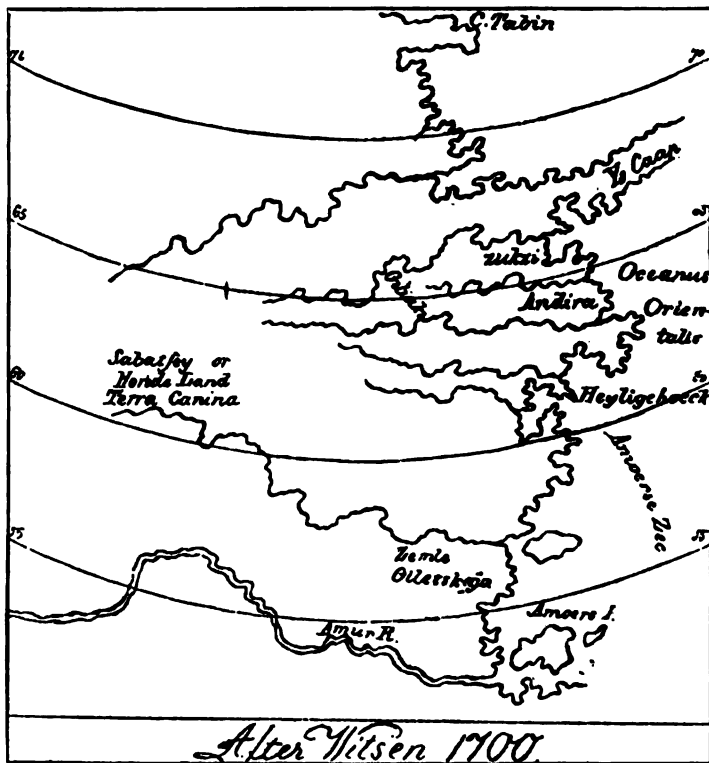
¹⁸² Here is an example illustrating the danger of attempting to prove an important point by the loose language of these hunters. In 1656, Amos Michælof was ordered to the Anaduir to take charge of that post. He and those with him were instructed that "in sailing down the Lena and on the sea to the Indigirka, to the Alasea, and to the Koluima and to the Anaduir" they should take no one on board with them to the Anaduir. On the face of it this sentence might mean that the party was to continue the voyage from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water. But in another part of this document, ten pages farther, these same men are told to go "from the Alasea to the Anaduir in one winter" [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 30, 70, 80].

¹⁸³ — *Ibid.*

vestrof that he and Staduchin discovered the walrus bank at the mouth of the Anaduir in 1649? How could they have discovered it unless they had gone there by water? If the letter containing this claim, of which Deshnef speaks as having been written in 1654, had been preserved, we might there find as good evidence as any presented by Deshnef. Why believe one more than another? The object of this investigation is not, of course, to urge Selivestrof's claim, but to show relatively the value of Deshnef's.

The fact that Deshnef is totally ignored by his contemporaries is a strong argument that he did not accomplish, or perhaps did not even claim, the feat with which Muller credits him. For outside of Deshnef's story, given here in full in his own words, there is not a hint about his voyage in the documents of his time.¹⁹⁴ The Siberians who discuss the question whether one can go from the Koluima to the Anaduir conclude that it

¹⁹⁴ Muller [*Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 5] gives the impression that in the seventeenth century the Russians were not interested in geographical problems. The fact that the czar requested Godunof, Remezof (in the life time of Deshnef), and others to draw up maps and give detailed information about Siberia refutes such a view. Remezof says that there were in Tobolsk many maps of Siberia drawn in the years 1668, 1669, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1689, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, and 1701. There are also additional seventeenth century documents displaying a keen interest in geographical questions. Here is one dated 1680: "There was a question, does the Arctic Sea join the Eastern Ocean. . . Is the Arctic Sea separated from the East or Chinese Sea by some continent which stretches out from Siberia eastward? This question has lately occupied the military officials of the Lena and Nertchinsk districts. They gathered some of the natives and examined the shores to the ocean, and they say that on the east there is no continent and that the seas are not separated, and that Siberia, Dauria, Nikania, and China are washed on the east by the same ocean. When asked whether one could go in a boat from St. Michael-Archangel or from the mouth of the Ob and the city of Berezof, and by keeping close to the shores of Siberia, Dauria, and Nikania reach China, these officers answered that in the Arctic Sea the ice never melts altogether, but all during the summer icebergs float about and crash into each other, and therefore it is dangerous for the boats." - Titof, *Siberia*, 214.



YS CAAP IN PLACE OF THE RUSSIAN MAP-MAKERS
 IMPASSABLE CAPE

*Reproduced through the courtesy of the American Antiquarian
 Society*

cannot be done on account of the impassable cape.¹⁹⁵ They surely would have mentioned that it had been done once by Deshnef, *ataman* of Jakutsk, one of the three men in the province holding such high rank, and who, until 1671, lived in Jakutsk, the gathering spot of all Siberians and Arctic navigators. Yet notwithstanding his importance and the rarity of the deed no one seems to be aware of it, not even to deny it. Deshnef went to Moscow, where he related his adventures and was rewarded "for his efforts in finding walrus tusks, and for his wounds,"¹⁹⁶ but not a word about his navigation. The Swedish ambassador in Moscow in 1669 was sufficiently interested in Siberia to copy Godunof's map, but he has left us nothing of Deshnef. Witsen, in touch with Russia and having access to Siberian documents, should have known of the deed, and yet he writes and pictures on his map "Ys Caep" where the Russian memoirs locate the "impassable cape."

It is possible to establish a connecting link between Deshnef and Peter the Great, who was so deeply interested in the question whether Asia and America are united. When Deshnef went to Moscow the second time in 1671 he had with him the son of Michaelo Staduchin, his old enemy. The Staduchins were very

¹⁹⁵ "From the mouth of the Koluima around the continent past the mouths of the Kovichi, Inabara, Ili, and Duri to the stone barrier one can go, if the ice permits, as it sometimes does, in one summer, but when the ice obstructs it may take three years. And across the barrier it takes a day; and when one is on it he may see two seas, the Lena and the Amur. When the barrier is crossed one comes to the Anaduir where walrus bones are hunted." — Titof, *Siberia*, 153, document of 1672.

"From the Baikal Sea there is a stretch of mountains or rock, and one cannot go past it by the Lena and that mountain or rock continues into the ocean for about five hundred *poprisch* and that is why it is impossible to go from the Lena to China and there is no passage to the Amur." — Titof, *Siberia*, 88, document after 1683.

¹⁹⁶ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnovo Prosveschenia*, December, 1890, p. 297.

prominent in Arctic navigation, and we have the results of two of these men's efforts to sail west of the Koluima.¹⁹⁷

Vladimir Atlasof, called the discoverer of Kamchatka, lived from boyhood in Jakutsk, the home of Deshnef and other Arctic explorers. In 1672 Atlasof was in Moscow, where Deshnef was at the time. Either directly or indirectly Atlasof must have had numerous opportunities to hear from Deshnef or of Deshnef and of his deeds. Yet this Atlasof reports in 1701 that,

Between the Koluima and Anaduir Rivers there is an impassable cape [*neobchodimoi nos*] which runs out into the sea, and on the left side of the cape there is ice in the summer and in the winter the sea is frozen solid; and on the other side [right] there is ice in the spring but in the summer there is no ice. On this impassable cape Vladimir has not been.¹⁹⁸

Atlasof lived until 1711, way into Peter's reign.¹⁹⁹

In addition to the documentary evidence light may

¹⁹⁷ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, 493. Deposition made in 1710: "In former years Taras Staduchin told Malgin in the Koluima *zimovie* that many years before Taras and ninety others came to the Koluima and from there went to sea in kotshi, keeping close to the shore to examine the Impassable Nos, and they could not pass it, and therefore turned back and crossed over to the shore to examine the Nos, to the other side. There making a kotsh, they kept along the shore towards the Penjina Sea," and after going some distance in that direction they turned back.

Deposition made by Vasili Staduchin (Vasili was sent by the government to find an island in the Arctic) about 1712:

"Opposite the upper mouth of the Koluima we saw a cape extending out [into the ocean]. To go around the cape was impossible on account of the ice; and that cape connects the land of the Shalangaki Chukchi and the Anaduir country on one side and the Koluima land on the other, but it is not an island."

¹⁹⁸ *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostoi Rossiskich* (Moscow, 1891), book iii, 12.

The testimony of Atlasof and the Staduchins, just quoted, indicates that even at this date the Siberians still believed that, with the exception of the impassable (Shalagaki) cape, the northern and eastern shores of Siberia met at about right angles, and just on the eastern side of the cape was the Amur Sea [Pacific Ocean].

¹⁹⁹ It may be of interest to know that Remezof used Atlasof's reports of

be thrown on this voyage from a consideration of such questions as boats, food, and weather.

A "kotsh," the kind of boat Deshnef had, was a flat-bottomed decked vessel, about twelve fathoms long, put together generally without a nail or scrap of iron of any kind, and probably kept together by wooden pegs and leather straps. Buldakof, one of the Siberians, speaks of the ice cutting the twigs of his kotsh. From this statement and hints elsewhere, it would seem that a kotsh was tied together and probably protected on the outside by twigs. A kotsh had a wooden mast and sails of deer skin,²⁰⁰ which are of little use in damp weather. The chief motive power, therefore, was the paddle. Anchors were made of wood and stone, and cables of leather.²⁰¹ This description gives one an idea of the fitness of a kotsh to battle with sea and ice.²⁰²

The food problem is always a serious one in Arctic navigation. Granted that quality is not an important factor in the Siberian's diet, you must admit that in place of it he must have quantity, especially meat. There was not much food to be had either at Jakutsk or

Kamchatka in constructing the map of that region. See Oglobin, *Istochniki Chertozhnoi Kingi Sibiri* (St. Petersburg, 1891).

²⁰⁰ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 118, 505.

²⁰¹ — *Ibid.*

²⁰² In some quarters, even in naval circles, there seems to prevail an idea that in Deshnef's day men performed deeds impossible to-day. This view is against common sense and evidence. The history of seventeenth century navigation in the region of the Koluima is a history of shipwrecks. The Arctic Ocean never was a quiet Russian lake, and the laws of nature had to be obeyed then as now. Writers have too often confounded an explorer, like Peary, with a hunter, like Deshnef. The former has an ideal to draw him on, the latter has no such high purpose. Although possessed of an equal amount of endurance, the hunter has less perseverance, he is easily discouraged. In navigating he keeps close to land and at the first sign of danger runs there for protection. He is always ready to turn back. Why should he risk his life? Money has far less power over him than is usually supposed. The hunter is more like the ambitionless native with whom he associates than the enthusiastic explorer.

on the Koluima, because both of these localities had been but recently occupied, and also because "the higher animal world is exceedingly poor" on the Koluima.²⁰³ In addition to some rye flour there was probably little other food. It is hardly conceivable that there were enough supplies on board, assuming that the party went from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water, to support ninety men²⁰⁴ one hundred days.

It is quite unnecessary to go into a lengthy discussion of the ice and fog which every explorer meets with in the Arctic Ocean. Deshnef, sailing in an unfamiliar sea without a chart in search of an unknown river, would be especially impeded, since he would not navigate in the fog for fear of passing the mouth of the stream he was seeking. Nordenskjold, while in these waters, faced both of these obstacles.²⁰⁵

Another reason for doubting the deed credited to Deshnef is that all known attempts of that kind, either from the east or west, have ended in failure.²⁰⁶ Not a

²⁰³ Nordenskjold, *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. i, 426.

²⁰⁴ No attempt has as yet been made to explain Alexeef's squaw found among the Koriaks by Deshnef. Were there any more like her on board? The presence of such persons would not be for the best interests of the expedition and would increase the consumption of food. There is another point which needs explanation. How did Deshnef and his shipwrecked "hungry and naked crew" succeed in sustaining themselves through the winter? According to his own words the Anaduir was bare of food and wood, and the river was too rocky for fishing. This is probably as cold and as inhospitable a place as one could find; and judging from the accounts of more recent writers (George Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*) it has not changed for the better since Deshnef's day.

²⁰⁵ Nordenskjold, *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. i, 428, 429: "The ice was heavy and close although at first so distributed that it was navigable. But with the north wind which began to blow on the night before the first [of] September . . . it became impossible to continue the course which we had taken. . . A further loss of time was caused by the dense fog which prevailed by day."

²⁰⁶ Nordenskjold's achievement, in an especially built steam-schooner, well provisioned, supplied with the best charts, compasses, and other scientific aids, does not prove anything in this case.

single Russian hunter or navigator has succeeded in doubling Shalagski Cape. Michaelo Staduchin failed in 1649, Taras Staduchin in 1700 [?], Vasili Staduchin in 1712, Dimitri Laptef in 1740-1742, Shalaurof in 1762 and 1764, and Billings in 1787. All these men, except perhaps Michaelo Staduchin, were better equipped and much more qualified than Deshnef.

IV. KAMCHATKA AND THE KURILS

It was half a century after the Russians had gained possession of the Anaduir country to the north and the Ouda and Okhotsk regions to the south that they made an attempt to acquire Kamchatka. It is not true that they were ignorant of its existence. As early as 1652 Michaelo Staduchin had penetrated along the Penjinsk and established posts there, and a document of 1672 refers to the Kamchatka River as a stream already well-known.²⁰⁷ The reasons for the delay were due chiefly to the weakness of the Russian forces and to the bitter hostility of the natives between the Anaduir and the Kamchatka Rivers. Along the Penjinsk and the western coast of the peninsula lived one tribe of fighting Koriaks, and on the eastern coast, from the Oliutora River southwards, dwelt an even more warlike group of the same people. Though at first not openly hostile, the natives, as they saw the Russians encroaching upon them and taking their deer, became outspoken in their enmity to the newcomers and resolved to drive them out or die in the attempt. They told the Russians that they would not permit them to go to Kamchatka either by land or sea,²⁰⁸ and that they would never surrender alive.²⁰⁹ These were not empty threats, and the Russians were actually forced to find another route to Kamchatka than the Anaduir one. By plunder and purchase the Koriaks had provided themselves with firearms²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Titof, *Siberia*, 54.

²⁰⁸ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 94, 410.

²⁰⁹ — *Ibid.*, vol. ii, doc. 117, 485-487.

²¹⁰ — *Ibid.*, 498.

in addition to their own powerful weapons, and, being protected by their shields, they were superior to the Russians, some of whom could not use a gun and ran at the sight of the enemy.²¹¹ When no longer able to fight, the natives killed their wives and children and then committed suicide, or deliberately chose being burned alive in their homes by the Russians to surrendering to them.²¹² The Koriaks knew how to fight, how to die, and, what is equally important, they knew how to plan a battle. A Russian officer testified that from the moment the Cossacks left the Anaduir to go to Kamchatka their plans and movements were known to the Koriaks.²¹³ This statement is no doubt true, because the Russians were surprised nearly always on their way to, rather than from, Kamchatka. Unlike the Kamchadels and other natives, the Koriaks appreciated the strength which comes from union; for not only were they united among themselves, but they even attempted to persuade the Chukchi and Yukagirs to join with them against the Russians.²¹⁴

From what has been said one will readily see that Vladimir Atlasof is not deserving of the titles "discoverer" and "conqueror" of Kamchatka, for he neither discovered nor conquered that country. It would be more just to call him the "explorer" of Kamchatka, because in that particular field he was superior to any Siberian of his time. His description of the peninsula and its inhabitants is one of the best²¹⁵ and shows him to have been a man endowed with a clear and observing

²¹¹ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 91, 406; doc. 100.

²¹² — *Ibid.*, vol. ii, doc. 117, 487.

²¹³ — *Ibid.*, vol. ii, doc. 117, 477-481.

²¹⁴ — *Ibid.*, vol. i, doc. 29, 93; doc. 99, 425.

²¹⁵ *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich*, 1891.

mind.²¹⁶ In 1697,²¹⁷ while stationed on the Anaduir as prikaschik, he commissioned Luke Morosko²¹⁸ and fourteen others to go to Kamchatka and collect tribute from its inhabitants. Morosko returned that same year with several bundles of furs and three Koriak hostages,²¹⁹ all of which indicates that he did not go very far down the peninsula. With this news and the Anaduir tribute Atlasof started for Jakutsk during the winter of 1696-1697, arriving there probably early in the spring. He was at once asked to turn back and go in search of "new lands." On coming to the Anaduir he gathered a company of sixty Russians, among whom was at least one who had been with Morosko,²²⁰ and an equal number of Yukagirs and set out with them that same year for Kamchatka. After crossing the mountains on reindeer he directed his course to the mouth of the Penjinsk, meeting with but little unfriendliness from the natives.²²¹ He followed the northwest coast as far as Kamchatka Nos²²² and then passed over the

²¹⁶ Atlasof was born in Russia and when a small boy he came with his father to Siberia and settled on the Lena [*Vestnik Imperatorskovo Russkovo Geograficheskovo Obschestva*, 1858, 160]. In 1672 he was already in the czar's service, assisting in the taking of the Jakutak tribute to Moscow. In 1695 he held the rank of pyatdesyatnik and was sent as prikaschik to the Anaduir [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 102, 434], at this time the most difficult post to reach and the most dangerous to live in throughout the whole of Siberia.

²¹⁷ *Vestnik Imperatorskovo Russkovo Geograficheskovo Obschestva*, 1858, 160.

²¹⁸ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 102, 433.

²¹⁹ — *Ibid.*

²²⁰ — *Ibid.*, 434.

²²¹ *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich*, 1891.

²²² Unless one watches closely, the names of places are liable to confuse him. Some of them have entirely disappeared from the map, and others were applied to more than one place. During this period Anadirskoi Nos meant the cape at the southern entrance to Bering Strait [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 109, 462]; Kamchatka Nos — cape in northwestern Kamchat-

mountains to the eastern shore, where the Oliutora Koriaks had their homes and where he was also peacefully received. At this point Atlasof divided his company in two: one party of sixty men, composed equally of Russians and Yukagirs, was ordered to follow the eastern shore of the peninsula, and with the other party he turned back to the Penjinsk side and proceeded along the western coast in a southerly direction.

In addition to the Koriaks who were now becoming hostile, Atlasof's Yukagirs turned on him when near the Palane River and killed six of his men and wounded fifteen others, not, however, without considerable loss to themselves. Peace was temporarily made and the Yukagirs consented to go on; but when on the Tigil River, Atlasof attempted to chastise them, many escaped in the night. Very soon after this the division on the eastern side of the mountains crossed over and joined itself to Atlasof, and the whole company marched over the mountains to the upper waters of the Kamchatka River. The Kamchadels living at this place were at war with those lower down the stream, and, in order to gain Atlasof's immediate support, they submitted to him. He was called back from the fight against the enemies of his allies to give chase to the Koriaks, who had in the meantime driven off the deer left higher up the river. After a hard pursuit over a trail covered with bones of the stolen deer, the Koriaks were brought

ka, between the mouth of Penjinsk and the Pustaya River [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 117, 501]; Kamchatka Nos - present Lopatka Cape [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 109, 462, 470, doc. 112, 488]; Kamchatka Sea - sea at the mouth of the Kamchatka River [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 105, 444]; Lama Sea - Sea of Okhotsk [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 99, 427; vol. ii, doc. 118, 509]; Oliutora Sea - water between Kamchatka and Oliutora Rivers [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 14, 44; vol. i, doc. 111, 484, doc. i, 117, 504]; Penjinsk Sea - sea all along the western coast of Kamchatka; Sviatoi Sea - sea near mouth of Yana River [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 23, 69].

to bay near the Penjinsk Sea and were forced to give up what was left of their plunder.

Following this exploit Atlasof marched down to the Itcha River, and there he heard of a stranger held as captive, whom the natives called a Russian, but who turned out to be a ship-wrecked Japanese.²²³ It is difficult to say how far south he actually reached; although he did not quite come to Lopatka Cape he was near enough to it to learn of islands in its neighborhood. His men began urging to be led back north because their ammunition and supplies were running short. Before leaving the peninsula he sent Potap Surukof with fourteen Russians and thirteen Yukagirs to build an ostrog on the Kamchatka River and to hold it until relieved.²²⁴ With the remaining fifteen Russians and four Yukagirs, and with a very large number of pelts, Atlasof went to the Anaduir where he arrived February, 1700. By June he was at Jakutsk and from there he went to Moscow, and petitions from him to the czar are dated in that city early in February, 1701. For his services he was made *golova* and was given fifty rubles in cash and fifty rubles' worth of cloth.

The encouraging report regarding Kamchatka decided the Sibirski Prikaz to send there another expedition under Atlasof. Soon after leaving Tobolsk with his chosen band Atlasof entered on a career of plunder,

²²³ Atlasof took this Japanese, whose name was Debne, to the Anaduir. When Peter the Great heard of Debne he requested that he should be brought before him at the earliest possible moment. On January 8, 1702, Debne was presented to the czar, and the two had a long conversation about Japan. Peter ordered that Debne should be instructed in the Russian language and that he should instruct the Russians in Japanese. In 1710 Debne was baptized and took the name of Gabriel. This Debne is, so far as known, the first Japanese in Russia [*Russkaya Starina*, October, and November, 1891].

²²⁴ In 1700 Surukof was killed as he was making his way to the Anaduir [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 102, 434].

growing more bold and lawless as he proceeded, resulting finally in his downfall.²²⁵

The question of finding a safe route to Kamchatka was one that gave the officers at Jakutsk a great deal of worry throughout this early period. The one usually followed was first traced by Kobelef, who was sent to relieve Surukof in 1700. He went on deer and dog teams to the upper waters of the Penjinsk, and on small boats down to its mouth and along the sea coast to Pustoi Ostrog, on the Pustaya River. At this point he stole deer from the Koriaks and crossed to the eastern side of the mountains, and from there he went down to the Kamchatka River.²²⁶ By obtaining large leather boats from the Koriaks at the mouth of the Penjinsk, several of the prikaschiks were enabled to go down as far as the Lesnaya River and even farther.²²⁷ The return from Kamchatka was generally begun in winter when the tribute was transported overland from the Lower Kamchatka Ostrog to the Tigil River. From there it was taken in summer on boats up the Penjinsk Bay and partly up the river, and on deer and dog teams to the Anaduir.²²⁸ After 1707 it became exceedingly difficult and dangerous to enter Kamchatka. The Koriaks were

²²⁵ On August 29, he held up and robbed three boats loaded with Chinese goods valued at sixteen thousand, six hundred and twenty rubles. Three days later a report of this deed was sent to the authorities at Jakutsk, Tobolsk, and Moscow. When Atlasof reached Jakutsk, May, 1702, the woewod at that post had instructions from the Sibirski Prikaz to treat Atlasof like any other thief. With several others he was tried, tortured, and committed to prison. He was released in 1706 on condition that he return to Kamchatka, where a strong hand was needed [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 111, 472]. But when he arrived there the next year he found his prestige gone, the natives in insurrection, and the Russians insubordinate. His love of plunder was still strong in him, and the complaints of his victims forced his superiors to remove him from command.

²²⁶ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 118, 501-502.

²²⁷ — *Ibid.*

²²⁸ — *Ibid.*, vol. i, doc. 111, 474.

determined to keep out the Russians and the latter had to fight their way.²²⁹ This constant fighting was a severe drain on the Jakutsk office. Between the years 1707 and 1711 as many as two hundred eighty-nine men²³⁰ were sent to Kamchatka, and those who were not killed in battle became demoralized more than elsewhere in Siberia. For two years, 1711 to 1713, Kamchatka was terrorized by bands of assassins and robbers, and there were not enough faithful men left in the service to put them down. One of these was led by Danilo Anziforof and Ivan Kozirefski. They killed the officers in command and plundered the government stores, and planned to establish an independent settlement on one of the Kuril Islands. When they had used up their ammunition they dictated terms to the newly arrived prikaschik and entered the service once more.²³¹

²²⁹ A detailed account of one or two of these efforts may be helpful. When in 1707 Peter Chirikof reached the upper Penjinsk on his way to Kamchatka, he found the Koriaks hostile. Peter had to make his own kotshi and in three of these he went down the river followed by the natives who had passed word along announcing his coming. One of his kotshi was wrecked and lost, but with the other two he sailed on and landed on the banks of the river Paren. At this point he was attacked and driven back to Aklanska Ostrog, with a loss of eight killed and twenty wounded. At Aklanska Ostrog he was besieged from September 8 to November 2, when he was rescued by a relieving force from the Anaduir, and to this post he returned. The next year Peter made another attempt, and although he succeeded in shaking off the Koriaks on the west coast he found on the eastern shore of the peninsula the Oliutora Koriaks blocking his passage near the Karaga River. In the fight which took place on July 20, 1709, ten Russians lost their lives, also ammunition and other stores, including two hundred rubles in coin. (There was a rumor at the time that Chirikof pocketed the money and laid the blame on the Koriaks). Four days later the Koriaks came back to the attack, but this time the Russians drove them off and captured five leather boats on which they made haste to reach Kamchatka. Vasili Sevyastanof, who left the Anaduir April 10, 1711, had to fight four battles before he came to Lower Kamchatka on July 29 [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 117, doc. 118, doc. 119, doc. 125].

²³⁰ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 110, 470.

²³¹ This insurrection deserves some attention. On August 22, 1710, Osip

The other lawless company had for its leader Constantin Kirgizof, an acting-prikaschik. He liberated the

Lipin came to Kamchatka to relieve Peter Chirikof. When the two had arranged affairs at Lower Kamchatka they went to Upper Kamchatka to sign up there. Chirikof returned to Lower Kamchatka, taking with him the tribute which he planned to transport in the course of the winter to the Tigil so as to have it ready for shipment the following summer. The two men saw much of each other in the course of the winter; and the Christmas holidays they spent together at the post in Upper Kamchatka. Towards the end of January, 1711, Lipin found it necessary to go to Lower Kamchatka. On January 29, he was waylaid and murdered by men in the government service. Starting with twenty, this company of insurrectionists soon numbered seventy-five men. Danilo Anziforof was chosen leader and Ivan Kozirefski for the office next in importance. Countersigns were given out, and an oath binding all to a common cause was prescribed. Vladimir Atlasof, against whom the conspirators had old scores to settle, was the next victim (February 1). On March 20, the conspirators found Chirikof at Upper Kamchatka and they proceeded to kick him to death. The property of the dead men was divided into seventy-five shares, each consisting of sixty sables, twenty red foxes, two sea otter, and a number of miscellaneous articles. They did not forget the priest, who was given several articles of clothing and fur, a young woman belonging to Atlasof, and two young men, the property of the other two prikaschiks. When this was done the men wrote a letter to the czar, explaining how the three murdered prikaschiks had been plundering him (the czar) and abusing the natives and white men to the detriment of the public treasury, and knowing that the czar disapproved of such lawless acts they, the undersigned, had put an end to such misgovernment. In order to have wherewith to buy ammunition with which to fight the natives they were compelled, they said, to take the ill-gotten gains of the three men. From Upper Kamchatka Danilo led his men across the mountains to Bolshaya River and there established his headquarters. There was much work for them to do, for during the years 1707, and 1710, the inhabitants of the Bolshaya River killed many of the Russians and destroyed the ostrog. Under Danilo's leadership the enemy was subdued, the fort rebuilt, and one of the Kuril Islands discovered, which find led them to consider the wisdom of abandoning Kamchatka and forming a new colony on the unclaimed island. Before a conclusion was reached a summons came from Vasili Sevyastanof, the newly arrived prikaschik, to appear before him and explain their deeds. The whole company marched over to Lower Kamchatka; and when Vasili saw them he did not have the courage to come out and face them, but sent one of his men to talk to them. The result of the discussion was that the insurrectionists were granted their terms—that they be given ammunition and that they be permitted to make up for their crimes by fighting the hostile peoples. It was while engaged in this work on the Avatcha River, about February, 1712, that Danilo with seventeen of his men were killed. Ivan Kozirefski and others went to discover the Kuril Islands in 1713. Three of the party, however, had

prisoners and enrolled them in his band and with their assistance he spread havoc far and wide, forcing the natives to abandon their homes and seek shelter in the forests.²²²

The hostility of the natives and the viciousness of the servants threw the whole service into disorder. By 1712 there was in Kamchatka five years' tribute, the last shipment having been made in 1706. Sevyastanof decided to abandon the old Anaduir route and try a new one by way of the Oliutora Sea. On June 4, 1712, he embarked with eighty-four men on a number of small boats and, after leaving the mouth of the Kamchatka River, sailed northwardly. He kept close to the shore and met with no difficulties until he reached the Tum-latski River on July 21. Here the Oliutora Koriaks attacked him, but he managed to drive them off and continue his course to the Oliutora River, where he landed on August 5.²²³ A fort was hastily constructed as protection against the pursuing enemy, who was always near enough to make it unsafe to show one's head above the wall. After a long wait, towards the end of which the men were starving, the long expected reinforcement from the Anaduir came and transported the tribute to the Anaduir. Sevyastanof strongly favored

two of the fingers of the left hand cut off and were given a public whipping in addition. Volume one, of *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii* has the documents on this case.

²²² In 1712, when Sevyastanof left Kamchatka he put in charge of one of the ostrogs Constantin Kirgizof. Kirgizof gathered about him a few choice companions and set about getting even with his enemies. The agent and priest of Lower Kamchatka were his first victims. From Lower Kamchatka he went in other directions killing and burning. When they had tired of this they returned and begged the new prikaschik, Kolesof, to be reinstated and in return they offered to put down the inhabitants of Karaginski Island. Nearly all of the men, after being mutilated, branded, and whipped in public, were put back in service, but Constantin and one other were executed.

²²³ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 117, 504.

this new route because of the quiet sea, and the numerous small streams which offered food and daily landings. He also recommended that the fort on the Oliutora should be strengthened and a garrison stationed to guard the boats to be used in coming and going to Kamchatka. Although all this was done, Kolesof was still afraid to risk a shipment in 1713. Early in the summer of 1714 an active campaign was carried on against the Oliutora Koriaks, and before the summer ended several fights took place in which the natives were beaten.

Kolesof was not molested on his way north in 1714, and he was able to reach the new fort, Archangelsk (on the Oliutora River), on August 24.²⁸⁴ When the men and deer for transportation had arrived from the Anaduir, Kolesof, on November 20,²⁸⁵ started north in company of an Anaduir prikaschik who had been collecting tribute in this neighborhood. While crossing the ridge of the Talkowa Mountains on December 2, in the midst of a blinding snowstorm, the Yukagirs of the Anaduir fell on the Russians as they were scattered, and murdered a number of them and drove the others to Aklanska Ostrog where they hoped to starve them to death. To the Yukagirs the Koriaks joined themselves, and an invitation was extended to the Chukchi to help in this work of extermination.²⁸⁶ Nearly one hundred Russians lost their lives in this and subsequent fights which took place during the spring and summer.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ He had with him two years' tribute, consisting of five thousand, six hundred forty-one sables, seven hundred fifty-one red foxes, ten cross foxes, one hundred thirty-seven sea otter, and other valuable stores, among which was a small quantity of gold found in a wrecked Japanese junk.

²⁸⁵ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 29, 92.

²⁸⁶ — *Ibid.*, 93.

²⁸⁷ — *Ibid.*, doc. 35, 119.

When news of this disaster reached Jakutsk steps were at once taken to regain the lost ground and to recover the valuable tribute. Trifonof was ordered to the front with as large a force as could be collected and spared.²⁸⁸ But Trifonof was totally incompetent and he wasted his time and forces without accomplishing anything of value. He did not appear on the scene of the battle until late in 1716, and after killing a handful of Koriaks in the neighborhood of Aklanska Ostrog, he led his valiant band to winter quarters on the Anaduir.²⁸⁹ By the end of 1716 Russia was on the point of losing Kamchatka, partly through her own incompetency and partly through the valiancy of her foes. Just then Fortune smiled on her once more and showed her a new way to the peninsula, which came to be known later as the "Okhotsk-Kamchatka Route."

The difficulties and dangers of going from the Anaduir to Kamchatka forced the government to make even greater exertions, than it had so far done, to find another way to the peninsula. Since 1710 there had been much talk but little action regarding a passage across the Okhotsk Sea and about discovering new lands in the Arctic and Pacific Oceans.²⁴⁰ Captain Tatarinof was sent to the Anaduir chiefly with this end in view, but on account of the trouble with the natives he did not

²⁸⁸ The posts on the Indigirka, Koluima, Yana, and one or two others were emptied of men in order to make a large force for Trifonof [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 35, 82-83].

²⁸⁹ While Trifonof was making ready to punish the natives, Alexei Petrilofskoi succeeded in making his way to Kamchatka. In company with one or two other *prikaschiks* he spent the winter of 1714-1715 on the Oliutora River. During his stay the Koriaks brought into the post bundles of furs which they had taken from the murdered Russians. These packages had the government seal on them, and it was well known where they came from, and yet these officers bought them on their own account as an investment [*Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 36, 121-122; vol. ii, doc. 59, 257-258].

²⁴⁰ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 99, 427.

get an opportunity to enter on his task.²⁴¹ In 1714 a company, unusually well equipped, provided with all the necessary tools and materials for ship building, was commissioned to go to Okhotsk and there construct boats and on these cross over to Kamchatka [Lopatka] Cape.²⁴² After the sad events of the year 1714-1715, it became more urgent than ever to find a water route. Elchin, the woewod of Jakutsk, was called to Moscow for a conference, at which it was decided to fit out a large expedition for the purpose of discovering new lands and putting down the hostile natives in north-eastern and eastern Siberia. In 1716 Elchin, who was made commander of this undertaking, received his instruction from the governor of Siberia and left Tobolsk accompanied by a competent staff of naval and military officers²⁴³ and a large number of Cossacks, which was to be increased on the way by the addition of two hundred men. Early in 1718 the expedition began to depart from Jakutsk, but when the leader himself was about to depart more orders came from Tobolsk to report there at once to answer charges filed against him. The command of the already disorganized company fell to Captain Abishtof, who died in June, 1719, very soon after reaching Okhotsk.²⁴⁴ This well planned and very costly expedition ended in failure, owing largely, as usual, to the inefficiency and jealousy of the officers and men.

²⁴¹ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. i, doc. 118, 509.

²⁴² — *Ibid.*, vol. ii, doc. 12, 37.

²⁴³ Among them was a Swedish naval lieutenant, Ambiorn Molyk.

²⁴⁴ Supplies and men were scattered all along the road between Jakutsk and Okhotak and at various points on the coast. Some of the materials did not find their way to the sea until a year or two after Abishtof died and were left on the beach until a flood and a high water carried them off. The account here given of Elchin's expedition is based on a paper by A. Sgibnef in *Morskoi Sbornik*, December, 1868.

But of these numerous attempts one was bound by the law of chance to succeed. The company mentioned above, which was sent out in 1714, constructed an open boat, "lodka," and on this a sailor [Treske], a Cossack [Sokolof], and several others ventured into Lama Sea during the summer of 1716 and found the way to Kamchatka.²⁴⁵ Molyk, the Swedish officer, who preceded Abishtof and other officers to Okhotsk, arrived there in the summer of 1717, and in the fall of that year he went over to Lower Kamchatka.²⁴⁶ Late in the summer of the year 1718 another boat took over to Bolshaya River Vasili Kachanof, returning in the fall of the year 1719 to Okhotsk loaded with Kamchatka tribute.²⁴⁷ Ivan Chartinof, a member of Elchin's expedition, took a ship from Okhotsk on August 20, 1719, and, after touching on the Itcha River on August 26, dropped anchor in Bolshaya River four days later.²⁴⁸ Ivan Uwarowski took this same ship back to Okhotsk loaded with tribute in June, 1720; and from this time on the water passage across the Lama Sea became the official route to Kamchatka.

To the Siberians of the early eighteenth century Kamchatka had three distinct peoples on it: on the north and west wandered the Koriaks, along the waters and tributaries of the Kamchatka River dwelt the Kamchadels, and on the southern part lived the Kurils, and that part of the peninsula was spoken of as the Land of the Kurils. The term "Kuril" was not applied to the

²⁴⁵ A. Sgibnef in *Morskoj Sbornik*, April, 1869. Slovtsof [p. 243] states that the 1716 boat was sixty feet long and had a twenty-five foot beam. In the first attempt she made the Tigil River and from there sailed back to Okhotsk. In the same year she made another trial and anchored at Chariyuzovka and from there returned to Okhotsk in July, 1717.

²⁴⁶ A. Sgibnef in *Morskoj Sbornik*, December, 1868.

²⁴⁷ — *Ibid.*, April, 1869.

²⁴⁸ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 65, 272-275.

islands until nearly the end of the Bering period. Our earliest information of these islands has come through Atlasof, who heard of them from the natives of Kamchatka.²⁴⁹ About the year 1705 Vasili Kolesof, at the time prikaschik on the Kamchatka, sent a body of men to the southern part of the peninsula to put down the warlike inhabitants. In the course of their wanderings they came to Cape Lopatka, whence they had a view of the islands, but having no boats they could not approach them.²⁵⁰ Five years later a Japanese junk was wrecked on the shores of Kamchatka, and from four of the crew who fell into their hands the Russians obtained a clearer idea as to the relation of these islands to Kamchatka and Japan.²⁵¹ At the time of the insurrection two of these Japanese were taken in charge by Danilo Anziforof, and this probably helps to explain why Danilo and his band went in search of these islands in 1711. From Lopatka these men paddled in small boats and *baidaras* to the first island, and after a fight with the inhabitants they succeeded in making a landing.²⁵²

After the death of Danilo in 1712, Ivan Kozirefski and other conspirators, in order to expiate their crimes, offered to go to the Kuril Islands and bring the inhabitants under subjection. This met with the approval of the officers, who were anxious to carry out the wishes of the czar in the matter of exploration and discovery. Kozirefski was given every possible assistance, fifty Russians, eleven natives, and one of the wrecked Japanese to act as pilot and interpreter. Embarking on

²⁴⁹ *Chtenia V Imperatorskom Obschestve Istorii I Drevnostei Rossiskich*, 1891.

²⁵⁰ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 118, 502-503.

²⁵¹ — *Ibid.*, vol. i, doc. 111.

²⁵² — *Ibid.*, vol. i, doc. 112, 488.



their small boats they set sail for the islands early in the summer of 1713. On three of them they made landings and brought off articles made of silk and of grass, as well as sabres and other objects made of metal.²⁵³ These evidences were sent to Jakutsk together with a report and chart of the islands. Although only three islands were visited, yet from information obtained from the islanders and the Japanese, Kozirefski traced the whole chain of islands, including Matsmai and the northern part of Japan.²⁵⁴ The map which bears Shestakof's name follows very closely Kozirefski's report and is probably a copy of his map.²⁵⁵

Six years after Kozirefski's adventures among the

²⁵³ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 14, 46.

²⁵⁴ *Morskoi Sbornik* (April, 1869, pp. 84-85) has Kozirefski's original report. In it he says, "From Lopatka to the first island, Sumchu, one can row in a baidara in two or three hours. On the second island, Purumshir, the inhabitants make cloth out of grass. The third island is Onikutan. On the western side of these islands are three not very large islands. The fourth is Araumakutan. The fifth is Siyaskutan, the sixth is Shikoku to which the Japanese come for metals. The seventh is Motogo, eighth Shashovo, ninth Ushishir, tenth Katui, eleventh Shimushir. The twelfth Iturpu has many people and many rivers at the mouths of which good anchorage may be found. The thirteenth is Urup, the fourteenth Kunashir, and on the fifteenth Matsmai there is a Japanese city. Next to this island is the main island of Japan. In addition to these enumerated islands there are other small islands in different quarters."

²⁵⁵ Partly on account of his Polish descent, and partly because of his having become a monk, writers have clothed Kozirefski with considerable romance. By 1730 a report was current at Moscow that Kozirefski "touché par les prières des pauvres de la Colonie, des Invalides, des Viellards, des malades, des blessés," etc., he became a monk and built a monastery where these unfortunates could find a home. There is no truth in all this. In Siberia, where he was well known, he was regarded as a thoroughly bad and dangerous man. He was one of the ringleaders in the insurrection of 1711-1712. After his return from the Kurils he brought on his own account several thousand rubles' worth of plunder. Another thief, the Prikaschik Petrilofskoi, the same who bought the stolen furs on the Oliutora, made him disgorge all of it, and in addition forced him to become a monk in 1716 [*Morskoi Sbornik*, April, 1869]. Ignatius Kozirefski, the monk, was arrested in Kamchatka in 1720 and sent for trial to Jakutsk on the charge of having made seditious speeches in which he declared that it can not be very wrong to kill prikaschiks since

Kuril Islands, Peter the Great sent two men, Feodor Luzhin and Ivan Yevreinof, on a semi-secret expedition into these same waters.²⁵⁶ It has been suggested that they were ordered to investigate whether there were precious metals on the Kuril Islands.²⁵⁷ This is quite possible, especially in view of Kozirefski's statement that on the sixth island the Japanese obtained metals. It would also have been easy for the czar to associate this island with the Gold and Silver Islands of the Spaniards and the Dutch. The instructions of these men, other than the secret ones, read in part:

You are to go to Kamchatka and farther, as you have been ordered, and determine whether Asia and America are united; and go not only north and south but east and west, and put on a chart all that you see.²⁵⁸

Luzhin and Yevreinof left Russia early in 1719, and from Jakutsk they departed for Kamchatka in the early summer of 1720. Peter was very solicitous about them and tried to keep in touch with their movements. On their return to Jakutsk from Kamchatka the local officers questioned them, but they refused to give any account of their discoveries to others than to the czar.²⁵⁹ Some years later Muller learned from the navigators who piloted these men that from Okhotsk they sailed to Kamchatka and from there to the Kuril Islands as far as the fifth. They were prevented from going to

those who kill czars are quite respectable people and even hold office under the government. It would seem that the case was not pushed against him at Jakutsk. He was asked to build a monastery about eighty versts from the city. Even there he got into trouble and ran away, but he was caught and brought back. A little later he took part in Shestakof's expedition. After failing in that he appeared in Moscow, in 1730, posing as a saint and navigator [*Delisle Mss.*].

²⁵⁶ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. ii, doc. 73, 290-291.

²⁵⁷ Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 109-110.

²⁵⁸ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. v, doc. 3266.

²⁵⁹ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, vol. iv, doc. 73, 290-291.

the others on account of the loss of their anchors in a storm.²⁰⁰ In 1722 or 1723 Luzhin and his companion reported to Peter, but just what passed between them is not known. It was left for a lieutenant of Bering's, Spanberg, to sail among these islands and chart the whole group.

²⁰⁰ Muller. *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 109-110.

V. TERRA DE JESO

Perhaps no other part of the globe, leaving the Arctic regions out of consideration, remained in such cartographical confusion and uncertainty as the North Pacific Ocean during the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. It was not altogether from lack of effort on the part of the navigators, for between 1611 and 1643 three important expeditions were sent out for the purpose of discovery, but the results of these voyages were little understood and they rather befogged than cleared the geographical atmosphere. One might even say that geography had lost ground: California and Korea are generally represented as peninsulas in the sixteenth and as islands in the seventeenth century. There was a tendency, too, on the part of certain scholars, to treat geography as a speculative science. To these men the part of the Pacific not yet explored offered a very attractive field of study.

Generally speaking until fifty or sixty years after the discovery of the New World, America was represented on many maps as a large outlying island of Asia not far from Japan, or as a part of the Asiatic mainland. After a time it became evident that the newly found land was a continent and was so indicated on Munster's map (1541) and on various earlier ones. America occupied a position half way between Europe and Asia and was separated from the latter in the north by a sea or a wide strait. By 1560 America and Asia were drawn closely together in the north, but as yet the strait

between them had no name. Six years later a name was given to it by Zaltieri; but what his reasons were for calling it "Anian"²⁶¹ are not certain. Mercator employs the term Anian Strait in his famous map of 1569. One year later Ortelius did likewise. Other map makers of this period adopted a more or less similar view.

In summing up one may say that until about 1650 the cartographers represented Asia as separated from America by a strait of varying width, generally known as Anian, without hinting at any intermediate lands, large or small.²⁶² It is important to bear this in mind in view of what other maps delineate; for from about the middle of the seventeenth century a new body of land makes its appearance, designated as Jesso and by various other names,²⁶³ but all referring more or less to the same object. Not a geographer questioned its existence, and yet no two of them agreed as to its shape and size.

When the Europeans came in contact with the Japanese they learned of the existence of a body of land, Yeco, north of Nippon. This news was reported to Europe by a Jesuit as early as 1566.²⁶⁴ The second announcement came through Richard Cocks, the English factor in Japan, who, in a letter to the East India Company, dated November 30, 1613, tells of "an island called Yedzo, which is thought to be rather some part of the continent of Tartaria."²⁶⁵ In the same year that

²⁶¹ The term "Anian" has been very learnedly discussed by Dr. Sophus Ruge, in his pamphlet "Fretum Anian." This scholar traces the name back to Marco Polo, who speaks of a Chinese province with a name similar to this one.

²⁶² Visscher's map.

²⁶³ Jesso, Eso, Jeco, Iesso, Yesso, Yeso, Yedso, Yeco, Compagnie Land, Gama Land, etc.

²⁶⁴ *Recueil de Voyages au Nord* (Amsterdam, 1732), vol. iv, 20.

²⁶⁵ Hakluyt Society (London, 1883), vol. ii, 258. Cocks's letter was not

Cocks sent his letter, Camillo de Constanzo, a Jesuit, obtained important data regarding Jeso.²⁶⁶ Two years later Jerome de Angelis sent to the vice-provincial of Japan an account of this land.²⁶⁷ In European print the name Yezo appeared for the first time in a book published at Munich in 1619.²⁶⁸ During the year 1620 the Jesuit Caravaglio went from Japan into Jeso.²⁶⁹ The year following Father de Angelis crossed over there and on his return made a long report.²⁷⁰ Although, he says, he formerly believed Jeso to be a part of the mainland, after his last investigation he felt quite convinced of its insularity. From this time until their expulsion from Japan the Jesuits had little time to give to the study of Jeso; but other Europeans took it up and carried it on.

A baseless rumor that there existed gold and silver islands east of Japan led, at first, the Spaniards, and later the Dutch to undertake voyages of discovery. The story goes that in 1582 or thereabouts, a Spanish ship in going from Manila ran into a storm which drove her helplessly before it. When the storm had ceased the ship found herself some three hundred eighty or ninety Spanish miles east of Japan and in latitude thirty-seven and one-half degrees.²⁷¹ On looking around the hearts of the crew were made glad at the sight of an island; and on landing they were greeted hospitably by the

published for a long time after it was received and had therefore little influence on cartography.

²⁶⁶ Teleki, Paul Graf. *Atlas zur Geschichte der Kartographie der Japanischen Inseln*, 106.

²⁶⁷ *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, vol. iv, 20.

²⁶⁸ Teleki, Paul Graf. *Atlas*, *op. cit.*

²⁶⁹ *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, vol. iv, 20.

²⁷⁰ — *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ A good account of Vizcaino's voyage is found in Dr. Oskar Nachod's *Ein Unentdecktes Goldland* (Tokyo, 1910).

people. Everywhere they saw gold and silver, even the pots and pans were made of these metals.²⁷² This story was believed in Spain and Mexico.

In 1611 it was determined to send an expedition from Mexico to these islands. Sebastian Vizcaino was ordered to proceed to Japan and from there to sail in search of the "Rica de Oro" and "Rica de Plata." He arrived in Japan in June, 1611. On October 22, he sailed north along the Japanese coast as far as the fortieth parallel. He asked many questions of the natives of this region, and they gave him information in regard to Korea, Tartary, and Yeso "island" and its hairy inhabitants. On account of the cold which was more severe than that to which his crew was accustomed, Vizcaino turned back to Japan, arriving there in the last days of December. In the following September he set out once more to find the islands, going first east and then south to the thirty-fourth parallel. But it was all in vain, no gold and silver islands were to be seen. He sailed back to Japan; and this was the last attempt of the Spaniards to find an El Dorado in this part of the world.²⁷³

Although the real object of Vizcaino's voyage was meant to be secret, yet the Dutch in Japan learned of it through the sailors. William Verstegen, an employee of the Dutch East India Company, in 1635 brought the matter to the attention of his superiors at Batavia, who referred it to the Board of Directors at Amsterdam. They ordered that a search be made for these islands east of Japan, and along the coast of northern Japan, Tartary, and Korea.²⁷⁴ In accordance with these in-

²⁷² Nachod, *Ein Unentdecktes Goldland*.

²⁷³ — *Ibid*.

²⁷⁴ The directors probably received encouragement from the report which Caron submitted in 1636 (published in 1648) and a map which accompanied

structions two of the company's boats in charge of Mathijs Quast and Abel Jans Tasman left Batavia on June 2, 1639.²⁷⁵ In the course of the summer they sailed north as far as the forty-second parallel and east of Japan six hundred Dutch miles. They discovered the Bonin and other small islands, but failed to locate the "goudrycke eylant." In the meantime scurvy had broken out among the crew and further search had to be given up for the time being.

This expedition did not discourage the directors, who said that the failure was due to the poor health of the sailors. They requested that another search should be made and in particular along the northern coast of Japan, Tartary, and Korea. Early in 1643 Comman-deur Maerten Gerritsen Vries, on the flag-ship *Castricum*, and Schipper Hendrick Cornelisz Schaep, on the *Breskens*, left Batavia to find these islands. On May 19, when off the southern islands of Japan, a storm separated the two ships.²⁷⁶ Vries continued his investigation alone, sailing northwardly along the Japanese coast, and yet far enough away from it to prevent him from determining scientifically whether Nippon and Jeso were two distinct bodies of land. On June 9, Ainos from Jeso came on board for the first time. Gradually sailing northward Vries passed Jeso and came to the Kuril Islands, but owing to the foggy weather he did not know this, and therefore concluded that he was continuously in sight of Jeso.

it, on which Japan is joined to Tartaria by "T' Vaste Landt van Iezzo." A copy of this map is doc. 328 of the Kohl Collection.

²⁷⁵ Quast's journal is published in full by Teleki in his atlas. J. E. Heeres in his *Journal of Tasman* has an excellent brief account of this voyage.

²⁷⁶ The journal of Vries was published for the first time at Amsterdam in 1858, entitled, *Reise van Maarten Gerritsz Vries in 1643*. It was edited by P. A. Leupe. Siebold also contributed valuable notes and a map. Teleki has a good account of the voyage.

Between June 15 and 20 two of the Kurils were discovered. The one nearer Jeso was called State Island and the one east of that Company Land, which Vries believed to be a part of the American coast.²⁷⁷ From now until about the end of July the *Castricum* followed various courses, north, west, south, and northwesterly and easterly along the coast of what Vries regarded as Jeso. On July 26, the most northerly point was reached, the southeastern part of Sakhalin Island, and a day or two later Cape Patience was located and named. From here the *Castricum* sailed southerly, passing between Company Land and State Island, and then southwesterly towards Jeso, where stops were made to take on water and wood and to make inquiries about precious metals. During the month of September search was made for the gold and silver islands between the thirty-sixth and thirty-ninth parallels. By the beginning of October the boat was "*460 milen buyten de O. kust van Japan*," and still no islands. This discouraging work determined the officers to give up the search and sail south. On November 9, the *Breskens* hove in sight, and nine days later the two boats anchored at Tywan, Formosa.

When the *Breskens* became separated from the *Castricum* she sailed a course similar to the flag-ship, discovering also State Island and Company Land. She did not, however, come as far north as the *Castricum*. On account of the thick weather Schaeep was equally unable to tell where Jeso ended, so that he came back thinking that Jeso extended indefinitely.

It is also claimed that at some time in the first part of the seventeenth century a Portuguese sea captain, Juan de Gama, in going from China to New Spain, discov-

²⁷⁷ *Reize, op. cit.*, 100.

ered a body of land in about the same locality where Vries saw his new lands. The authority for De Gama's voyage and discovery is Joao Texeira, who noted it on his map of 1649.

These three reports—that of the Jesuits, Vries, and Texeira—reaching the European public as they did about the same time, completely confused the cartographers and offered them an unlimited field for the exercise of their ingenuity. Some made Jeso an island, others a continent, still others a part of Asia or America.

The published maps on which Jeso appears for the first time are based chiefly on the Jesuit letters, and perhaps to some extent on the charts of the Spanish and Portuguese navigators, though this is not so certain. After the publication of Jansson's map of Japan, in 1650, on which the discoveries of Vries are set forth, the influence of the Dutch becomes more and more pronounced and gradually supplants that of the Jesuits.

According to Robert Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* (1647),²⁷⁸ Yeso is set apart from Tartary by a narrow strait, and its most southwesterly point, just north of Korea, is Tessoy Cape. Going east from this cape twenty-three degrees one comes to the city of Mantzumay, and from there Yeso stretches forty degrees farther in the same direction to Iezo Strait, on the other side of which is America.

Beginning with his map of 1652, Nicholas Sanson has left many interesting works in which Jeso is noted. In his first attempt he represented it as a large body of

²⁷⁸ If it is true, as some hold, that there was an edition of the *Arcano del Mare* published at Florence in 1630, one will have to allow the claim of Kohl that the map in his collection is a copy of that edition, and therefore the first published map having Jeso is Dudley's of 1630.

land between Asia and America.²⁷⁹ Any one who should attempt to walk across Jesso from strait to strait, at the rate of eight leagues a day, would have to spend one hundred fifty days in the effort.²⁸⁰ In some of his other maps Sanson shows a great deal of confusion and uncertainty as to what to do with Jesso. On one map he puts the *Insula Atlantis* about where Jesso is generally located.²⁸¹

Among cartographers who regarded Jesso as a part of America was Pierre Duval. In 1661 he represented east of Asia a *Detroit de Jesso* and east of that a body of land with the words *Amerique Terre de Jesso*. Three years later the word "Amerique" is left out on his map, and in its place one may read, "Terre de Province de Tessoy Jesso." Anian Strait is between California Island and Jesso. So far he seems to have been influenced by Sanson, but in 1684 he turns for guidance from his old tutor to the Dutch map makers.²⁸²

Lugtenburg's representation of *Terra de Yesso* as the home of the lost tribes should be noted here. This map gives the impression that Japan is joined by a narrow neck of land to Yedso, a part of the Asiatic continent. State (?) Island and Vries Strait are east of it, and east of this strait is a body of land extending to Baffin's Bay. Over this land is written, "*Terra de Yesso Het Land van de tien Stammen der Kindern Israels.*"²⁸³

Fred DeWitt, an Amsterdam map maker, put on his map two Jesos: one, *Terra Esonis*, as a part of America,

²⁷⁹ *L'Asie en plusieurs cartes.*

²⁸⁰ Both Dudley and Sanson drew their material from the Jesuit writings. Charlevoix, P. *Histoire du Japon*, vol. vi, 34.

²⁸¹ *Asia Vetus*, 1667.

²⁸² *Cartes de Geographie* (Paris, 1688).

²⁸³ Number 330 in the Kohl Collection.

and another, Yedso, as a part of Asia. Allard's map gives a similar idea; and other maps could be named to prove that in the minds of many scholars there existed an American and an Asiatic Jeso.

On another interesting map Nippon Island is united on the north by an isthmus to a large body of land termed Terra Yedso.²⁸⁴ This idea was suggested many years before by Sanson in his small atlas of Asia, where he said,

Autres encor disent que ce n'est point un Detroit, mais un Isthme, qui attache le Japon avec le Jesso que l'un et l'autre ne font q'une isle.

East of this Nippon-Yedso combination Compagnie Land is indicated, and between that and California stands Terra Esonis. Vander AA has a map which differs but little from this one.²⁸⁵

P. Coronelli, a scholar greatly honored in France and Venice, pictures, on one of the large globes at the Bibliotheque Nationale, north of Japan Tartarie de Yupi and east of that State Island, followed by "Terra de Iesso, Ieco, Yedco, Ezzo, et Sesso," and on one corner of this "Terra dei la Campagnia." All this runs along eastwardly until it becomes lost in Nouva Albione.

Differing from Coronelli were certain cartographers who believed that Terre de Jesso and Terre de la Campagnie^{285a} were not the same lands. One map has Jesso as a part of Asia and Company Land east of it, stretching out toward America. Guillaume Delisle brings out this point several times. Gerard van Keulen put Anian Strait between California and Het Campagnies

²⁸⁴ Seutter, Matthaus. *Atlas Novus*.

²⁸⁵ P. Vander AA, *Mappemonde*.

^{285a} See in the second paragraph above "Compagnie." Here as in many other cases more than one spelling of a proper noun has been used, showing the confusion in the spelling of such that existed at that time.

Land, which continues indefinitely westward, but is doubtless intended to represent the Spanish discoveries, since it has many Spanish-American names. Jesso is supposed to be on the Asiatic side. Another map bringing out the same conception is a curious mappemonde in marble at the Bibliotheque Nationale. "T. D'Yeco" is a peninsular body of land in Asia. East of Yeco is an island, probably State, and east of that Terra de la Compagnie is joined to America. The peculiar thing about his mappemonde is that north of "T. D'Yeco" Asia is united with America by an isthmus, so that a boat passing De Vries Strait going northward would enter into a closed sea.

Nicholas Witsen, an Amsterdam scholar of great merit whose work on Tartary is even now regarded as an authority, has Terre de Jedso (part of Asia) looking across Vries Strait to a very large Terra de la Compagnie which the author says was first seen by Juan de Gama.

A geographer whose opinion carried considerable weight in his day was Jean Baptiste Homan of Nurnberg. On one of his maps he throws out a hint that what Jean De Gama discovered was perhaps the northwest coast of America. On the map in question California has nearly the same form and position it now holds. Northwest of it is Terra Esonis Incognita with this legend underneath: *Costa Terrae Borealis incognita detecta a Dom Joanne de Gama Navigante ex China Novam Hispaniam.*

Guillaume Delisle changed his views several times in regard to Jesso. One of these is especially interesting. In a memoir which he read before the Paris Academy in 1720, he advanced an opinion that Jesso was a part of Asia and Japan a peninsula of it [Jeso], and

that this Japan-Jeso land came within five degrees of California.²⁸⁶

Such were the confused ideas of the Europeans. Those of the Asiatics were somewhat more clear. Martini (1614-1661), a Jesuit who had spent many years in China, discusses the question of Yeco in his atlas. He says:

Many people are in doubt whether Jesso (Chinese call it Yeco) is an island. To the Chinese it is a part of Tartary and separated by a narrow strait from the island of Japan. Personally I express no opinion but refer the reader to the cartes of Japan in my atlas which cartes I brought from China.

On one of the maps referred to Yeco is marked as a small island, and on another Eso is noted but without definite shape and probably intended for the mainland.

What little evidence we have goes to show that the Japanese, at least those in the north, believed Jeso to be an island.²⁸⁷ Kaempfer tells us that the Japanese referred to all the land north of them as Yesso, having in mind both islands and mainland. To the island or islands they applied the term Yesogasima [Yeso-Island], and to the continental land north of Yesogasima they gave the name Oku-Yeso [Upper-Yeso]. It can not be said, however, that the Japanese had any very well defined ideas as to Oku-Yeso, notwithstanding that several expeditions had been sent out by the government to obtain information. One of these sailed in 1684. Another a few years later claimed to have discovered a large continent, supposedly America, between the fortieth and fiftieth degrees of latitude. That these and

²⁸⁶ This idea that Japan was a part of the Asiatic mainland was not original with Delisle. In 1702 a Japanese, who had been wrecked in Kamchatka some years before, was brought to Moscow. He told Peter the Great that one could go from Japan to China either by land or by sea [*Russkaya Starina*, October, 1891].

²⁸⁷ *Reise*, *op cit.*, 174.

other Japanese touched somewhere on Kamchatka is quite possible.²⁸⁸ As to their having been in America the Asiatic junks found on the northwest coast are very strong evidence of its likelihood. Kaempfer quotes from Japanese maps and books to the effect that

Oku-Yeso is a large continent which extends out from the great Tartary, and extends itself behind the island of Yeso-gasima, reaching about fifteen degrees of longitude further east than the eastern coast of Japan. A large space is left empty between it and the neighboring America.²⁸⁹

As soon as the existence and position of Kamchatka became known cartographers concluded that the Oku-Yeso of Japan was the same as Russian Kamchatka. Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer in Siberian exile, writes of Kamchatka, "sonsten Terra de Jedso benennt."²⁹⁰

In Kaempfer's works a map is inserted, based on one which the author brought from Japan, representing Kamchatka and Terra de Iesso as the same land. Bellin draws north of Nippon the island of Matsmay (an other name for Jeso Island) and north of that he locates Kamchatka, "*que les Japonois appellent Terre de Jeso.*"²⁹¹ Other geographers also fell in with this easy explanation which seemed to clear up some of the confusion.

But a reaction was not long in coming. That Jeso is an island all agreed; but what is Oku-Yeso, or Terre de Jeso? Is it Kamchatka? To the thoughtful scholar the subject became exceedingly perplexing, and we do not wonder that D'Anville complained that Terre de Jeco "*m'avoir mis a une espece de torture.*"²⁹² Here

²⁸⁸ Both Atlasof and Bering found shipwrecked Japanese in Kamchatka.

²⁸⁹ Kaempfer (Scheuchzer's original edition), vol. i, 67-68.

²⁹⁰ Strahlenberg (Stockholm, 1730), vol. ii.

²⁹¹ In Charlevoix's *Japan*, edition 1736.

²⁹² Lettre de M. D'Anville au R. P. Castel, 1737, vol. ii. On the map he

was the trouble: Bering's report of his first voyage placed the southern point of Kamchatka ten minutes north of the fifty-first parallel; Vries saw Jeso in latitude forty-nine when he turned back. If Kamchatka is Terra de Jeso and ends where Bering said, what did Vries see? Kozirefski, a Russian, sailed among the Kuril Islands where Vries said he saw a continuous body of land. These questions came up between the years 1730 and 1740. Geographers tried hard to bring order out of this puzzling situation. A map of the Sansons of about this time stretches Kamchatka almost to Japan, and on the southern part of the peninsula are these words, "*les Kurilski qu'on croit Colonie du Japan sous le nom Terre Jeso.*" East of this are State Island and Company Land. D'Anville, in 1737, decided that Kamchatka was not Jeso and frankly acknowledged his inability to throw light on the subject.²⁹³ Bellin, who in 1737, strongly defended the stand he took regarding the identity of Kamchatka and Terre de Jeso, regretted his words a few years later,²⁹⁴ and like D'Anville pleaded ignorance.

Kaempfer settled to the satisfaction of all the insularity of Jeso, but he brought Oku-Yeso into the discussion and thus made two problems to solve in place of one. The geographers attempted to account for two Jesos where the Jesuits and Vries claimed but one, and by so doing they became badly confused.

has a Jeco Island, the southern point of which he calls Matsmay. North of Jeco is State Island, Company Land, a vacant space, a few scattered rocks or islets south of Kamchatka, on the end of which is the word "Kurilski."

²⁹³ Lettre de M. D'Anville au R. P. Castel, 1737, vol. ii.

²⁹⁴ On the map which he made to go with Charlevoix's *Japan*, edition 1754, he has Matsmay (Jeso) Island and above it a larger island named Terre de Jeso, on the western portion of which is written: "*Toute cette partie est inconnue.*" From there on northward one may note State Island, Company Land, and other islands, all the way to Kamchatka.

Guillaume Delisle sums up very excellently the geographical situation in the North Pacific in 1720.²⁹⁵ He says that nothing was definitely known of the regions north of Mendocino Cape or at most Cape Blanco. As to the Asiatic side one could not speak with certainty of any point north of the southern part of Tartary and Nagasaki. Knowledge of northern Asia stopped with Nova Zemlya, and it was even a question whether that body of land were an island or a part of the mainland. If one were then to draw a line from Nova Zemlya to, say, Shanghai he would divide known from unknown Asia just as Cape Mendocino separates known from unknown America.

All these vexing questions were finally and conclusively settled, not by the cartographers, but by the navigators. The two Kamchatka expeditions sent out by Russia located scientifically the lands of these regions

²⁹⁵ *Memoir de l'Academie*, 1720. The three Delisle brothers were quite prominent in Russian geographical affairs during the first half of the eighteenth century. In order not to confuse them, as is often done, a brief sketch of each follows here. Guillaume (1675-1726), the oldest and best known, was regarded as one of the ablest geographers of his day. After 1718 he held in France the title of *premier geograph du roi*. Peter had an interview with him when that monarch visited Paris, and it is supposed that Delisle was in some way responsible for the sending out of the Bering expedition.

Joseph Nicholas Delisle (1688-1768) was a well known astronomer. At the invitation of Peter and Catherine he came to St. Petersburg in 1725. He remained in Russia busily engaged in astronomical and geographical problems until 1747. It was he who drew up the chart for Bering's second voyage. Delisle's memoir of 1750 on the Russian discoveries made him many enemies at St. Petersburg.

Louis Delisle de la Croyere (half brother to the other two men) became the pride of the family only after his death. A part of his life he spent on the frontier of Canada, leading an irregular life and writing to his father for money with which to pay his debts [*Delisle Mss.*, no. xvi, 121]. Nicholas found Louis a position at the Russian capital, and from there he went with the Bering party as one of the scientists. He was on Chirikof's boat on the voyage to America and died on his return in 1741.

and gave them their proper shape and size. Alaska takes the place of Terra de Jeso on the maps; Company Land, State Island, and Gama Land are three of the Kuril Islands, but on some charts they still retain their old names.

VI. BERING'S FIRST EXPEDITION

Luzhin and Yevreinof carried out neither the secret nor the public instructions of the czar. But the matter did not end here; for soon after their return Peter set on foot another expedition to determine whether Asia and America are united.²⁹⁶ He himself drew up the

²⁹⁶ The question has often been raised why did Peter send out this costly expedition? who influenced him? was it Guillaume Delisle? was it the French, Dutch, or Russian Academy? There is an eagerness to lay the blame or praise on some one individual or organization. Peter was not easily influenced; he had ideas of his own but he never turned away good council and if it fitted in with his views he put it into action. The best answer to all the above queries may be found in Peter's own words as they have been handed down to us by Nartof who was almost in constant attendance on the Emperor during his last days. Nartof's accounts have been edited by Maikof and published by the Academy of Sciences, under the title, *Rasskazi Nartova O Petre Velikom* (St. Petersburg, 1891). That which follows is a free but accurate translation of Nartof's narrative (page 99):

"In the beginning of January 1725, Peter was realizing that he had not long to live, yet his unconquerable spirit was busily at work for the good of his country. With his own hand he drew up the instructions relative to the Kamchatka Expedition which should determine the relations between Asia and America. He also selected the officers for this work - Vitus Bering, Martin Spangenberg [this was the usual way of writing it at this period] and Alexei Chirikof.

"I was then almost constantly with the Emperor and saw with my own eyes how eager His Majesty was to get the expedition under way, as it were, conscious that his end was near. When all had been arranged he seemed pleased and content. Calling the general-admiral [Count Apraxin] to him he said, 'Bad health has obliged me to remain at home. Recently I have been thinking over a matter which has been on my mind for many years but other affairs have prevented me from carrying it out. I have reference to the finding a passage to China and India through the Arctic Sea. On the map before me there is indicated such a passage bearing the name of Anian. There must be some reason for that. In my last travels I discussed the subject with learned men and they were of the opinion that such a passage could be found. Now that the country is in no danger from enemies we should strive to win for her glory along the lines of the Arts and Sciences. In seeking such a passage

instructions, on December 23, 1724, but did not sign them until January 26, 1725.²⁹⁷ For brevity and comprehensiveness the document may serve as a model:

I. To build in Kamchatka or in some other place one or two decked boats.

II. To sail on these boats along the shore which runs to the north and which (since its limits are unknown) seems to be a part of the American coast.

III. To determine where it joins with America. To sail to some settlement under European jurisdiction, and if a European ship should be met with learn from her the name of the coast and take it down in writing, make a landing, obtain detailed information, draw a chart and bring it here.²⁹⁸

About a month after signing these instructions the great czar died; but his plans were carried on by the empress. Before his death he chose Bering²⁹⁹ to carry out the projected work. Vitus Bering was born in Denmark in 1681. Since 1704 he had been connected with the Russian navy, and on various occasions distinguished himself by his bravery and excellent seamanship. On account of these qualities, also because of his experience in the waters of the East and West Indies, he was recommended by Vice-admiral Sivers and Contreadmiral Sinyavin.³⁰⁰ For lieutenants Bering had given him Martin Spanberg, a Dane, and Alexei Chir-

who knows but perhaps we may be more successful than the Dutch and English who have made many such attempts along the American coast. I have written out these instructions and on account of my health, I entrust the execution of them, point by point, to you, Fedor Matveevich.' "

²⁹⁷ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. vii, 537.

²⁹⁸ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 67-70.

²⁹⁹ In the *Lettre d'un Officier*, etc., 13, it is said that the naval officers were notified of the expedition and volunteers were called for. Among those who offered themselves was Bering.

³⁰⁰ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 642-644. See also *Dela Chranjas-Chijasa V. Admiralteistvo-Kollegi, 1724*, doc. 29, p. 129-130. This document deals with the selection of officers and has comments on it in Peter's handwriting.

ikof, a Russian. A number of minor officers were taken from the capital, while many others were selected on the way.³⁰¹

The vanguard, consisting of twenty-five men, left St. Petersburg, January 24, 1725, but Bering, Spanberg, and several others did not get away before February 5. Nine days later the two divisions united and proceeded together as far as Tobolsk where they arrived March 16.³⁰² On May 15, they left this place and sailed down the Irtysh River. From the confluence of the Irtysh and the Ob, they followed the banks of the latter to Narim and from there they went up the Ketya to Makofska Fort and landed July 19.³⁰³ From this point the material was portaged across seventy versts³⁰⁴ to the Yenisei. Boats were in readiness for them and they all went on board and moved slowly and with difficulty up the Yenisei, Tunguska, and Ilima Rivers. Ilimsk was reached September 29, and the boats tied up there for the winter. Bering would have liked to advance still farther that season, but he could not do so because there was no possibility of his reaching Jakutsk before the cold set in, neither was there a suitable place along the road where comfortable quarters could be obtained.³⁰⁵ On the Uskuyt there were, however, enough accommodations for a small party, and these were assigned to

³⁰¹ Two pilots, George Morison and Richard Ensel, one midshipman, Peter Chaplin, one geodist, Gregory Polutof, one surgeon, William Bustofski, one clerk, Peter Turchinof, one quartermaster, Ivan Borisof, one shipmaster, Ivan Koslof, thirteen sailors, four carpenters, three mechanics, and three apprentices were taken from St. Petersburg. The priest, Ilarion Trusof, the commissary, Ivan Durasof, the geodist, Feodor Luzhin, the navigator, Kondrati Moshkof, Ivan Shestakof, twenty-four soldiers, and several mechanics were commissioned on the way.

³⁰² *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 67-70.

³⁰³ — *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ A verst contains about three thousand, five hundred feet.

³⁰⁵ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 67-70.

Spanberg and thirty men.³⁰⁶ In the course of the winter they built fourteen lodkas and eighteen good sized barges. Bering, during that time learned all he could about the country he was to pass through from men who had been there. Before the winter was quite over the commander led his men to assist Spanberg's on the Uskuyt, and the two gangs joined in the preparations for the descent of the Lena. On May 5, they got away and, after enduring many hardships, arrived at Jatusk in detachments between June 1 and 16. This was an important station because it was to supply the greater part of the necessary material and the horses for transportation to Okhotsk.³⁰⁷

Although the distance between Jakutsk and Okhotsk is comparatively short (one thousand versts), it was the hardest and most dreaded part of the march. Bering found it necessary to divide his force into three parties: the leadership of one he gave to Chirikof of the second to Spanberg, and the third he took. The division under him he split into three sections. The one he commanded contained a large number of men and about two hundred horses, each loaded with five puds (one hundred eighty pounds) of flour, and arrived at Okhotsk October 1, having been forty-five days on the way.³⁰⁸ Not so fortunate were the two other sections, and they endured many hardships before they joined Bering. About the middle of August (earlier than usual) the cold set in, causing a great deal of suffering so that many horses perished on the way, and those that reached their destination died from starvation, because it was too late to provide food for them. At Okhotsk

³⁰⁶ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 67-70.

³⁰⁷ Ignatius Kozirefski was here at this time and from him Bering learned much about the navigation of the Okhotsk Sea and the waters of Kamchatka.

³⁰⁸ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 71-72.

Bering found a few huts about three miles from the mouth of the river. He at once put his men to work building warehouses and living quarters for the winter. But this was no easy task; for, the horses being dead, the material had to be carried on the backs of the men long distances, even ten versts. In addition to this work fish had to be caught and salt manufactured for preserving the meat from the cattle which came in but could not be kept until spring because of lack of food for them. This hard work made the men restless and mutinous.

The company under Spanberg was the greatest sufferer. On July 7 it left Jakutsk in thirteen boats (two others followed a little later), on which were two hundred four men and the more important and heavy materials and provisions. In sending them by this land and water route and not overland, the way he went, Bering believed it possible to go down the Lena, up the Aldan and Maja to Udoma Cross, and from there over to the Urak and down to Okhotsk. If the season had not been an unusual one and Spanberg had not been late in starting, this plan might have succeeded. But when Spanberg came to the mouth of the Gorbea River, about four hundred and fifty versts from his objective point, it became so cold that the boats froze fast.³⁰⁹ The leader decided to transport the more needed materials overland, and for this purpose he made during the first part of November one hundred hand sleds, to which he and his men harnessed themselves. Owing to the cold and hunger the progress was slow: one party drawing forty sleds struggled on to the Povorotnoi River and gave up; another, half as large, plodded on through the snow to the Talkova River and stopped;

³⁰⁹ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 71-72.

and the third, led by Spanberg, pushed on and made Udoma Cross by the middle of December, and in the first days of January, 1727³¹⁰ reached Okhotsk with the assistance of Bering, who sent out his men and natives with sleds to help them.³¹¹ Spanberg and his men suffered severely. Everything that came in their way was used as food: they chewed leather as long as their boot-tops held out, and considered themselves extremely fortunate to find the carcasses of Bering's horses that had dropped dead along the trail.³¹² A few of the men deserted and went back to Jakutsk. Two of them died as a result of their hardships, on February 2 and Luzhin on March 11.

Ship carpenters had preceded Bering to Okhotsk, and these men had made such excellent progress in the construction of a boat that with the help of Bering it was possible to complete her during the winter and spring. On June 8, 1727, she was launched and named the Fortune. Twenty-two days later Spanberg sailed in her to Bolshaya River, Kamchatka, with orders to discharge the cargo and to send the ship builders he had on board across to Kamchatka River to begin the

³¹⁰ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 71-72.

³¹¹ When Bering ordered his men to go to the relief of Spanberg's party they refused, at first, saying that they were already overworked, and that they had as yet received no pay. Bering replied that the authorities at Jakutsk and not he were to blame for their being unpaid. The men had to give in. Ninety of them, under the command of Spanberg, left Okhotsk with seventy-six dog teams on February 14. They suffered so much on the way that a number of them died from the effects of it, others deserted and disappeared, and still others went to Jakutsk to bring charges against Bering. The more faithful persevered and returned with loads in April, but this was such a small part of what was to be brought that it was necessary to send another detachment of men that same month. Even then a great part of the stores had to be left behind until later, when horses could be procured. Some of the material, however, was sent back to Jakutsk because it could not be transported to Okhotsk in time to be of service to Bering.

³¹² *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 71-72.

construction of a new boat.³¹³ On July 3 Chirikof came in, bringing two thousand, three hundred puds of flour³¹⁴ on pack horses and at least fifty steers.³¹⁵

There was at this time in port the Lodiya, a boat constructed in 1720 for the use of the tribute gatherers.³¹⁶ This vessel was placed at the service of Bering, who overhauled, repaired, and launched her on August 4.³¹⁷ Seventeen days later the two ships, the Fortune having returned in the meantime, set sail for Kamchatka,³¹⁸ Bering and Spanberg being on board the Fortune and Chirikof on the Lodiya. Fair winds followed them nearly all the way so that they were able to enter the mouth of the Bolshaya River September 1.³¹⁹

From the anchorage in Bolshaya River to the bank was a stretch of three miles of shallow water, making it necessary to discharge the cargo into small boats,³²⁰ a long and tedious task which took up the whole of September. From here to Lower Kamchatka the distance was nearly nine hundred versts by way of the Bistraya River to its head, and from there by portage to the Kamchatka River and down that stream to the fort.

³¹³ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 72-73.

³¹⁴ — *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Delisle Manuscripts*, no. xxv, 5. Chirikof wintered at Jakutak and started in the spring. Nothing is said of his march and this leads one to believe that he suffered little.

³¹⁶ *Otchestvenniya Zapiski*, vol. lxxv, 15.

³¹⁷ While the men were loading her there suddenly appeared large flocks of ducks. All hands were sent to hunt and in a few days as many as five thousand birds were killed.

³¹⁸ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 72-73.

³¹⁹ The question arises why did not Bering go directly to his headquarters in eastern Kamchatka instead of anchoring on the western side of the peninsula and transporting his materials overland? Bering justified his action to Count Apraxin by saying that he chose the harder course for fear an accident might happen if he came all the way by water [*Zapiski Hydrograficheskavo Departamenta*].

³²⁰ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 72-73.

Several days after landing Spanberg and a force of men in thirty small boats attempted to follow up the course just indicated. When they had gone a short distance it became evident that they could never transport their materials that way, the stream was too swift and too dangerous for the boats which were being caught in the current and capsized. It was therefore decided to land the cargo and transport as much of it as possible to Lower Kamchatka on sledges during the winter, and to float the remainder down the Kamchatka River in the spring.³²¹

Those who did not go with Spanberg spent their time at Bolsheretzka Ostrog in hunting, fishing, drilling, and in making ready for crossing the mountains. On January 4, 1728, a party with seventy-eight loaded sledges left the fort and ten days later Bering followed with another party. By slow marches the various sections succeeded in straggling into lower Kamchatka between March 11 and May 20.

With the coming of Bering work on the new boat, the keel of which was laid April 4³²² and measured sixty by twenty by seven and a half feet, was pushed with vigor. On June 8, she was launched and christened St. Gabriel; but another month passed before she was ready for sea.³²³

On July 13, the Gabriel pulled up the anchor and headed out of the harbor. She had on board forty-four men, including officers and crew;³²⁴ and she was

³²¹ In Kamchatka, as in other parts of Siberia, the natives were made to do a great deal of the hard work. They were often taken from their occupation when they could least afford the time.

³²² *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 72-73.

³²³ One of the delays was caused by the lack of tar which had to be manufactured on the spot.

³²⁴ Captain Bering, Lieutenants Spanberg and Chirikof, one midshipman, one surgeon, one quartermaster, one navigator, eight sailors, one *desyatnik*,

provisioned for a year with as good food as is carried by any modern deep water sailing ship.²²⁵ On the first day the boat came as far as the mouth of the river, and on the second she stood out to sea in a southerly direction in order to clear the cape, after which the course was changed to northerly. During July 15, the weather was clear but calm, and by midnight eighteen miles had been sailed. A fresh southwest breeze blew on the sixteenth, pushing the boat along at the rate of six and a half knots an hour. Towards evening it calmed down, however. Foggy, drizzly weather generally prevailed on the seventeenth, now and then clearing and allowing a view of the snow-covered mountains in the west. It was almost dead calm during the next twenty-four hours, so that only eight miles were sailed, to fifty-seven degrees, thirty-nine minutes. To keep clear of Urinski Cape the course was shifted to south-southeast and east-southeast. On account of the calm of the succeeding day the boat advanced only about twenty miles; but on the twentieth and twenty-first, keeping a northeast by north course, one hundred ninety-two miles were sailed. One hundred miles more were added on the twenty-second, bringing the Gabriel to sixty degrees, sixteen minutes. Fair progress was made on the twenty-third. Land was in sight nearly all this time, the course being almost parallel to the shore. It was warm and pleasant on the twenty-fourth, and the ship drifted so near the land that it was necessary to

one apprentice, one drummer, one sail maker, nine soldiers, one rope maker, five carpenters, two Cossacks, two interpreters, and six servants [*Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 74].

²²⁵ Among the articles of food there were salted beef and venison, fish and fish oil, liquor distilled from sweet grass. On the way fresh meat was bought from the Chukchi. One can judge the quality and quantity of food on board by the fact that there is no case of sickness reported [*Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo*, part x, 74].

keep her off. Very little headway is recorded for the next two days. Cape St. Thaddeus was sighted on the twenty-seventh, and to double it the course was changed to southeast by east. Rain and fog enveloped the boat nearly the whole of the twenty-eighth, forcing her to keep about fifteen miles from shore. On the thirtieth, when within a mile or so from shore, Bering ordered to let go the anchor and sent Chaplin ashore to find fresh water and anchorage. He returned without having found either. An advance of eighty-five miles in a northeast direction is recorded for the thirty-first.

August came in with fog, rain, and wind. Under these conditions Bering steered for the open sea, but when on the following morning he found himself sixteen miles from shore he headed back for land, and in tacking up and down he sighted a bay which he named Holy Cross. Two days were spent in this place looking in vain for fresh water and good anchorage. Standing out to sea on August 4, the Gabriel sailed a course parallel to the coast, which runs here in an east-southeast direction. The same course was kept on the fifth and sixth. At the close of the last mentioned day the lookout sighted another bay, which was christened Transfiguration. Early the following morning Chaplin went ashore. He returned with twenty-two barrels of mountain stream water and reported that he had come across a hut showing signs of recent habitation but no inmates were to be seen.

When the water had been taken on board the Gabriel went out to sea. About seven o'clock in the morning of August 8 a small boat holding eight men was seen approaching, and when near enough the Koriaks engaged the newcomers in conversation. They said that they were Chukchi, and in turn inquired whence and

why the white men came. Bering's invitation to come on board was debated for a time, finally one man got into the water and swam to the boat with the aid of inflated bladders. This man told the Koriak interpreters that the Chukchi inhabited the neighboring shores, and that they long since heard of the Russians.³²⁶ In answer to the question as to the position of the Anaduir he pointed to the west. He said also that

Their land forms two bays and turns to the mouth of the river Koluima, that the sea was all about them and large sand banks, and that the sea into which the Koluima falls always has ice in it. That they had heard of the Russians through their relatives, who go sometimes to Koluima on their deer sleds but never by water. That there was an island in the sea on which live some of our people, but knew of no other islands or lands.³²⁷

Bering gave this Chukchi presents and with these he floated back to his own boat. From the Gabriel it appeared as if he were attempting to persuade his comrades to go on board, but this they would not do.

Continuing on their northerly course, the explorers rounded Chukotski Cape. The observation on the ninth indicated sixty-four degrees, ten minutes. Owing to light winds little progress was made during the two days succeeding. On the afternoon of the eleventh an island loomed up, to which Bering gave the name St. Lawrence. Chaplin was ordered ashore to see if he could find people, but he was unsuccessful, although he did see huts. Head winds and drizzly weather prevented the boat from sailing more than two-thirds of a degree during the whole day of the twelfth. The wind shifted to fair on the thirteenth, taking the Gabriel ninety-four miles north, to about sixty-five degrees, thirty minutes. In the course of the afternoon Bering

³²⁶ *Zapiski Voenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 74.

³²⁷ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. vii, 549-550.

summoned his officers to consult as to what should be done. He said to them:

Since we have come to latitude sixty-five degrees, thirty minutes north, and, according to my opinion and the statements of the Chukchi, we have reached and passed the most easterly point of their land, the question is now, shall we go farther north? If so, how far? When should we begin to look for harbors? Where does it seem best – looking at it from the point of view of best serving our country – to go for the winter in order to protect men and boat? ³²⁸

The officers were divided in opinion. Spanberg, the senior officer, said:

Having come as far north as we have, and since on the Chukchi coast there are no harbors, nor wood . . . so that we could preserve ourselves in such winter weather as we have in this region; and since these natives are not peaceful . . . I suggest that after we have gone on the course we are on until the sixteenth of this month, and if by that time we are not able to reach sixty-six degrees, we should then in God's name turn about and betimes seek shelter and harbor on the Kamchatka River whence we came, in order to save men and boat.

Chirikof made this argument:

As we have no positive information as to the degree north latitude Europeans have ever reached in the Arctic Ocean on the Asiatic side we can not know with certainty whether America is really separated from Asia unless we touch at the mouth of the Koluima, or at least the ice, because it is well known that there is always drift ice in the Arctic Ocean. Therefore it seems to me that according to your instructions we ought to sail without questioning – unless we are hindered by the ice, or the coast turns to the west – to the mouth of the Koluima, as your instructions demand [a place under European jurisdiction]. But should the land continue still farther to the north, it would be necessary on the twenty-fifth of this month to look for winter quarters in this neighborhood, and above all opposite Chukotski Cape, where, according to the accounts of the Chukchi through

³²⁸ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. vii, 551-552.

Peter Tartarinof, there is a forest. And if up to that time winds are contrary, then look there by all means for a place to winter.³²⁹

Chirikof's advice was rejected and Spanberg's accepted. Until the sixteenth the same northerly course was held. About three o'clock of that afternoon, when in latitude sixty-seven, eighteen minutes, longitude one hundred ninety-three degrees, seven minutes east from Greenwich, the order was given to put about and set course for Kamchatka. With the wind at the ship's back, good progress was made the rest of that day. On the next morning the island of St. Diomedé was discovered and named. A heavy atmosphere hid the American shore, otherwise the Russians would probably have noticed it. With the breeze aft the Gabriel succeeded in coming in sight of St. Lawrence Island on the eighteenth. Chukotski Cape was passed on the nineteenth but owing to the thick weather was not seen. From about midnight of the twentieth until eight in the morning the Gabriel lay to on account of the calm and heavy fog. During the twenty-first four native boats with about forty Chukchi drew near. They were more courageous than their brothers who visited the boat before, and came on board and entered into conversation with the interpreters, whom they told that they had long since heard of the Russians. One of them said that he had been at the Anadir fort. Among other things the Chukchi told their questioners that all along the coast lived Chukchi, that their friends went to the Koluima "on deer and never by sea." Before departing they traded off deer meat, fish, fresh water, red and blue fox skins, and four walrus tusks for needles and like objects.³³⁰

³²⁹ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. vii, 551-552.

³³⁰ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 74.

Transfiguration Bay came in sight on the twenty-first and St. Thaddeus Mountain one day later. From this day to the twenty-fifth there was a calm, then followed a fair breeze which blew to the end of the month. So far the voyage had been uneventful, without danger or excitement, but on the last day of August the St. Gabriel came very near being lost. The boat was close to the shore when the sails gave away, probably due to an unexpected wind-puff from the mountains. The rigging got tangled up, and the vessel became so unmanageable that it was necessary to drop the anchor to keep her off the rocks. It took nearly a whole day to repair the damages. On September 1 a new start was made, and without any more accidents the mouth of the Kamchatka River was reached the next day; but it was not before the seventh that the anchor was dropped higher up the stream and all hands went ashore.

During the long winter Bering talked with the old residents of Kamchatka, who told him that they believed in the existence of a body of land close to Kamchatka. To prove their statement they said that in 1715 there was a man in Kamchatka who claimed that his home was east of the peninsula, and that some years previous he and some others of his people had been taken prisoners on the island of Karaginski where they were hunting. He said also that where he came from there were forests and rivers that flowed into the Kamchatka Sea; and that they used skin boats similar to those in Kamchatka. This, and other evidence collected there, added to his own observations, which he later embodied in a report, determined Bering to investigate the matter more fully.

Early in the spring, 1729, the boats were put in condition for the return to Okhotsk and the search for the land

mentioned above.³²¹ On June 6, the Gabriel got under sail and moved along steadily with a light breeze on this and the next day, reaching north latitude fifty-five degrees, thirty-seven minutes and distant from Kamchatka two degrees, twenty-one minutes. The course steered, east by south, was the one on which Bering expected to find land. A north-northwest wind blew on the eighth, driving the boat into latitude fifty-five degrees, thirty-two minutes, and from the port of sailing four degrees, seven minutes. There was a heavy breeze on the ninth: the first part of the day the boat sailed east-southeast, but later in the day Bering giving up hope of finding land, put about and went on a south-southwest course.³²² If he had gone a little farther he would have come to the island where he later found his grave and which now bears his name.

On account of variable winds the Gabriel did not enter Bolshaya River until July 3. Taking on the remainder of his crew, Bering sailed away for Okhotsk July 14, and ten days later reached that port. From here he went to St. Petersburg, following the usual route, partly by land and partly by water, and after some hardships reached that city on March 1, 1730.³²³

In the time of Bering and since then the question has been whether this expedition accomplished what it set out to do; whether it clearly demonstrated that America and Asia were separated by water? Notwithstanding Bering's affirmations, many of the leading men at the capital said that it did not³²⁴ and did not hesitate to tell

³²¹ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 75.

³²² J. N. Delisle in his *Memoir of 1750* [p. 5] states that Bering told him that he saw signs of land between the parallels of fifty and sixty; and in this locality Delisle placed a body of land on his map (1750).

³²³ *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 75.

³²⁴ Gmelin, *Voyage en Sibirie*: "L'Amirauté crut avoir des raisons importantes pour regarder la decision comme en quelque facon douteuse."

Bering so in very positive language just before he went on his second expedition. That Bering himself was convinced that he had done his duty and had obeyed his orders there is no doubt. In his report to the empress he says:

On the fifteenth ³³⁵ of August we came to latitude fifty-seven degrees, eighteen minutes, and I concluded that according to all indications the instruction of the emperor of glorious and immortal memory had been carried out. I based my conclusion on the fact that there was no more land to the north, nor did any land join the Chukchi or East Capes, and so I turned back. Had I gone farther and met with head winds it would have been impossible to return that summer; and to winter in these regions was out of the question, because there are no forests, and the people are not under Russian jurisdiction but do as they please.³³⁶

Even before going to sea Bering believed that the two continents were not united. When at Yeniseisk he saw the hardships and expense of transporting all his materials across the continent, he proposed to solve the problem before him by going to Kamchatka by way of the Koluima:

If it were decided to go from the mouth of the Koluima to the Anaduir, where it is quite possible to go, as the new maps of Asia indicate and it is said that formerly such has been done, then this expedition might be accomplished with less expense.³³⁷

Bering did not appreciate sufficiently the fact that his was a scientific expedition, and that his arguments needed scientific demonstration. It was hardly worth while to send him to Kamchatka to bring back the opinions of the Chukchi and hunters. Since he accepted their

³³⁵ According to the log book, which reckoned time from noon, it was August 16, but in the ordinary way of computing time it was the afternoon of August 15.

³³⁶ *Zapiski Voenno-Topograficheskovo Depo*, part x, 74.

³³⁷ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. vii, 548.

views on one point why did he reject them on another and fail to look for land opposite Chukotski Cape? Why this great hurry to get away? Navigation in these waters was open for at least six weeks more. Captain Cook sailed on until he was blocked by ice. Bering could have done as much. If he was willing to go from the Koluima to the Anaduir, why was he not equally willing to go from the Anaduir to the Koluima and thus obtain proof which would have settled the question of the relation of Asia and America? Though it seems unkind to say so, yet it is true that the leader of this expedition failed at the critical moment, not from lack of courage or fear of hardships, but merely from not realizing what his position demanded. Bering belonged to that class of sea captains, found in all ports, who, given a ship and a chart, will go anywhere without flinching, but who, at the same time, is neither by nature nor education fitted to head scientific expeditions, and least of all in the Arctic regions.

On the other hand it is not altogether just to find fault with Bering for not seeing the American coast. The whole time that he sailed in the strait the weather was thick. Not until Cook's voyage did the world learn how near the two continents actually were. A map of the St. Petersburg Academy, dated 1773,³³⁸ still puts twenty degrees as the narrowest place in Bering Strait. Nor, as was said before, is it fair to blame him for not seeing Bering Island. All criticism would have been turned into praise had he remained in these waters a little longer time, doing his very best and doing it in a scientific manner.

³³⁸ This map is in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs at Paris.



VII. THE CHUKCHI AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Of Siberia's many warlike peoples the Chukchi were easily the first, and they resisted for a longer time than any of the others the attempt of the Russians to subdue them. Not only did they drive the Russians from their country, but they even followed them to their forts and attacked them and their native allies. They probably would have been left undisturbed for a longer time than they actually were had it not been for an old report, revived in the beginning of the eighteenth century, of the existence of a large inhabited island east of the Lena. No one was quite certain as to the position of this new land, for although the Siberian Cossacks of the eighteenth century knew well how far it was from the head-waters of one river to that of another, they were ignorant of the relative distance between the mouths of the streams. This is not at all surprising when we consider that these men were sailors only by force of necessity, that they had no acquaintance with marine instruments, and that at the end of the seventeenth century navigation was not practiced extensively, even the making of kotshi having been forgotten.³⁸⁹ It is no wonder then that whenever a hunter heard of or saw an island, be it near the Lena, Kamchatka, Penjinsk, Ouda, or wherever it might be, it was at once identified with the old rumored inhabited island east of the Lena.

After 1708 serious efforts were made to determine

³⁸⁹ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii XVII Veka*, vol. i, doc. 118, 505.

with some certainty the location of the island or islands. At the various posts old hunters were questioned, and most of their answers show, among other things, the confusion in the mind of the average Cossack regarding the geography of eastern Siberia. One of the interesting depositions was made by Peter Popof. He said that in January, 1711, he, with others went to subdue the Chukchi living on the Anadirski Nos (a cape at the entrance to Bering Strait). While on this expedition he received from the Chukchi information regarding the lands about them. They told him that opposite Anadirski Cape, stretching out both into the Koluima and Anadir Seas, there was an island inhabited by people having pieces of walrus tusks in their cheeks. From time immemorial war had existed between the Chukchi and these islanders, ten of whom were at this time held as prisoners, and these Popof saw. From the cape to the island one could go in a boat in the summer, or on deer in winter in one day. On the island, which the Chukchi call "Large Country,"³⁴⁰ there are various kinds of animals and trees not found on the cape. The islanders have a language different from the Chukchi.

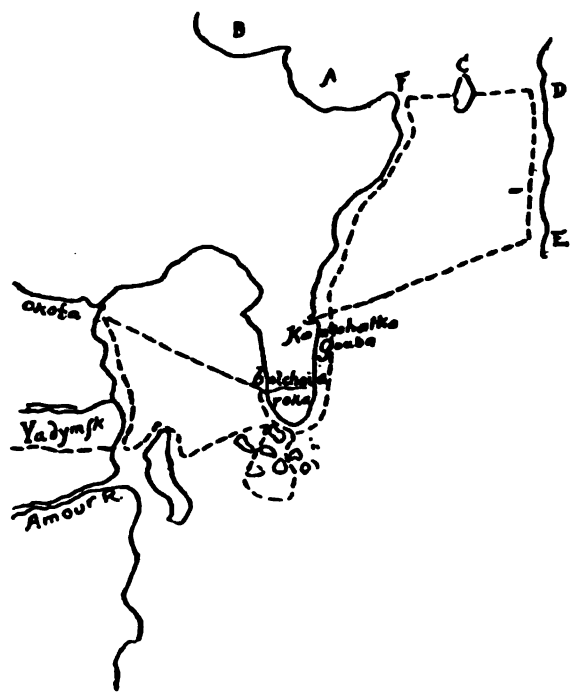
This and one or two other depositions of a similar character show that the Chukchi were aware of the existence of Bering Strait, the island or islands in it, and the coast which is now known to be America. But this must not lead to the conclusion that the Russians knew all that. Popof's statements received no more and no less credence than some others wholly untrustworthy. The Siberians had their minds made up that an island existed east of the Lena and north of the mainland, and believing that the Chukchi Peninsula was much narrower than it really is, they interpreted Popof's "op-

³⁴⁰ *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii XVII Veka*, vol. i, doc. 108.

posite Anadirski Cape" to mean not east, but north of that cape, and the Large Country is so located on Sheshtakof's map. There is no evidence for the belief or the assumption that before Bering's time the Russians in Siberia associated these islands with America, or that they gave even a thought to that country. It was purely an accident that America was discovered by them, and they did not know until much later what they had really accomplished.

In another chapter the history of Kamchatka has been traced and it was shown how all the energies of the Siberian government were for a time brought into play in order to retain that country. After the discovery of the Okhotsk-Kamchatka water route there followed a period of comparative peace and recuperation. Neither the government nor the restless and adventurous Siberians were quite at ease, however, so long as unsubdued natives were about them. Afanase Shestakof, a daring *golova* of the Cossacks, conceived the idea of conquering northeastern Siberia. He laid his plans in writing before the Russian Senate; but not satisfied with this he appeared in person before that body, bringing with him a map which now bears his name, although he probably had little to do in drawing it up, since he could neither read nor write. He was, however, a persuasive speaker, and as his projects coincided with the wishes of the government his petition was granted. On March 23, 1727, a Senate order was issued authorizing Shestakof to proceed to Siberia for the purpose of putting down the hostile natives and looking after the new lands.²⁴¹ For this work fifteen hundred men and the necessary war material and other supplies were granted. From St. Petersburg were sent along the pilot Hens,

²⁴¹ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. vii, doc. 5049.



SKETCH ILLUSTRATING GWOSDEF'S VOYAGE
[Delisle Manuscripts, xxv, 16, A]

assistant pilot Fedorof, geodist Gwosdef, a mineralogist, ten sailors, several mechanics, also four men to make fire-works with which to frighten the natives during a battle. Shestakof was not to have complete control of the company. The governor of Siberia was ordered to select some fit man to be associated with him, and this honor fell on Dimitri Pavlutski, captain of dragoons.

Soon after leaving Tobolsk the two leaders began quarreling and fighting, the other members of the expedition taking part, generally against Shestakof. The company became demoralized, and remained for a whole month inactive at Ilimsk, and would probably have wasted there much more time had not the monk Ignatius Kozirefski taken upon himself the rôle of peacemaker and brought the two men to a more agreeable frame of mind.³⁴² They continued their march to Jakutsk, where Shestakof busied himself for some time in all kinds of evil doing. Leaving Pavlutski behind him, who was to go to the Anaduir, Shestakof set out in the spring of 1729 for Okhotsk. On arriving he took over the Gabriel and the Fortune, the two boats left by Bering, and went about building two others, the larger of which he named the Eastern Gabriel and the smaller the Lion. The Gabriel he sent in charge of his nephew Ivan Shestakof to explore the coast south of Okhotsk to the mouth of the Ouda, in which locality search was made for new lands. From there the boat was to cruise along the Kuril Islands to Lower Kamchatka and, if time permitted, to go in search of the Large Country. The Fortune, in command of his son

³⁴² Kozirefski became a member of the expedition. In August, 1728, he was sent down the Lena from Jakutsk to look for lands at the mouth of the river. Before reaching the destination of the boat, Evers, was wrecked on the ice, and the party turned back.

Vasili, was to go to Bolshaya River and chart the Kuril Islands.

Shestakof took upon himself the conquest of the Koriaks and the Chukchi. He planned to go on board the Eastern Gabriel and to sail to the Penjinsk Bay and build there a fort, then proceed overland to the Oliutora River and build another fort, and from there march to the Anaduir, where arrangements would be made for the conquest of the Chukchi. The Lion had instructions to follow the Eastern Gabriel so as to render help in case of need and to make her winter quarters on the Tigil River, from which point she was to sail in the spring around Kamchatka to the mouth of the Anaduir. Early in the fall of 1729 Shestakof with a company of ninety-three men set sail for Penjinsk Bay, but on account of the head winds he was forced to land off the Tauir River and send back the boat. On November 23, having by this time increased his force to a little over one hundred men, chiefly natives, he began his march along the coast to the home of the Koriaks. Those whom he met on the way, being generally few in number, he either conquered or killed. When he had reached the River Paren (west shore of Penjinsk Bay), he learned that the Chukchi were in the neighborhood making war on the Koriaks. Shestakof followed them and on March 14, 1730, the two camps faced each other in the neighborhood of the Egache River (northern part of the bay). At that time Shestakof had with him one hundred fifty men, but the number of the enemy is not known. The Russian leader lined up his men in a military formation. On his right he stationed the Tungus and the natives of the Tauir region, on the left were the Koriaks and Tauir people, and the center was in the

hands of the Russians and Jakuts. The battle opened by the discharge of firearms by the Russians. It was immediately answered by a cloud of arrows from the Chukchi. Before the Russians could reload the Chukchi swept down on them in a mass, and after driving off the left wing and then crushing the right, concentrated their efforts on the center, which gave way. Shestakof was in the midst of the fight and was wounded by an arrow entering his throat. He tried to save himself by escaping on a reindeer sled which stood near by; but unfortunately for him the sled belonged to the Chukchi and the deer dragged him into the camp of the enemy where he was killed. Altogether thirty-one men lost their lives on the side of the Russians. After helping themselves to the firearms and other stores of the enemy the Chukchi withdrew, leaving the dead bodies on the field, and Shestakof's later found Christian burial at Anaduirsk. When the Russian forces reunited after the flight they were disorganized and disobedient to the second in command and quite useless for effective service.

Elsewhere Shestakof's plans miscarried equally. The *Lion* followed the *Eastern Gabriel*, but being unable to find her at the designated rendezvous, sailed in search of her until the cold weather forced the captain to seek a haven on the Yana River. In the course of the winter the Koriaks attacked and killed all but five of the crew, and plundered and burned the boat. The *Gabriel* and the *Fortune*, although they carried out in great part their instructions, added very little to what was then already known of the coast.

Pavlutski, who was left behind at Jakutsk by Shestakof, started for the Anaduir in August, 1729, and spent

the winter at the Lower Koluima Ostrog. As early as April 25, 1730,³⁴³ the news of Shestakof's death reached him. He immediately sent a messenger to Jakutsk to hurry the men and provisions to the Anaduir. To Hens, Fedorof, and Gwosdef, who were at this time at Okhotsk, he sent word to take charge of the Gabriel and bring her around to the Anaduir. After considerable difficulty the two Gabriels sailed away for Kamchatka in September, 1730. The Eastern was wrecked before reaching Bolshaya River, but the Saint arrived at her destination and wintered there. During the summer following Hens took the boat to Lower Kamchatka, where the winter of 1731-1732 was spent. At this place he received orders from Pavlutski that as soon as navigation was opened he was to take the Gabriel to the mouth of the Anaduir and to the Anadirski Cape and from there go in search of the Large Country and take tribute from its inhabitants. When it came time for starting Hens was too ill to go and was therefore left behind. His assistant Fedorof was in such bad health that he had to be carried on board. The burden and responsibility of the expedition fell on the geodist Gwosdef, and to some extent on Moshkof, who had formerly served under Bering.

The boat left Kamchatka July 23, and returned in the last days of September, 1732, and immediately the officers sent in a report of their voyage. Fedorof died in February, 1733, and five months later Gwosdef forwarded the log book and a brief account of the summer's work to Okhotsk. Strange to say neither Pavlutski nor the officers at Okhotsk notified the Admiralty College of what these men had done, and it was not until 1738 that this body heard of it, and then only indirectly

³⁴³ *Morskoi Sbornik*, February, 1869, p. 22. Paper by A. Sgibnef.

through one of the sailors who had been sent from Tobolsk to St. Petersburg on a criminal charge.³⁴⁴ Steps were at once taken to secure more definite information, but seemingly without immediate results. In 1741 the authorities at Okhotsk requested Gwosdef and Skurichin, another member of the expedition, to draw up fuller reports, extracts from which were sent to Irkutsk. Those in power realizing the importance of the achievement, or perhaps on account of pressure from the capital, issued an imperial order in July, 1742, demanding a fuller report of the islands and Large Country mentioned in the extracts. It was further requested that in case any new information came in it should be forwarded at once to Irkutsk.³⁴⁵ In addition to these orders, Spanberg, who had succeeded Bering in command, asked Gwosdef to give him a report of the voyage. This was done in September, 1743, and a copy was sent to the Admiralty College. The account here given is based on this document, and other information found in the Delisle manuscripts. When one takes into consideration the fact that Gwosdef wrote his report ten years after the event had taken place and from memory, it is not all surprising that there is an indefiniteness about places, and that the accounts of the different members do not always agree.

Michael Spiridovitch Gwosdef had had extensive preparation for his work, having studied at two schools from 1716 to 1721. From the latter year until he went with Shestakof he was employed at Novogorod. The remainder of his life (he died after 1754) he passed in various parts of Siberia, particularly on the Okhotsk coast. Of the man's personality we know little that is

³⁴⁴ *Delisle Mss.* See Appendix.

³⁴⁵ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 1851.

either good or bad. That he and Fedorof disagreed does not prove much either way. Fedorof, had he lived, would have resented the unfavorable remarks Gwosdef made about him and would probably have said some unkind words in return. There is no reason, however, for believing that Fedorof would have challenged the main points of the voyage as told by Gwosdef, and here presented in abbreviated form.

In May, 1732, we received orders from Major Pavlutski, who was at the time at the Anaduir fort, to go on board the Gabriel with the pilot and underpilot and sail around Kamchatka Cape to the mouth of the Anaduir and opposite Anadirski Cape to what is known as the Large Country, examine and count the islands there, and gather tribute from the inhabitants.³⁴⁶ On July 23, we left Kamchatka River, and four days later Kamchatka Cape was doubled. We came to Anadirski Cape August 3, and from there went to the islands to collect tribute. Moshkof told us of an island Bering had discovered and we sailed about in order to find it. By this manoeuvring we reached the southern part of Chukotski Cape, where, on August 5, we anchored three versts from shore. It was calm and I went on land to examine the coast and fetch drinking water. Close to the shore we observed a small fresh stream, into which we pulled. The country seemed uninhabited; but not far from where we stood was a herd of deer, numbering about one hundred fifty or more, guarded by two men, who ran away on seeing us. I killed two of the deer, filled two barrels with water, and went on board. The next day two Chukchi came toward the ship in two "baidars" but would not approach near enough so that we could enter into conversation with them. When they had looked at us for a time they pulled away. On the morrow I, with nine men, went to the spot from which I had seen the natives issue the day before, but all that we found there

³⁴⁶ In the *Lettre d'un Officier de la Marine Russienne* (p. 40) the statement is made that Pavlutski ordered Gwosdef to bring the provisions left by Bering to the country of the Chukchi, whom Pavlutski was fighting. Gwosdef could not find Pavlutski and therefore started back and accidentally ran into the American coast.

were two huts made of earth and whalebone. As we started back we caught a glimpse of two men who ran away on seeing us. We got under sail on the eighth, steering for an island on the course suggested by Moshkof. On the following day Fedorof sent me a note saying that in his opinion we had not yet reached the place in question [Large Country] since we were still south of Chukotski Cape, and asked for my opinion. On the tenth, we sailed back to the spot where we had been a few days before and took on fresh water. Two days later we ran into a calm and anchored. On going ashore we saw huts and people, who, on noticing us, pulled away from the land in three "baidars." We managed to get into conversation with them and asked them for tribute, which they refused to give. Having a fair wind on the fifteenth we went on our way and on the seventeenth sighted an island, but on account of the head wind we could not approach it but had to keep close to Chukotski Cape. Here we saw many Chukchi with whom we tried to enter into conversation but without much success. When the wind shifted once more to fair we steered again for the northern end of the island [one of the Diomedes]. Our attempt to land was resisted by a shower of arrows, to which we replied with muskets. After a great deal of difficulty the natives told us that they were Chukchi and that some of their people had fought with the other Chukchi against Pavlutski. In cruising about the island, which is about two and a half versts long and a verst wide, we came across other natives but all refused to pay tribute. We made a landing and examined their homes, and from the island we saw the Large Country. It was near one o'clock of the morning of August 20 when we left the first island, and six hours later we anchored off the second, which is smaller than the first and about a half of a mile distant. A ship's boat and a baidara were sent to the shore, but meeting with an unfriendly reception they returned. About three o'clock of the afternoon of August 21 we sailed for the Large Country and anchored about four versts from its shore. It was now Fedorof's watch, and he, without consulting any one, gave orders to haul up the anchor and approach the southern point of the shore. From there we could see huts, but in spite of our best efforts we did not come as close to them as we wished on account of the head

wind and the shallow water. The breeze veering to north-northwest, we were obliged to stand out to sea on a southwest course and by doing so came to the fourth island on the twenty-second. A strong wind was blowing, and when we tried to near the shore the sails gave way. The sailors then came to me and asked that we return to Kamchatka because of the lateness of the season and the stormy weather. I referred them to the underpilot without whose consent I could not order such a move. In the meantime there came to us from the island a Chukchi in a leather boat which had room for but one man. He was dressed in a shirt of whale intestines which was fastened about the opening of the boat in such a manner that no water could enter even if a big wave should strike it. He told us that Chukchi lived in the Large Country, where there were forests, streams, and animals. We had no opportunity of going ashore, and from the distance we could not tell whether all that he told us of the Large Country was true or not. When he was gone the sailors spoke to me again about returning to Kamchatka, and I answered them as before. They then held a council and drew up a petition addressed to me and the underpilot, enumerating many reasons why we should go back. Taking these arguments into consideration we decided to return and entered the mouth of the Kamchatka River September 28. Outside of the islands enumerated we saw no others, and the reason for not indicating their exact position is that the log book Fedorof and I kept was sent to Okhotsk in 1733. Another reason is that Fedorof when on watch often failed to make any observations in the journal. On returning to Kamchatka I asked his aid in drawing up a map, but he refused to join me, and it was impossible for me to undertake it alone, for the reasons just enumerated.

This is all that is known of Gwosdef's discovery, and it is quite evident that neither he nor those with him were in the least aware that they had seen the American coast. To them Large Country was, as they expected it to be, an island; for according to Gwosdef's words after anchoring off the first and second islands

he sailed for the Large Country [third island] and from there to the "fourth island."

Pavlutski, who had reached the Anaduir fort on September 3, 1730, busied himself in strengthening the defenses of that ostrog and making ready for his fight against the Chukchi, who had become unusually bold since their victory over Shestakof. By March 12 all was in readiness. Taking with him one hundred sixty Koriaks, sixty Yukagirs, and two hundred fifteen Russians, he marched northwardly along the White River and on to the Arctic Sea, then eastwardly with the intention of going around the whole Chukchi country. At first he met with little resistance, but from about the middle of June the enemy appeared before him in large numbers. On June 17, he was opposed by seven hundred warriors, of whom four hundred fifty were killed and one hundred fifty were taken prisoners. Near Bering Strait, on June 30, one thousand Chukchi faced him, and of this number three hundred were killed and ten captured. Four thousand deer were also taken. Two weeks later another company of five hundred blocked his way, and these were also defeated. Pavlutski and those under him returned to the Anaduir on October 21, 1731, reporting that they had suffered little loss, while hundreds of the enemy were killed.⁸⁴⁷

In the spring of 1732 Pavlutski led his large force against the Koriaks who had destroyed the Lion. The enemy, being in small numbers and not expecting an attack, was easily put down.

The expedition of Pavlutski against the Chukchi was a little better than useless: instead of subduing them it

⁸⁴⁷ Taking into consideration the fighting qualities of the Chukchi and their attitude towards the Russians before and after this campaign, one is inclined to question these comparative figures as given by Pavlutski.

merely aroused their warring spirit. When he left in the fall of 1732 for Jakutsk his force became disorganized and lost its effectiveness. This gave the Chukchi their opportunity, and they waged bitter war on the Russians and their allies. The situation was so desperate that Pavlutski was obliged to come back in 1733, and until 1739 he kept the Chukchi in check. In that year he was called to Jakutsk to become woewod. As soon as he was gone the Chukchi carried everything before them. It was necessary to call on Pavlutski, and he made his third appearance in 1742. He fought three battles against them: in two he was successful, but in the third he lost his life (March 21). For many years after that the Chukchi kept his head as a trophy.

VIII. BERING'S SECOND EXPEDITION

VOYAGE TO AMERICA

Soon after his arrival at the capital Bering submitted his report to the empress and the Admiralty College (with whom he also left his papers), and then went to Moscow to report to the Senate. The account of his achievements did not elicit any great amount of praise. Many called his mission a failure, saying that at the most he merely determined the northern limits of Kamchatka. His superiors, at least a number of them, held a similar view. His reward of a thousand rubles, the amount usually allowed to those who make distant voyages, was not voted to him by the Senate before June, 1732,³⁴⁸ his salary remained unpaid for two years after his arrival,³⁴⁹ and his request to be made contre-admiral was not acted upon.³⁵⁰ On the other hand, he had some influential friends who stood by him and were anxious to have him lead another expedition. Among these were Count Osterman, a member of the Imperial Cabinet, Kirilof, chief secretary of the Senate, and Count Golovin of the Admiralty College. In addition to these men Bering had the general good will of a number of young and enthusiastic scientists who had come to Russia at the invitation of Peter the Great and favored the idea of discovery and exploration. It is perhaps worth considering whether the fault-finding di-

³⁴⁸ *Opisanie del Archiva Morskavo Ministerstva*, vol. iii, 460.

³⁴⁹ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskavo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 1851, 205, 209.

³⁵⁰ — *Ibid.*

rected against Bering may not have been due, in part, to the reactionary feeling against foreigners and innovations.

Bering, after consulting with his friends, laid before the empress two sets of propositions. The first dealt primarily with the conversion of the Jakuts, the development of iron mines in Siberia, the improvement of the militia, the introduction of cattle into Okhotsk and Kamchatka, and other good and worthy recommendations, which can not, however, be taken up in this work.

The second set is more important, since it discusses the relation between Asia and America and is as follows:³⁵¹

I. According to my observation the waves of eastern Kamchatka are smaller than in other seas, and I found on Karaginski Island large fir trees that do not grow on Kamchatka. These signs indicate that America, or some land on this side of it, is not far from Kamchatka – perhaps from one hundred to two hundred fifty miles. This could easily be ascertained by building a boat of about forty or fifty tons and sending it to investigate. If this be so [the existence of such a country], a trade might be established between the empire and the inhabitants of those regions.

II. Such a boat should be built in Kamchatka, because the necessary timber could be obtained there more easily. The same holds true in matters of food – fish and game are especially cheap there. Then again more help may be had from the natives of Kamchatka than those of Okhotsk. One other reason should not be overlooked: the mouth of the Kamchatka River is deeper and offers a better shelter for boats.

III. It would not be without advantage to find a sea route from Kamchatka or Okhotsk Rivers to the Amur River or Japan, since it is known that these regions are inhabited. It would be very profitable to open trade relations with these people, particularly the Japanese. And as we have no boats there [Okhotsk Sea], we might arrange it with the Japanese that they

³⁵¹ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 1851, 435-436.

ПЛАНЪ СЪХРАНАКАТО СЪПРОГА



PLAN OF OKHOTSK OSTROG

- A Church
- E Lieutenant Walton
- I Commissary
- T Chapel
- B Captain-commander's Quarters
- F Surgeon
- K Pilot Petrof
- U Officers
- C Captain Spanberg
- G Barracks
- L-S Quarters of various petty officers
- W Pizaref's Quarters
- D Captain Chirikof
- H Storehouse
- X Warehouse
- Z Cemetery

[Sketch made by Spanberg and found among the Bering papers, no. 24]

meet us half way in their boats. For such an expedition a ship about the size of the one mentioned above would be needed, or one somewhat smaller might serve the same purpose.

IV. The cost of such an expedition – not including salaries, provisions, and materials for both boats, which can not be had there and would have to be taken from here and Siberia – would be from ten to twelve thousand rubles.

V. If it should be considered wise to map the northern regions or the coast of Siberia – from the Ob to the Yenisei and from there to the Lena – this could be done by boats or by land, since these regions are under Russian jurisdiction.

These propositions were favorably received and adopted after certain changes had been suggested by Chirikof, such as that the boats should be built at Okhotsk and not Kamchatka, and regarding the course to be sailed after leaving Asia, and the best way of transporting provisions across the continent, et cetera.³⁵² In May, 1731, orders were issued to send colonists and artisans to the Pacific to establish a port at Okhotsk, the work to be done under the supervision of Pizaref.³⁵³ A year later (May, 1732) propositions II and III, though somewhat changed – on the recommendation of Chirikof – were approved, and the machinery for building boats, the securing the necessary materials, and the engaging of men, was set in motion.³⁵⁴ Bering's weak and half-hearted suggestion as to the surveying of northern Siberia was greatly enlarged so as to continue the work from the Lena to the Anaduir and Kamchatka Rivers in order to determine definitely whether America and Asia were united.³⁵⁵ Instructions were issued as to what should be done in case the two continents

³⁵² *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 1851, 213-214.

³⁵³ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. viii, doc. 5753, doc. 5813.

³⁵⁴ — *Ibid.*, vol. vii, doc. 6041, doc. 6042.

³⁵⁵ — *Ibid.*, doc. 6291.

were not separated by water.³⁵⁶ In connection with these voyages, admirable scientific researches were planned and carried on throughout Siberia by Gmelin, Muller, Steller, Krasheninnikof, and others, whose conclusions are accepted even today; but in view of their purely scientific character, they cannot be discussed in this connection. Taking it all in all, it was one of the most elaborate, thorough and expensive expeditions ever sent out by any government at any time.

In December, 1732, the Senate gave its official approval to the work undertaken for the "benefit of her Imperial Majesty and to the glory of the Russian Empire."³⁵⁷ This body also recommended that an astronomer be sent along, and Louis Delisle de la Croyere was appointed to the position. His brother, Joseph Nicholas Delisle, drew up, at the request of the Senate, a map of Kamchatka and the neighboring lands Terra de Jeso, Company Land, Gama Land, also the American coast, pointing out especially routes where new discoveries could probably be made.³⁵⁸ This map was accompanied by a memoir discussing the bodies of land indicated and their history.³⁵⁹ The map and memoir were given to Bering to aid him in his navigation; in fact, it was chiefly at his request that the Senate asked Delisle to draw them up.

The instructions of December 28, 1732, were slightly revised and put in final shape by the Admiralty College on February 28, 1733, and confirmed without alterations by the Senate on March 16, 1733, but with the

³⁵⁶ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. viii, doc. 6291.

³⁵⁷ — *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ This map was based on Guillaume Delisle's map of America of 1722.

³⁵⁹ In the Appendix may be found the memoir, both the original and the translation.

addition of other points.³⁰⁰ It was ordered that either at Kamchatka or Okhotsk, as it should seem best, two boats should be built on which Bering and Chirikof should sail in whatever direction they and Professor Delisle de la Croyere should decide that America would be found. According to the Map of Delisle the American coast runs along from about the latitude of Chukotski Nos to about the forty-fifth parallel, the Spanish province of Mexico. When they should have reached America they were to be guided by the instructions which Czar Peter gave to Bering in 1725. The utmost care was to be taken not to fall into the hands of unfriendly people, and not to show them the way to the Russian possessions, the way to which they had never heard. In case Bering, Chirikof, Spanberg, or those who were to explore from the Lena eastward should meet with foreigners, they were not to show them their instructions, which were secret, but the Admiralty College would prepare others, which would state that at the request of the St. Petersburg and Paris Academies of Science Peter the Great had undertaken "out of curiosity" to determine whether America and Asia were united. As the last expedition had not fully settled that question, the present empress had decided to continue the investigation until that point was definitely ascertained.³⁰¹

In view of the importance of the work and the severe hardships involved, the rank of the officers was raised: Bering was made captain-commander, and his two lieutenants, Spanberg and Chirikof, were each given the rank of captain-lieutenant. For the same reason all those connected with the expedition were granted double

³⁰⁰ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. viii, doc. 6291.

³⁰¹ — *Ibid.*

pay during their services, two years' pay in advance to help them get an outfit, and were promised rewards on their return.³⁶²

Instruments, and such other objects as could not be obtained on the way, were taken from St. Petersburg,³⁶³ but provisions and the more common and coarser materials were to be gathered on the way. Orders were forwarded to Siberian officers to do all in their power to speed the work. Not satisfied with this, special officers were commissioned to go to Jakutsk

to assist the officers there in sending out the supplies so that by the time the captain-commander should arrive at Okhotsk all would be in readiness.³⁶⁴

Special arrangements were also provided for carrying letters and packages.

In February, 1733, one division of the expedition left St. Petersburg. Spanberg with a number of mechanics started soon afterwards, aiming to reach Okhotsk as quickly as possible to work on the boats on which he was to go to Japan. Chirikof was assigned the care of the baggage train, and he went on the march not long after Spanberg. Bering did not leave until April. From Tobolsk Chirikof followed the old trail by way of the rivers Irtysh, Ob, Keta, Yenisei, Tungus, Ilima to Ilimsk, and down the Lena to Jakutsk, arriving there about the middle of the summer of 1735. Bering, who had a much lighter train, had reached the same place in October, 1734. Spanberg came to Okhotsk

³⁶² *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossijskoi Imperii*, vol. viii, 6291.

³⁶³ Delisle de la Croyere took with him one quadrant, two clocks, one equinoctial sun clock, one (?) telescope, four telescopes of 15, 13, 7, and 5 feet, one inclinometer, one declinometer, five astrolabes, four large compasses, twenty thermometers, twenty-seven barometers, one copper sphere, one surveyor's chain, one magnet, and one case of mathematical instruments. In addition to these instruments others were sent after him to Tobolsk.

³⁶⁴ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 228-229.

early in the year 1735, expecting that Pizaref, who had been ordered in 1731 to build a port, would have quarters ready. In all this he was disappointed, for not only had Pizaref done nothing, but when he made his appearance, he opposed every effort of the others. Matters came to such a point that there were two fortified camps keenly eyeing each other and occasionally attacking. Charges and counter charges were continually being sent to the capital, until the officers were weary. The worst part of this affair was the demoralizing effect on the men.³⁶⁵

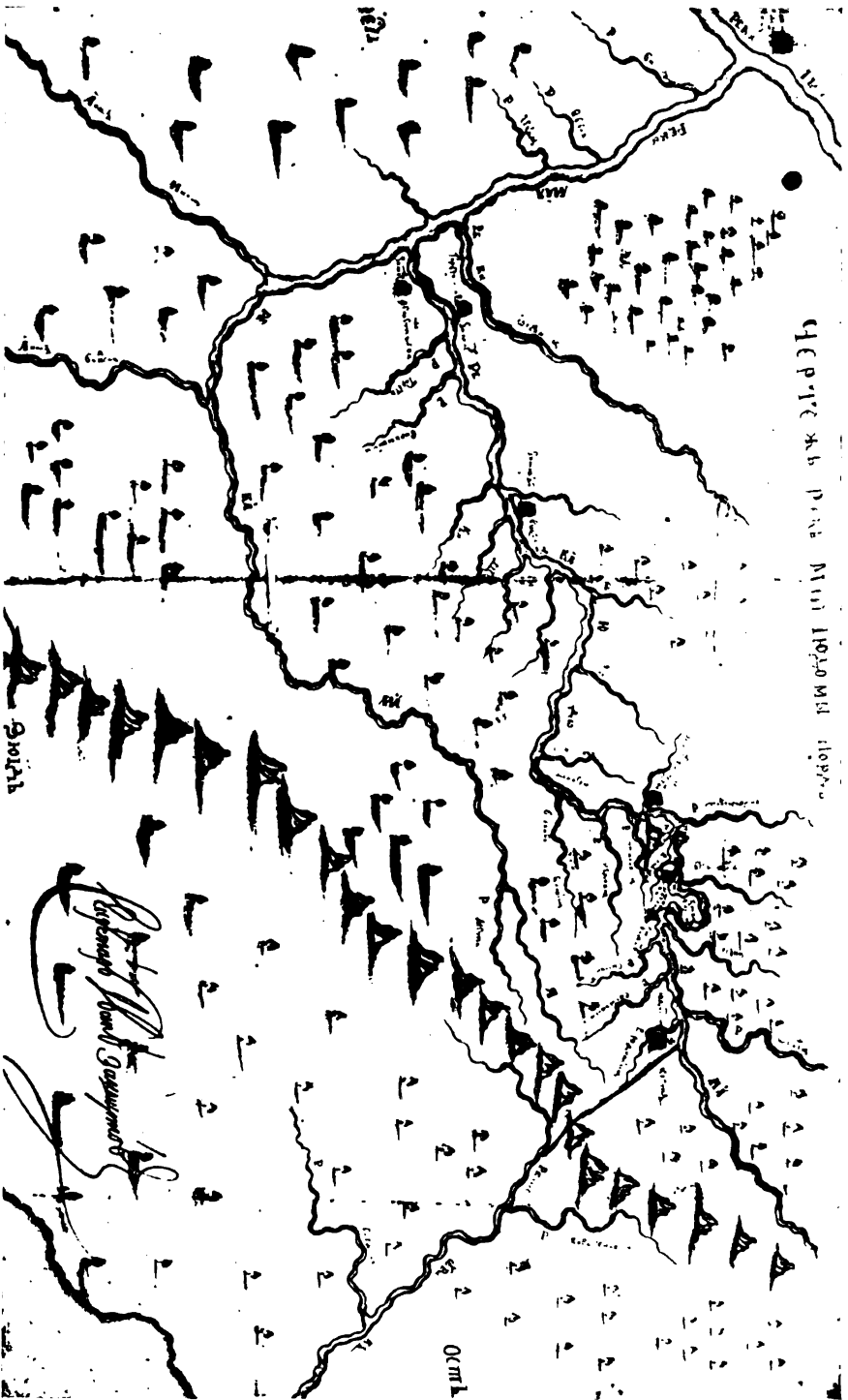
With the exception of Spanberg and his small company, the greater part of the force was still at Jakutsk

³⁶⁵ This man Pizaref had an interesting history. At one time he had held a very prominent position, no less than that of director of the naval academy at Moscow and chief-procurator of the Senate. On account of indiscreet speeches against Prince Menshikof, Peter II, on May 27, 1727, ordered that Pizaref should be whipped and exiled to Jakutsk. In May, 1731, he was commissioned to go to Okhotsk and build up a port and was allowed one hundred fifty-three men, but Pizaref claimed he never got them. About a year later Pizaref sent to Okhotsk twenty-four men, of whom eight died on the way, and the remaining sixteen ran away. By February, 1733, Pizaref decided to start for Okhotsk, but before he could get supplies from the woewod he had to put that officer in chains. Nine months later he was back at Jakutsk, and when Bering arrived he found him there. The two men clashed at once, and the result was that charges and complaints were being forwarded constantly. Finally in the fall of 1735 Pizaref made his second appearance at Okhotsk and found Spanberg, whom he hated even worse than Bering. In one of the complaints Pizaref says that Spanberg enticed his workmen, stole his supplies, was on friendly terms with the exiled princes Dolgoruki and Baratinski, and that one time when some one had killed a bear, Spanberg claimed the credit of the deed and had a monument erected on which he inscribed the event. Spanberg charged Pizaref with drunkenness, keeping a harem, and cruelty to the natives. Pizaref ran away from Okhotsk to Jakutsk but returned with Bering. By 1739 he had built two wooden huts and a church; before he could do any more he was removed from command, and another exile, Anton Devyer, succeeded him. Devyer arrived at Okhotsk probably after 1740. About the first thing he did was to sell at auction Pizaref's belongings and to use the proceeds in paying the wages of the workmen. In December, 1741, the empress pardoned both men, and they returned to St. Petersburg, where their former rank of general was once more conferred on them. Devyer received other honors as well.

in 1736, where nearly all of the supplies were gathered. How to get them to Okhotsk was a problem even more difficult than Bering faced on his first expedition. It was finally decided to send the heavier materials, such as cannon and anchors, by way of the Rivers Aldan and Udoma, then across to the Urak and down to Okhotsk. The lighter objects were transported by land over mountains, torrents, and swamps. Knowing what difficulties were experienced some years before in getting the stores across to Okhotsk, it is only necessary to say that those of the second attempt were even greater, because everything was on a larger scale, without a proportionate increase in the facilities for transportation. In favoring the expedition the authorities at St. Petersburg believed that it could be accomplished in six years; consequently when four years had gone by and the leader was no farther than Jakutsk, murmurs of dissatisfaction arose. Gentle hints to Bering to hurry were at last followed by threats. The Admiralty College told him that unless more progress was shown, his rank would be reduced; his pay was actually cut in two from the beginning of 1738 to July, 1740, "because of failure to send necessary information and delay in accomplishing the work assigned."³⁶⁶ Bering defended himself by accusing the Siberian authorities of not doing what they should. They replied by charging him with selling liquor, making underhanded bargains, and other illegal acts. Spanberg had no love for Chirikof, but he united with him in filing complaints against their chief;³⁶⁷ and the scientists, Muller, Gmelin, and Delisle de la Croyere, had almost at the very beginning indicated their desire to be relieved from the authority

³⁶⁶ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 254.

³⁶⁷ *Opisanie del Archiva Morskavo Ministerstva*, vol. v, 85.



SKETCH OF THE ROUTE FROM THE MAJA RIVER TO OKHOTSK BY WAY OF UDOMA CROSS AND BY PORTAGE TO THE RIVER URUK
[Bering Papers, no. 22]

Senate demanded an investigation to determine the cause of the delay. The Imperial Cabinet, after considering the cost of the expedition, which had reached at that time (1738) three hundred thousand rubles, and in view of the burden it threw on the Siberian people, asked the Admiralty College whether it would not be wise "to look into the Kamchatka expedition to see if it can be brought to a head, so that from now on the treasury should not be emptied in vain."³⁷⁰

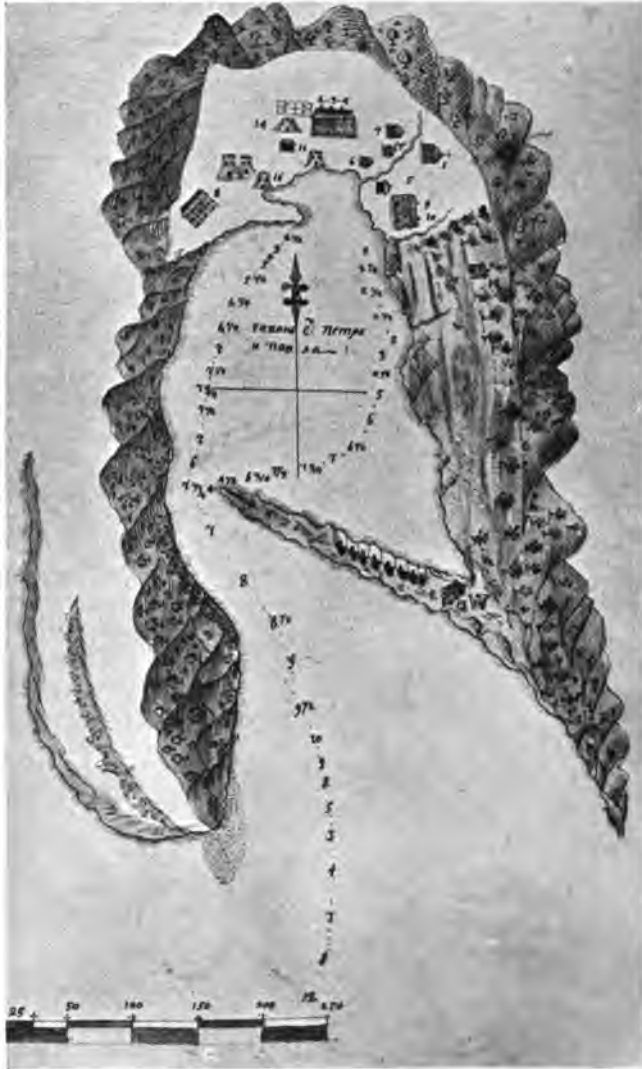
With the coming of Tolbuchin and Larinof affairs assumed a more prosperous appearance. More men were put on, a larger force of horses were drafted into the service, an additional number of boats were launched, and roads were repaired, so that by October, 1740, nearly all the necessary supplies had found their way to Okhotsk. Relieved of this responsibility, Bering (who had reached Okhotsk in 1737) and his men concentrated all their energies on the building of boats,³⁷¹ with the result that by June, 1740, two ships were launched. Each measured eighty by twenty by nine feet, brig rigged, two masts, and bearing fourteen cannon, two and three pounders. On September 4, the *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, the new boats, accompanied by two others carrying provisions, left Okhotsk.³⁷² *Delisle de la Croyere* and *Steller* followed four days later in a boat which was set aside especially to carry them and their baggage and supplies to Kamchatka.³⁷³ *Bolshaya River* was reached October 20 and there Bering left his freight boats because he did not think they were strong

³⁷⁰ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 255; *Opisanie Del Archiva Morskovo Ministerstva*, vol. vii, 273.

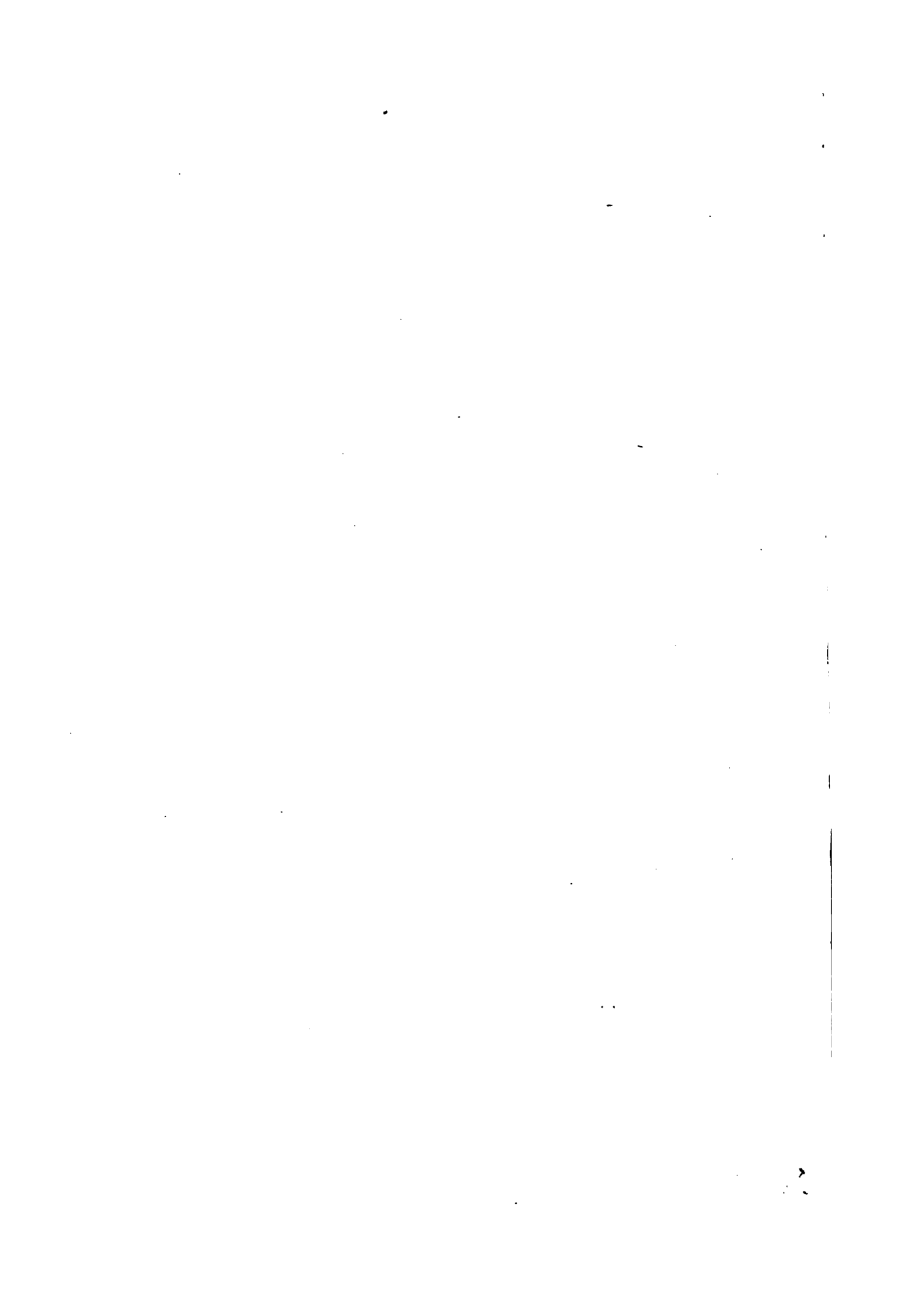
³⁷¹ According to the original plan *Pizaref* was to have had them about ready by the time of Bering's arrival.

³⁷² *Muller, Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 187.

³⁷³ — *Ibid.*



HARBOR OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL IN 1741
[*Journal of the St. Peter*]



enough to round southern Kamchatka, but the St. Peter and St. Paul went on and dropped anchor in Avatcha Bay on the sixth day of October.³⁷⁴ The two scientists remained in western Kamchatka intending to do some research work in the course of the winter.

Avatcha Bay was one of the new sea-ports on the Pacific. Bering in 1739, sent one of his officers who sounded and charted the harbor and put up a few buildings. A church was erected and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul,³⁷⁵ and coupled with the fact that the two boats were named in honor of the saints, the village took the name of Petropavlovsk. An uneventful winter was passed here in making final arrangements for the voyage of the coming summer. In the spring Delisle de la Croyere and Steller³⁷⁶ reported to Bering for duty. It is to Steller that we are indebted for a full account of the voyage, the only one as yet published.

Taking into consideration the short summer and the long distance to go, Bering had originally planned to leave Kamchatka early in May and after discovering America to spend the winter there and return to Asia the following year.³⁷⁷ If this could have been done it would have been most fortunate for all concerned as it would have saved them from a great deal of suffering. His well-laid plans failed, however, and from no fault of Bering. At Okhotsk he had prepared the sea-biscuit for the voyage which he shipped to Kamchatka in 1740,

³⁷⁴ Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 187.

³⁷⁵ — *Ibid.*, 191.

³⁷⁶ Georg Wilhelm Steller was born in Franconia in 1709, and had studied at different universities both the natural sciences and philosophy. After wandering from place to place he finally reached St. Petersburg, and in 1738 was sent to Siberia to do scientific work. His original plan was to go with Spanberg to Japan, but Bering persuaded him to embark with him.

³⁷⁷ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 141.

but these were lost at the mouth of the Okhotsk River.³⁷⁸ In the second place, his freight boats were unfit to carry his supplies all the way to Avatcha and this made it necessary to transport the greater part of the cargo overland during the winter. The natives, on whom the larger part of this work fell, revolted at the very beginning and it took much energy and time to put them down.³⁷⁹ The result of all this was that Bering was not only late in starting, but he was also not too well prepared for wintering in America had he desired to do so.

Towards the end of May all was in readiness for the start, the boats were loaded³⁸⁰ and manned, and the only thing needed was a fair breeze. On the St. Peter were the Captain-commander Bering, Second-in-command Waxel, Shipmaster Chytref, Mate Kasselberg, Second mate Juschin, Surgeon Steller. In addition there were

³⁷⁸ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 141.

³⁷⁹ — *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ Cargo of the St. Peter taken from the *Journal*, 33:

	Food	Pounds
Balast—ships gear, etc.	800	
Groats (2 kinds)	217	10
Beef (in barrels)	165	
Butter " "	80	
Pork " "	70	
Salt	18	
Flour	250	
Water (102 barrels of various sizes)	1434	
Wood	990	
Crackers	382	
Powder (in barrels)	34	17½
Cannon balls	57	37
Ammunition	25	30
Cannons (3 pounders—9 pieces)	184	20
Cannons (2 pounders—5 pieces)	92	20
Falconets (3 pieces)	10	20
Iron	90	
[Total	4901	34½]

a number of officers of lower rank, soldiers, sailors, and servants. Chirikof commanded on the *St. Paul*, being assisted by two lieutenants, Chegachef and Plautin, the Astronomer Delisle de la Croyere, and several petty officers. Including every man on board each ship had seventy-six persons.^{380a}

On May 4 Bering summoned his officers, including Delisle de la Croyere, for consultation. He read his instructions to them, showed them Delisle's chart and asked their advice as to the course that ought to be followed. They were all, including the leader, of the opinion that by sailing between east and south to about the forty-sixth or forty-fifth parallels the Company Land of the Dutch would be met with, and not far from there they would come to Gama Land and later to the western coast of America. In case the looked for land was not found the course should be changed to east by north, keeping between the parallels forty-five—the most northerly point of known America—and sixty-five, where Gwosdef saw land. When America was located, the boats were to follow the coast in a northerly direction until they were between the parallels sixty-four and sixty-six—the situation of the most northeasterly point of Asia—and then sail due west and thus determine the relation between Asia and America. When that was done they should return to Kamchatka. If, however, on account of lack of provisions, the weather, or some other cause, it was not possible to carry out fully all these plans, it might be advisable to take up the work the following year and carry it to completion.³⁸¹ The time for returning was set for September.³⁸²

^{380a} *Journal of the St. Peter*, 33.

³⁸¹ — *Ibid.*, 24, 25; Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 140.

³⁸² Since the time of Muller it has been the fashion to ridicule the Delisles

On May 25, Bering inspected the men on the two boats, after that he took up his permanent quarters on the *St. Peter*. Later in the day he gave Chirikof a code of signals by means of which they were to communicate on the voyage. About nine o'clock in the morning of June 4, the much-prayed-for fair wind began to blow, taking the boats out of Avatcha and following them for several days making it possible to sail on east-southeast and southeast by east courses until June 11, when the boats found themselves in north latitude forty-six degrees, forty-seven minutes, and one hundred fifty-five Dutch miles from Avatcha. On the following day the position of the boats was ascertained at forty-six degrees, nine minutes; but still no land was in sight, although, judging from the seagrasses and animal life about them, some argued that land must be near at hand.³⁸³ The officers decided not to waste any more time in looking for it in this direction. About four o'clock (ship's time) of the afternoon of June 13 it was signalled to Chirikof that "according to the opinion of the captain-commander and his officers, also Professor de la Croyere, it was time to change the course to east by north." To this proposal Chirikof assented, and the course decided on was taken and kept until the fourteenth, when a strong wind compelled the boats to tack. The next day the breeze shifted to the south, so that a northeast

and in particular the author of this chart. Bancroft (p. 66) makes light of him, and Lauridsen (p. 53) in particular ridicules him. There is really no justification for all this raillery. J. N. Delisle drew up this chart at the request of Bering [*Delisle Manuscripts*, no. xxvi, 3, B] and it was based on his brother Guillaume's map of 1722. Like all other maps of the period it had *Jeso*, *Gama Land*, *Company Land*, etc. Neither the Senate nor Delisle urged that a search be made for them. There is nothing dogmatic about Delisle. When he is ignorant on a certain point he very frankly says so. One has but to become acquainted with the cartography of the period and to read the Delisle memoir to learn that Delisle was an earnest and capable scholar.

³⁸³ Steller, in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 144.

course could be sailed almost continuously until the eighteenth, the vessels being then in latitude forty-nine degrees, thirty minutes, and eighteen degrees, thirty minutes from Avatcha. At this point the wind freshened and shifted once more to the east, forcing a southerly course. On the morning of the twentieth, Chirikof saw Bering to the north of him, about ten miles distant,³⁸⁴ but Bering did not see Chirikof; and in trying to come together, the two drifted farther and farther apart, never again to meet.

Chirikof remained in this neighborhood (between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth parallels where the St. Peter was last seen) until the twenty-third; "at the fifth hour after midnight," says Chirikof's *Journal*, "we gave up looking for the St. Peter and according to the general agreement of the officers, the St. Paul took up her course." The wind was, on the whole, fair, but the sky was overcast. Nearly the whole time the course steered was east-northeast half east. By July 11, signs of land appeared in the shape of drift wood, wild ducks, and other sea fowl that do not fly far from shore. No sails were shortened, but the lead was heaved constantly during the night. About two o'clock in the morning of the fifteenth, in about latitude fifty-five degrees, twenty-one minutes, and sixty-one degrees, fifty-five minutes from Avatcha, land was sighted. The next day, July 16, in latitude fifty-six degrees, fifteen minutes, longitude sixty degrees, fifty-seven minutes, two seconds, Boatswain Mama and eight sailors were ordered ashore to examine a bay, and on their return reported that it was not sheltered from the north wind. During July 17 an observation was made, showing the

³⁸⁴ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 379; Chirikof's *Journal*, 43-44.

St. Paul to be in latitude fifty-seven degrees, thirty-nine minutes and longitude fifty-eight degrees, fifty-four minutes, two seconds. By the middle of the afternoon of the same day the boat had advanced to fifty-seven degrees, fifty minutes and anchored in front of a bay.

Dementief, the pilot, and a crew of ten men, armed with guns and a small cannon, were sent ashore in the largest boat. Those on board waited for their return until the twenty-third on which day fire and smoke were seen on shore, and concluding that some accident must have happened to the party, sent the remaining boat in charge of Boatswain Sevelyef, accompanied by one carpenter, one calker and one sailor. Sevelyef had orders that as soon as he landed to give a sign, also to signal by making fires the condition of the boat and the men ashore. Without losing any time he was to leave the ship's carpenter on shore and with Dementief and his men return to the St. Paul. At the same time the ship went quite close to shore where a strong surf was running and the St. Paul herself was in some danger. Although eagerly watched for no signals were seen or heard. So close did the St. Paul approach that those on deck could see the surf dash over the rocks on the beach. The weather was calm. If a gun had been discharged, Chirikof says, it could have been heard on the boat. Fire was noticed in the bay. Nearly every hour during the night cannon were fired. Neither of these two boats was ever seen again. On the twenty-fourth two canoes, one larger than the other, filled with natives came out of the bay and approached the St. Paul, but not near enough to make themselves understood.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ What became of these men? The impression that seems to prevail

As there were no other boats it was quite impossible to visit the shore for the purpose of getting fresh water of which there was need, and therefore the officers decided to go back to Kamchatka as quickly as possible. This conclusion was reached on the twenty-sixth. From this day forth the men were put on an allowance of water. The wind was constantly shifting and preventing much progress.

About eight o'clock on the morning of September 9, the St. Paul anchored in a bay in one of the Aleutian Islands, latitude fifty-one degrees, twelve minutes, longitude eleven degrees, fifty-four minutes, six seconds, near enough to the shore so that the mountains, grass and the people were visible. Those on board began calling to the islanders to come to them. When they had shouted to each other for an hour, neither party understanding the other, seven natives were seen coming towards the ship. Each man was seated in a boat about fifteen feet long, three feet wide, the prow very pointed,

that they were set upon by the natives and killed is hardly satisfactory. The inhabitants of this region had never before seen a white man, and they would be more likely to run away than attack. Then again ten armed men were in a position to make some defense. Those on board should have heard the discharge of a musket, being, as they were, near the shore. If they were not murdered, what did become of them? In 1786, Laperouse, while cruising in these waters, noticed in about latitude 58° an opening indicating an entrance to a bay. Approaching nearer, he found the opening narrow and the tide running very strong, and it was only with great difficulty that access was gained. When about ready to leave, after a two weeks' stay, Laperouse ordered three of his small boats to sound and chart the bay, cautioning them not to go close to the mouth until the ebb set in. Two of the boats, disobeying orders, ventured nearer than they should have done, and were drawn into the current and lost.

It is reasonable to suppose that it was in front of this bay that Chirikof hove to, and that it was into this bay that the boats went. That there is a slight difference in reckoning may be easily accounted for by the cruder instruments of the Russian. It seems very probable that the Russian sailors lost their lives by being caught in the strong current of Latuya Bay (of Laperouse's misfortune) either in going in or coming out. Even today Latuya Bay may be entered only when the tide is favorable.

but the stern and deck somewhat rounded, and the whole covered with hair seal skins with the exception of a hole in the center for the boatman. He was dressed in a garment with a hood, the whole being made of the intestines of sea animals. These men made use of a double paddle and moved over the water very swiftly and fearlessly. When they had come near the boat they stopped and began to shout, first on one side and then on the other as if imploring the gods to keep them from harm. After they had kept this up for seven or eight minutes they quieted down and conversed with each other in a natural tone of voice. Those on board (the greater part of the men were below decks so as not to frighten the natives) saluted the islanders in their most gracious and kindest manner, and with gestures, Chinese cups, pieces of satin, beads, bells, needles, Chinese tobacco and pipes invited and tempted them to come nearer, but in vain. Knives were the only objects that appealed to them and for these they scrambled and fought and to obtain them several boatmen went ashore to bring fresh water in skin bladders. Chirikof describes them as men of large stature and good health, in their features resembling the Tartars but somewhat paler. In their noses they wore stone or ivory ornaments which caused the blood to flow. Although these men would not come on board they gave Chirikof roots, which they used for food, arrows, and other objects. Late in the afternoon a strong wind began to blow, forcing the *St. Paul* to stand out to sea, but this was accomplished with difficulty and the loss of an anchor.³⁸⁶

There was so little drinking water that an attempt was made to obtain it by distilling salt water, but the operation was not altogether a success for the distilled

³⁸⁶ *Delisle Manuscripts*. See "Appendix." Chirikof's *Journal*, 53-55.

water retained a bitterness. To offset this unpleasant taste the water was diluted with an equal quantity of the remaining fresh water. Arrangements were made at the very beginning for catching all the rain possible.²⁸⁷ The scarcity of water, lack of properly cooked food, sufferings from storms and exposures broke the health of nearly all the men, and several of them died as a result, among them being the two lieutenants.²⁸⁸ Chirikof was not able to come on deck after the twenty-first and was obliged to give his orders from the cabin. Those who were able to keep their feet were so weak that they could only with difficulty handle the vessel, the sails and rigging of which were rotting and giving way. To their joy Avatcha was sighted on October 8; anchorage, however, was not made until the morning of the tenth. Five cannon shot brought a few small boats alongside and on these the sick were carefully taken ashore. Louis Delisle de la Croyere died before he could be landed.²⁸⁹ Altogether twenty-one men lost their lives on this voyage.²⁹⁰

During the winter Chirikof recovered sufficiently to be able to go to sea the following May. He sailed eastwardly intending to reach the American coast and if possible to find Bering. He passed close by Bering Island and came to Attu and Atka, but on account of unfavorable weather he had to turn back to Avatcha and from there he went to Okhotsk and eventually to St. Petersburg where he was promoted, but he lived only a short time after that.

²⁸⁷ Chirikof's *Journal*, 50.

²⁸⁸ — *Ibid*, 57.

²⁸⁹ Nicolai, a son of Delisle by a Kamchatka woman, survived him. Captain Clerk, Cook's successor, when in Kamchatka, erected a tablet to Delisle. Soon after that Clerk himself was buried here; and when Laperouse visited Avatcha he put up a monument to the Englishman.

²⁹⁰ Muller. *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 240-241.

Owing to the strong wind the St. Peter kept under little sail the day the St. Paul disappeared. When the wind died down somewhat, Bering decided to go back to the locality where Chirikof was last seen, and in this neighborhood he remained until the twenty-second. A ship's council then advised the retracing of the course from the fiftieth to the forty-sixth parallel, with the hope of running across either Chirikof or Company Land.³⁹¹

On the twenty-fifth, the St. Peter found herself in latitude forty-five degrees, sixteen minutes, without having found either object of the search. Orders were given to put about, and for three days an east by north course was kept and then changed to east-northeast, in order to sail exactly east by north from the forty-sixth and not from the forty-fifth parallel, as previously had been done.³⁹² For several days there was fair wind and cloud covered skies and fog. From July 7 to 9, an east wind blew, and with this the ship sailed due north to fifty-one degrees, thirty minutes. The wind veering, the course was shifted to northeast by east. Beginning with July 12, a lookout was kept for land. At night the boat either drifted or moved under little canvas. As they continued sailing day after day with no land in sight those on board began to blame themselves for supposing that Asia and America were near each other. The disappointment in not finding the object of their search showed itself in the restlessness and antagonism which developed among the men. At a meeting (July 14) the officers agreed to keep more to the north by steering a north-northeast course until the twentieth,

³⁹¹ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 146. Gama Land was located on the chart between the forty-fifth and forty-seventh degrees.

³⁹² *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 381.

and if by that time no land was sighted the attempt should be given up and the return home entered upon because drinking water was running very low.³⁹³ When the St. Peter had crossed the fifty-second parallel there appeared many signs of land. Near the ship were large quantities of seaweeds and kelps, such as the *Quercus marina*, *Algam dentatam* Raji, *Fucos membranaceus calyciformes*, and others, some of which grow only on rocks in two or three feet of water, and at least one of these (*Fucum clavæ effigie*) is not to be found in Kamchatka. In addition to these signs there were other indications in the shape of sea birds and marine animals, such as the sea otter that can not live in very deep water and must therefore keep close to shore. But all this evidence was not of sufficient weight with the officers to cause them to change their course and sail a little more to the north as suggested by Steller.³⁹⁴ This scientist claims that on Wednesday, July 15, he caught a glimpse of land in the direction towards which the boat was heading, but as it did not stand out very clearly he was not believed. On the following day a chain of high, rugged and snow-covered mountains loomed in view in latitude fifty-eight degrees, twenty-eight minutes.³⁹⁵ Those on board were of the opinion that these mountains were higher than any they had seen in Siberia and Kamchatka. The coast seemed to be broken up with numerous bays and harbors.

At the sight of land all became excited: some advised looking for a harbor on the mainland at once,

³⁹³ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 153. In the *Journal* of the St. Peter nothing is said about turning back on the twentieth.

³⁹⁴ — *Ibid.*, 148-149.

³⁹⁵ Muller. *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 198. The *Journal* of the St. Peter says that land was first seen from the boat in a northwestern direction at one o'clock in the afternoon of the sixteenth (boat's reckoning the seventeenth).

others argued against such a step. But it was the wind, the tide, and the lay of the land rather than any concerted plan that determined their movements during the following days. With the aid of fair wind the boat approached quite close to the shore on the seventeenth. Towards the evening of the next day the land was so near that those on board were delighted with the view of the beautiful forests and of the seemingly level and sandy beach.³⁹⁶ From Saturday night, the eighteenth, until Monday the twentieth, the *St. Peter* beat up and down in a northwesterly direction, leaving the mainland on the right, in order to get under the shelter of an island. By doing so she ran into a group of islands among which an anchorage was finally found.³⁹⁷

At the time of the discovery of land Bering was suffering from scurvy and seemed to have been worn out by his fifteen years of hardships and abuse. He had no enthusiasm or joy in life, and his depressing spirit dampened what little ardor his men possessed. At the sight of the new continent the men were full of gladness and showered on him congratulations, but he received all their felicitations coldly and indifferently and with shrugging shoulders. Later, in the cabin, in the presence of two of the men, he expressed himself somewhat in the following manner:

We think we have now discovered everything, but we do not

³⁹⁶ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 155.

³⁹⁷ Monday, July 20, was St. Elias day, and in honor of the saint several of the officers insisted on naming one of the islands Cape Elias, much to the disgust of Steller, who argued with them that an island could not be called a cape. What the officers did, and probably all they desired to do, was to name the island St. Elias. According to their inaccurate observation the island is in latitude fifty-nine degrees, forty minutes and east of Avatcha forty-eight degrees, fifty minutes. [Waxel's report to the Admiralty College. Admiralty papers, doc. 2, 1742, p. 224.]

stop to think where we are, how far we are still from home, and what may yet happen. Who knows but perhaps contrary winds will come up and prevent us from returning. We do not know this country nor have we provisions enough for wintering here.³⁹⁸

Now that land was discovered, Bering and his officers, before deciding what their movements were to be in the near future, whether to remain two days or two months, whether to explore or not, went about providing for the needs of the immediate present, which was fresh water. For this purpose the small boat was put into commission. The larger one, in charge of Chytref, was ordered to make explorations. The discord which reigned on board is well illustrated by the following incident. Steller, who had come in the capacity of naturalist, requested permission to accompany Chytref, in which petition the latter joined; but for some reason or other Bering was deaf to all pleadings. After much coaxing Steller was permitted to go on shore in the small boat, but without any other assistants than the man he had brought along especially for that purpose. As the boat pulled away orders were given for the trumpets to be blown, a mock salute to Steller.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 154.

³⁹⁹ — *Ibid.*, 158. Steller seems to have been altogether out of place on the St. Peter. He was a man of high education and culture, while his companions on board were ignorant and coarse. We can easily picture to ourselves the pleasure such men would take in humiliating a man of Steller's type and in showing him how little good book-knowledge is. Bering himself at certain times eyed him with contempt, as if to say, "Why did God make such a fool?" On the other hand, one should not be blind to the fact that Steller was not the most agreeable person to have on a boat like the St. Peter. He was too willing to instruct and give advice in all matters, even navigation, and had the faculty of believing himself always in the right. The result of this state of affairs was unfortunate for all concerned. It came to the point that whatever Steller suggested, even when in his own province, was almost sure to be disapproved. In many cases his advice was sound, and had it been taken, much suffering and hardship would have been avoided.

About half of the crew as well as the officers remained on board taking on the casks of water as they were brought from shore.

Aware of the disadvantages under which he was laboring, and of the short time at his command, Steller, as soon as he landed, began to look for traces of human beings. The amount of work he did on that day, or rather part of a day, is indeed remarkable and shows him to have been a man of great ability. In one spot he found the remains of a fire and scattered bones, which gave him the information he desired about the animal life of the island, mainland, and surrounding waters. A little farther on he came across some small shellheaps and dried fish, which left him without much doubt as to the habits of the people. At still another place he uncovered an habitation wherein were utensils of various sorts, smoked salmon, sweet grass, bows and arrows, drills for fire, and other objects; and from all these he reasoned that America must be much closer to Asia than their present position indicated and that the inhabitants of those regions were closely related to those of Siberia, a conclusion which modern research has not changed. He took some of these objects and sent them to Bering on board with a request that men be given to help him, warning at the same time those on shore to be on their guard. While waiting for a reply, Steller went on gathering specimens and making observations. Noticing from the top of a mountain smoke on another part of the island, he hurried to the beach to notify Bering of the fact and to request a small boat and several men to look for the people. While waiting for a reply Steller made a study of the botanical and zoological specimens he came across. We can easily picture the enthusiasm of the man as he rev-

elled among natural phenomena on which no civilized man had ever gazed, the eagerness with which he expected help from Bering to enable him to bring back to the world information about a people on whom no white man had ever looked. This was the great day, the great opportunity of his life! Imagine then his disappointment, his bitterness, on receiving word from Bering that if he did not come on board he would be left behind. Becoming convinced that no help would come from that quarter he turned back to the interior of the island and remained there until sunset gathering data on the place. When he returned he was greeted by another order from the captain that unless he came on board at once, he need not come at all. This led Steller to remark sarcastically that this long and expensive expedition had been planned in order to fetch American water to Asia, and that the ten hours of exploration corresponded to the ten years of preparation. Steller was somewhat unreasonable and he allowed his enthusiasm to run away with him. In view of the fact that Bering had to decide whether to give Steller a boat and men or to use it for taking on water his decision, though harsh and coarsely worded, was not unjust. The trouble was that the whole personnel of the boat had reached that stage of irritability where a great deal was made out of every little thing. Steller and Bering viewed the expedition from two different points: to the former its value lay primarily in its contribution to the knowledge of the natural sciences and therefore he and his work should be held in high esteem; to the latter the so-called sciences were of very minor importance and that it was Steller's business to occupy himself with the duties of ship's surgeon and not to meddle with anything else. When Steller came on board with his col-

lection no one seemed to care anything about or pay any attention to him. Orders were, however, given to take an iron kettle, tobacco, a Chinese pipe, and a piece of Chinese silk to the place from which the native articles had been taken⁴⁰⁰ and to bring back nearly everything of value that was to be found there.⁴⁰¹ Chytref returned about an hour after Steller and reported that he discovered a land-locked harbor in one of the islands where the boat might lie in perfect safety. Although he met with no human beings, he did see a small wooden building, the walls of which were so smooth as to make it seem as if they had been planed and prepared with sharp tools. From this building he brought several objects; a large wooden box or basket, a stone, which may have been used as a whetstone and which had marks on it as if made by copper, a ball made of clay having in it pebbles and was probably used as a rattle for children, a hand-rudder, and the tail of a silver-tipped fox.⁴⁰² No attempt was made to set foot on or to reach the mainland for fear of the natives, and neither Bering nor his principal officers, except Chytref, touched land the whole time the *St. Peter* was in these waters.

Very early on the morning of the twenty-first, Bering came on deck and seeing that the wind was fair for getting out, ordered that the anchor be weighed. Waxel

⁴⁰⁰ Billings' *Voyage*, 194. When Billings anchored at Kayak Island an old man told Messrs. Sarytchef and Sauer that he "remembered that when he was a boy, a ship had been close to the bay on the west side of the island and had sent a boat ashore; but on its approaching land the natives all ran away. When the ship sailed, they returned to their huts and found in their subterraneous store room some glass beads, leaves [tobacco], an iron kettle, and something else."

⁴⁰¹ Steller, *Reise*, 165.

⁴⁰² — *Ibid.*, 166-167; *Journal of the St. Peter*, 60. In the *Journal*, there is a brief description of the island.

pleaded with him in vain to wait until the twenty empty water casks were filled. Bering felt that because it was already late, also because so little was known of the land, seas, and weather, that all should be satisfied with what had already been accomplished and the return home be entered upon over the same course on which they had come.⁴⁰² Up to the twenty-fifth, the direction steered was south-southwest, when it was agreed to sail southwest so long as the drizzly weather continued and to change to north by west if it cleared up, in order to observe more closely the newly discovered land. On account of stormy wet weather the southwest course was kept until the thirty-first, when it cleared sufficiently to sail northwest with a southeasterly wind, and by this manoeuvre the St. Peter passed near Ukamak Island. In front of this island the boat stood at anchor from early morning until the evening of August 2. On the third, in latitude fifty-six degrees, the mainland came into view once more in the north-northwest half west direction, at a distance of fourteen miles. Not being able to go farther to the westward the boat sailed with easterly wind on a southerly course, and in so doing she ran into the Kodiak group of islands and had some difficulty in finding a way out. On the seventh, there began one of those storms, at first mild but gradually increasing in force and shifting to the northwest, which made the return voyage so tragic. All the ship's officers met on August 10 for deliberation and they agreed that owing to the lateness of the season, the fact that twenty-six men were down with scurvy, and that about four hundred German miles still separated them from Kamchatka, the

⁴⁰² Steller, *Reise*, 172.

idea of exploring the American coast should be given up and all haste made to reach Avatcha.⁴⁰⁴

On the eleventh the wind blew from the southeast making it possible to sail westward; the next day it was calm, and this was followed by head winds which blew steadily until the eighteenth compelling the boat to beat up and down from north to south without, however, making much headway. Towards three o'clock of the morning of the nineteenth there sprung up an east wind with which they sailed westward until about noon when it died out, but it was still possible to make some slight advance towards the south and farther and farther from the mainland, which disappeared from view by the following day. The winds were contrary nearly the whole time from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth when a strong storm from the west came up. It died down somewhat the next day but in order to make any headway it was still necessary to tack. On the morning of the twenty-seventh it was clear and cold with the wind still from the west. According to the *Journal* of the St. Peter, the officers held a council that day to decide what to do; and this body concluded that because of the scarcity of water, there being only twenty-five full casks, and also on account of the head winds, the boat should sail towards the land for the purpose of taking on water. The boat had hardly started on the new course when the wind veered again. Taking advantage of it, the course was set anew, only to be changed again to northeast when the wind shifted once more and blew from the west. With this breeze the St. Peter sailed the remainder of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth. Towards evening of the later day

⁴⁰⁴ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 389; *Journal* of the St. Peter, 72. Waxel's report gives the position of the boat at the time as 53° 12'.

land was clearly seen in north by east. By morning of the twenty-ninth five islands stood out with the mainland in the distance. It was three o'clock when the first island was reached, which stretches from north to south. Late in the evening anchor was dropped in front of a bare and rocky island, latitude $55^{\circ} 50' 45''$, about three versts off the first mentioned.⁴⁰⁵ Bering had now reached the Shumagin Islands, having spent nearly forty days in going from Kayak to Nagai, which can be made in about one-tenth of the time in fair weather.

Early in the morning of the thirtieth a boat with Steller on board was sent ashore for water. He might as well have remained aboard for those in charge filled the casks with brackish water because it was handy. Steller argued with them, pointed out better water and warned the officers of the disastrous effects of the salt water on the health of the men, but all to no purpose. Fifty-two barrels of this water were taken on and this may explain in part why so many suffered from scurvy. As there was very little in the medicine chest to fight this disease Steller gathered many berries and grasses which could be made use of for medicinal purposes. He requested that several men be detailed for this work but this was not allowed. Bering was too ill to leave the cabin and Waxel was practically in command, especially in matters of detail, and he and Steller were not on good terms. The taste of fresh food put Bering on his feet temporarily, as soon as that was gone he relapsed once more into a helpless condition.⁴⁰⁶ A number of the sick were taken ashore and one of them, Shumagin, died on the thirtieth as soon as he was landed, and was buried the following day.⁴⁰⁷ Towards the

⁴⁰⁵ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 181.

⁴⁰⁶ — *Ibid.*, 187.

⁴⁰⁷ The island on which he was buried was called Shumagin; at the pres-

evening of the thirty-first there came on a heavy blow accompanied by a high surf and it was with great difficulty and with boats half full of water that the invalids were taken on board. The St. Peter would have gone out to sea then and there, instead of seeking shelter behind one of the islands, had it not been for the absence of Chytref who started on the thirtieth of August for one of the islands on which fire was seen the night preceding, and before returning he lost his boat, two or three days' time, and nearly his own life and the lives of those with him.⁴⁰⁸ During the night the wind veered from east to northwest from which quarter the boat was protected. She could not proceed for the reasons just given and that was the situation on September 1. By next morning the wind shifted to the southeast. The large boat with eight men was sent to bring off Chytref, who had been signalling for help by building large fires. At the same time the St. Peter moved nearer to land. It blew hard and rained all day; towards evening the southeast wind became so strong that three anchors were let go. In the course of the night the wind turned to the southwest from which point no danger was feared. On the morning of the third, Chytref and all the other men came on board, and almost immediately afterwards the St. Peter got under sail and tried to work her way out but succeeded only partially. Another attempt was made on the fourth but on account of the strong head wind it had to be given up. While anchored here some one was heard calling from shore; a little later two small boats were seen approaching. When within a half verst of the ship those in the

ent time the whole group of islands is so named. According to Steller's description [pp. 185-188] of the island it is probably the Nagai of to-day.

⁴⁰⁸ Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 210-213.

boats began to speak in a loud voice the meaning of which no one on the *St. Peter* understood. Gestures expressing friendliness and an invitation to draw nearer were made to them from the deck. The islanders moved up closer, and by pointing with their hands to the shore, their fingers to their mouths, and dipping water with their hands, they seemed to invite those on ship to land and have something to eat and drink. Before turning back to shore they approached so near the boat that they could be observed and presents given to them.⁴⁰⁹ When they had gone the large boat containing twelve men, including Waxel and Steller, started for the spot from which the natives had come. On account of the rocky beach, heavy surf, and wind, it was not safe to run the boat ashore; the Koriak interpreter and two Russians waded through the water to land where they were greeted by a large party of men and women. One of the natives went out in his skin boat to the ship's boat. He was treated with brandy and an old pipe full of tobacco, neither of which he appreciated and he left in disgust. The three men on the beach were led by the natives to the spot where they had been seated and presented with a piece of whale blubber, they said many things to them which were not understood, and they pointed over the hills as if to say that their homes were over there. The rough weather prevented a longer stay than about fifteen minutes. As the three men started to leave the natives tried to detain them, especially the Koriak, and it became necessary to discharge three muskets over their heads. In their fright they fell to the ground and let go of their men who escaped to the boat and got away.⁴¹⁰ There seems

⁴⁰⁹ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 191-200.

⁴¹⁰ — *Ibid.*

to have been no harm intended by the natives. With his usual accuracy and clearness Steller describes these islanders and their customs, who resemble those seen by Chirikof, so that it is possible to recognize them at once as the inhabitants of the Shumagin Islands.⁴¹¹

The party had barely got on board when a storm came up from the south accompanied by heavy rain which continued all that night and until noon of September 5. Because the wind had shifted to the southwest leaving them in an exposed position the *St. Peter* left her moorings at two o'clock to look for shelter from westerly winds and three hours later such a spot was found. Several islanders in their skin boats came near the boat giving those on board another opportunity to observe them closely and to exchange presents. All during the sixth, the weather was unfavorable, but towards evening it was possible to take advantage of the southwest by west wind and attempt to work out of the islands. By noon of the next day the last of the islands was about twenty miles in the rear. A little later in the day the wind became so strong that sails had to be taken in and during the night the mizzen-mast sail only was used. More and more of the men were becoming sick, and there was some discussion on board as to whether it would not be wise to winter either in America or Japan.⁴¹² The gloomy, uncomfortable weather continued on the eighth with the wind shifting from west by north to west by south, but it was possible to advance with both of these so that by evening the boat was on the fifty-third parallel. It calmed down during the night. Toward morning a fair easterly wind came up blowing for several hours, pushing the boat on her course until, ac-

⁴¹¹ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 191-200.

⁴¹² — *Ibid.*, 204.

According to the calculations of the officers, three hundred twelve Dutch miles separated them from Avatcha. There was both rain and sunshine on the tenth, the wind blowing at first from south-southwest and later southwest by south. Towards noon the reckoning showed the boat to be two hundred ninety-eight miles from Avatcha. Nearly the same wind and weather was experienced the next day and twenty more miles were sailed. There were many reasons for believing that land was not far away. On the twelfth the weather changed for the worse, gloomy and calm at first, later head winds from the west with rain, so that the boat advanced only two miles. Owing to the variable winds and calms of the two following days little headway was made. By noon of the fourteenth Avatcha was yet two hundred fifty-eight miles distant. Although it was fair overhead on the fifteenth, the winds were not such that much progress could be made. On the next day the wind seemed to come from all directions, finally settling down for a time to south-southwest, accompanied by rain. Eighteen miles were covered in the last two days. Six miles were added the next day with the aid of winds, chiefly from northwest by west. By noon of the eighteenth Avatcha was two hundred twenty-nine miles off, wind mainly southwest by west; during the next twenty-four hours three more miles were added, the wind being from the northwest by west. Similar wind and weather prevailed on the twentieth, except that it calmed down during the night. The twenty-first was pleasant and sunshiny with a very quiet sea; towards evening it blew from the southeast and after midnight from northwest by west. This breeze continued the next day which was an agreeable one. On the twenty-third it stormed the whole day and night,

the wind from the southwest forced the boat north. Towards evening the second man of the party died, the Grenadier Trejakof. The observation on the twenty-fourth indicated the fifty-first parallel and late in the day the Atka group of islands loomed up suddenly and many of them were given saintly names. With the southwest wind it was not possible to get by them, and in order not to run into them it was necessary to sail easterly. On the top of these hardships a storm came up and blew with all its fury for nearly two weeks, forcing the boat more and more to eastward and out of her course and causing considerable damage and much suffering.

On the twenty-fifth, owing to the violence of the storm, the St. Peter was in danger of being wrecked on the islands or losing her masts and gear. Although the wind died down somewhat the next day the sea was still rough and the ship was again forced to go easterly. The twenty-seventh opened with a hard blow from the southeast but an hour later it shifted to the west and blew with all the violence imaginable. The old sailors on board said they had never before experienced anything like it. The boat was in danger every minute of either losing her rigging and masts or being swamped by the waves. On the twenty-eighth it was still worse. It seemed to quiet down on the twenty-ninth until about ten o'clock at night when once more the southeast wind sprung up veering gradually to the west and the storm was on again. It was worse than anything that had come before it. One could neither stand up nor lie down, all abandoned their posts and resigned themselves to what seemed inevitable destruction. The boat was tossed here and there at the will of the waves, and one could see only a few feet ahead. It was impossible

to cook anything and the only food obtainable was old hardtack. Half of the crew was down with scurvy and the other half was on its feet because of necessity and not because it was physically able. Bering, who was becoming weaker from day to day, recommended prayer and offerings to the Orthodox and Protestant churches. Everyone looked forward to daylight, but the first of October dawned without bringing relief, the southwest wind blew as hard as before. During the day the officers were of the opinion that as soon as the storm died down an effort should be made to find some place in America for the winter.

Finally on the second the storm abated somewhat, although the wind was still blowing from southwest and the sea rough. During these trying days the ship had drifted three degrees south and about fifty miles east.⁴¹² Twenty-four men were critically ill and two had died. Hope soon came back and there was talk of going on to Kamchatka. This hopeful situation lasted only a short time, for at ten o'clock in the night the southeast blow came again raising a storm. On the following day, October 3, it cleared and the wind dropped just enough to make it possible to advance under one sail. The fourth was still quieter, with a few hours of sunshine, and another sail was hoisted. Although it was yet stormy and the seas heavy, it did not prevent the boat continuing her course the next two days. Men were dying almost daily. It was cold and clear on the seventh, the wind was westerly and the seas so rough that not much headway was made. The same kind of weather was experienced on the eighth until about three o'clock, when the southeast wind raised a storm, two

⁴¹² Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 212.

hours later it began to blow, rain, and hail from the west.

The wind increased in velocity the next day, driving the boat northeasterly; the same condition existed on the tenth. Waxel was still of the opinion that an harbor in America should be sought for the winter, but Bering would not agree to that. On the eleventh it was clear and sunshiny, the wind from west-northwest dying down towards night, but freshening up about midnight from the south. Before this wind the boat ran westward at the rate of one and three-fourths miles per hour. This wind held on until six o'clock of the afternoon of the twelfth when it veered to southwest bringing a storm, rain, hail, snow, and later a rainbow. The storm blew over by the thirteenth and in place of it came a head west wind making it necessary to tack between south and northwest. It was quiet on the fourteenth, and the fifteenth was full of sunshine and generally calm, what winds there were came from the northwest. This pleasant weather continued until six o'clock of the sixteenth, when a strong fair wind from the south sprung up driving the boat on her course at the rate of nearly four knots per hour. During the night the wind shifted to the east increasing the speed of the boat as high as six and a half knots. Towards the break of day the breeze shifted to the northeast and blew so strong that the sails were shortened. Although it rained on the seventeenth the northeast wind continued to blow driving the boat before it. Variable winds and weather prevailed on the eighteenth, the boat continued to make from two to two and a half knots sailing on a southwest by west course with northerly winds. During the next three days the situation remained unchanged. On each of these days a man died.

It was clear, sunshiny, and frosty on October 22, the wind westerly and the course north by east towards the American mainland which Waxel had made up his mind to reach because of the health of the men, the condition of the boat and the scarcity of fresh water, there being only fifteen barrels, and three of these were leaking owing to the fact that the wooden hoops were rotting away. The following day with the change of wind to southeasterly and later easterly, the course was altered with the view of arriving at Kamchatka or some island. According to Waxel's calculations on the twenty-fourth, the St. Peter was one hundred thirty-four miles from Avatcha, while Juschin insisted that it was one hundred twenty-two. It was determined to sail on the fifty-second parallel so that in case it blew from the south it would be possible to go north to Avatcha, if, however, it blew from the north the boat could go south between the first and second Kuril Islands. The twenty-fifth started out clear and sunny, but in the afternoon it hailed. At noon the observation indicated fifty-one degrees, thirty-five minutes as the position of the boat, and to the north of her an island loomed up. From an observation taken at noon on the twenty-sixth, the distance from Avatcha was computed to be one hundred three miles. The south-southwest wind of the twenty-seventh drove the boat northwesterly. At noon the distance from Avatcha was announced as ninety miles. Later in the day the velocity of the wind increased necessitating the shortening of sail. It was heavy weather on the morning of the twenty-eighth and when it cleared up somewhat, those on deck saw an island right before them not a mile distant. Getting away from here the ship continued on her course during the twenty-ninth and thirtieth, on the

morning of which two islands were seen lying near to each other close to the fiftieth parallel. A dispute came up as to whether these islands were the Kurils, the officers held that they were not while several of the men who had spent much time in Kamchatka maintained the opposite view. No one could be quite certain of the position of the boat because of the impossibility of making accurate observations and calculations. According to the computations of Waxel and Chytref they were still sixty miles short of Avatcha, and, therefore, they set a northerly course and sailed on it October 31, November 1, 2, and 3, coming as far as the neighborhood of the fifty-sixth parallel. On midnight of November 4, the wind being westerly, the course was changed to southerly. So certain were those on board that Kamchatka was close at hand that on the morning of November 5 sails were taken in so as not to run into it. When about nine o'clock land showed itself there was great rejoicing, the sick crawled out of their berths to have a look. A number of landmarks were identified as those of Kamchatka and the boat sailed up and down to get a closer view of them and by doing so it came into a bay. Fortunately for them the sun came out at noon allowing an observation, and to their great disappointment their position was found to be between the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth parallels, too far north for Avatcha. The next move was to get out of the bay and away from land because of the threatening storm.

The condition of the men on the boat was most pitiful. There were only ten persons who were able to get about at all.⁴¹⁴ During the last few days many on board died,

⁴¹⁴ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 219. Waxel in his report [p. 228] gives eight as the number of men able to be on deck.

the sick were sinking fast, and those who stood their watch were so weak that they had to be led to their places and taken from them by men who were not in much better physical condition themselves.⁴¹⁵ The days were gloomy and short and the nights long and black, with the danger of running into some unknown land at any time. So helpless were they that when the storm broke on them about midnight there was no one able to furl the sails, the result being that they were torn, the masts sprung and became in part useless. This was the situation on the morning of the sixth. A council of the ship's officers was called to decide on the next step. After taking into consideration the condition of men and boat, time of year, distance from Avatcha, lack of water (only six barrels were left on hand), and the bad weather, it was concluded to return to the bay from which they had just come, land, save the lives of those on board and if possible the ship.⁴¹⁶ The boat was put about and headed for the land. When towards sunset they were within two versts of shore they commenced to heave the lead, moving gradually nearer to within a verst and dropped anchor in nine fathoms. It was already night (five o'clock) but the moon was shining. About half an hour after anchoring a heavy surf began to run tossing the ship here and there as if it were a plaything. A moment later the cable broke and for

⁴¹⁵ Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 227.

⁴¹⁶ Steller, in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 224. According to Steller Bering was opposed to this plan. He said that since they had suffered and endured so long they should be patient awhile longer, and that they should make use of the foremast and try to reach Avatcha. Waxel and Chytref assured him that they were in Kamchatka and persuaded him to yield to their wishes. Waxel in his report [p. 229] says that the crew was so weak that it was dangerous to go farther. He also states that the sailors had a meeting of their own and notified the officers that their strength was failing them so fast that they could not be depended on to work much longer.

awhile it seemed as if all were lost. A second anchor was thrown in with no better success. Before the third could be made ready a heavy sea lifted the boat over the reef into the calm water within three hundred fathoms of the shore.⁴¹⁷

Aside from the reaction which followed this almost fatal event, a quiet night was spent. The next morning being clear and pleasant with the wind from the northeast, Steller with a party of invalids made a landing. Waxel, sick and worn out, came also ashore, intending as soon as possible to send to Avatcha for horses to transport the sick, so certain was he that they were in Kamchatka. During the day several ptarmigan, sea otters, and seals, none of which showed any fear of man, were shot and sent with greens on board. Steller, Plenisher and several others remained on land overnight to watch over the sick over whose heads shelter had been constructed out of driftwood and canvas. The next day they hunted and explored with the view of ascertaining whether they were in Kamchatka. The two first mentioned came to the conclusion that they were not and, therefore, on November 9, went about selecting a site for winter quarters and to prepare accommodations for the sick who were being daily landed. A number of the invalids died before they touched ground and as soon as they came in contact with the fresh air. On this account those who had not yet been disturbed were carefully wrapped, and in this manner Bering was brought ashore on the tenth. He was composed and clear-headed and made inquiries as to their situation. He was placed under the care of Steller, the Assistant-surgeon Betge, and Plenisher, who tried

⁴¹⁷ There were two dead bodies on board which were to be buried on shore the next day; but as soon as the superstitious sailors realized that the boat was in danger they laid the blame on these corpses and threw them overboard.

to nurse him back to health. By the twenty-first nearly every one was ashore, including Waxel and Chytref, both of whom were very ill. It was a most pitiful and heart-breaking picture which presented itself on the beach. Scattered here and there were the dead, dying, and helpless sick, some without shelter or the necessary covering. This one complained that he was cold, another that he was hungry, a third that he was thirsty, and many were in such bad condition, their gums being so swollen, that they could not partake of food when it was handed to them. To add to this already tragic scene dozens and dozens of blue foxes infested the camp and could not be driven away. They tugged at the dead, bit the living, scattered and spoiled the provisions, stole the boot of one man, the shirt of another, and the hat of a third. Whatever was in sight, even articles made of metal, they carried off.⁴¹⁸ Under these conditions many perished who, had they reached Kamchatka and had the needed attention and necessary nourishment, might have survived. Bering breathed his last on December 8, and was buried near where he died on the island which now bears his name.⁴¹⁹ Thirty men

⁴¹⁸ Steller, in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. v, 232-236. The blue foxes were so numerous that the first day when Steller and Plenisher were building their hut they killed sixty with their axes and pikes in order to keep them off. On the next day they killed so many that they lay there in piles and were used that night for stopping up the holes in their dwelling.

⁴¹⁹ Muller's account of the death of Bering has been repeated by some writers and exaggerated by others. This is what Muller says: "Man kann sagen, dass er noch bey lebendigem Leibe halb begraben worden. Denn wie in der Grube, worin er lag, beständig Sand von den Seitenwänden Herabrollete, und seine Fusse bedeckte; so erlaubte er zuletzt nicht mehr, dass solches dorfte weggeraumet werden. Er empfand davon, seiner Sage nach, etwas Wärme, die ihm sonst an den ubrigen Theilen seines Leibes abgieng. Und so haufte sich der Sand bis an den Unterlieb; daher man, da er mit Tode abgieng, ihn erst aus dem Sande hervorscharren musste, um ihn auf gehörige Art zur Erden zu bestatten" - Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 238. Muller does not give his authority for his statement, and

in all lost their lives from the time of leaving Avatcha until January 8, when the last of the diseased men passed away.⁴²⁰

it is probably an exaggerated account which had gathered in the course of time. Steller, who was with Bering to the very last, relates a different story: "So aber kam er fast vor Hunger, Durst, Kalte, Ungemavh und Betrübniß um, und der odomatöse Geschwulst der Fusse, den er schon langst von einem gestropften Tertianfieber hatte, wurde durch die Kalte vermehrt und in den Leib und die Brust getrieben, endlich aber seinem Leben, durch den im Unterleibe entstandenen Brand, am 8 December zwey Stunden vor Tage, ein Ende gemacht. So jammervoll sein Tod seinen Freunden scheinen mußte, so bewunderswürdig war seine Gelassenheit und erstliche Zubereitung zum Scheiden, welches bey volliger Vernunft und sprache erfolgte. Er selbst war überzeugt, dass wir an ein unbekanntes Land verschlagen worden, dennoch wollte er durch seine Behauptung die ubrigen nicht gern niedergeschlagen machen, sondern ermunterte vielmehr auf alle Weise zur Hofnung und Thatigkeit. Wir begruben dessen entseelten Leichnam Tages darauf, nach Protestantischen Kirchengebrauchen nahe bey unsrer Wohnung, do er zwischen seinen Adjutanten, einem Commissario und zwey Grenadieren liegt, und setzen bey unsrer Abreise auf die Grabstatte, zum Merkmal ein holzernes Kreuz, welches zugleich für die Besitznehmung des Landes gelten konnte" — Steller, *Pallas' Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 8-9.

⁴²⁰ There is an episode in connection with this voyage which is of some interest and which has been the cause of not a little misunderstanding. In 1750 J. N. Delisle, who had left St. Petersburg in 1747, read a paper before the Academy at Paris, in which he said that Bering was wrecked on an island and had not been in America, and that Chirikof and Delisle de la Croyere had touched on the American coast. This statement was bitterly attacked and its author roughly handled by Muller [?] in a *Lettre d'un Officier de la Marine Russe*. The point is this: Did Delisle say what he did to belittle Bering and magnify the deeds of Chirikof, and especially of his brother, or was he simply ignorant of the true state of affairs? The writer believes that the latter explanation is the true one, and for these reasons: (1) When Delisle left Russia many of the original journals and charts were in Siberia [*Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 468]; (2) Delisle did not know the true facts of Bering's voyage, because in his manuscript, although one finds extracts of many of the voyages, there is not a single word about the St. Peter's; (3) it is doubtful whether the Admiralty College gave out (by 1750) accurate details regarding Bering's voyage, because the whole of Europe had erroneous ideas on the subject; (4) Delisle got his information for the statement from the newspapers of the day, as may be seen from the following freely translated extracts.

"Captain Behring, who went to make an attempt to find out whether one could go to America by way of the Arctic Sea [Mer du Nord], was wrecked on the coast of an island, and the captain with the larger part of the crew died there. Steller, the botanist of the Academy, and several sailors were

In more recent times a monument has been erected on that island by the Russian government to him who gave the best part of his life to determine whether Asia and America are united. With his discoveries the czar's dominions reached their farthest extent. Whatever faults Bering had, it can not be said of him that he shirked a task because it was hard and unpleasant. His defamers have belittled themselves by accusing him of short comings from which deeper study and fairer judgment would have shown him to be free; his friends have not added to their reputation by slandering those who fail to see in him a "Russian Columbus." The mere discovery of land does not make one a Columbus, although it may make one famous. A great discoverer must possess special qualifications and ability for such work, Bering at no time displayed unusual qualities. He was, in school language, a "plodder;" he did the work before him faithfully and to the best of his abil-

fortunate enough to resist the disease and from the wreck of the big boat built a smaller one, on which they returned to Kamchatka. Steller says that he met Captain Tschirikov who told him that he had been on the coast of some unknown country whose inhabitants resemble the Americans. But when he attempted to land he was repulsed by the Americans, and after losing several soldiers and sailors, he had to give it up."—*Gazette de France*, November 16, 1743. (De Petersburg, October 20).

"Mr. George Guillaume Steller of Windsheim, Franconia, famous botanist and Professor of the Imperial Academy, died recently between Tobolsk and Cathrinesburg. This scholar is generally mourned. He was coming to Kamchatka after having discovered one of the islands of North America and proved that it was only a short distance from there to the Russian Empire. He undertook this discovery in 1738 by the order of the Court in a vessel commanded by Captain Behring. They had the misfortune to get wrecked on an island, where the captain and the greater part of the crew died."—*Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tome 3 (published after 1746).

"News has reached here that Mr. Steller, the famous botanist and member of the Imperial Academy, died recently. . . He was returning from Kamchatka after having discovered one of the North American islands and proved that it was only a short distance from there to the Russian Empire."—*Amsterdam Gazette*, January 25, 1747.

ity. From this point of view Bering may be called great.

It is interesting to note the behavior of those who were able to take care of themselves. Steller, Pleninger, the assistant surgeon, and two or three others joined hands to stand by each other. They organized their forces, divided their work, and were soon as comfortable as they could be under the circumstances. During the life time of Bering he was looked after by this small company. A number of the other men followed their example and they too banded together. The sick were not neglected, but, judging from Steller's journal, it would seem that their wants were not always looked after first. During the long sea voyage certain feuds and enmities had developed and these were not immediately forgotten. The sick, outside of those already mentioned, were placed under cover in one place and there they lay cursing their evil fortune and their officers who led them into this undertaking. Chytref when he was taken ill was brought into this place and had to listen to the men calling down God's anger on him for the things he did and did not do. He begged Steller and his party to take him out of this common sick room into their quarters, but partly because of lack of room but chiefly because of the hate which they bore him, they refused his request. Waxel received a little better treatment, although the Steller crowd would not take him in, they did provide separate quarters for him and several other sick men. It is not clear whether Chytref was of that number or not.⁴²¹

By January 1, there were five underground huts to shelter the men for the winter: the so-called barracks, the lieutenants' quarters, Steller's place, the hut of

⁴²¹ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 4-5.

Alexei Iwanof, and the one of Luka Alexeef. In front of each building were several large casks used as store houses which served to keep the foxes out. As the men became stronger and the memories of those frightful days were less tense they drew closer to each other and worked more in harmony and to a common end. They organized themselves into three companies. One was to provide the camp with meat which became the main article of diet. As there were a great many sea otters, seals, sea cows, sea lions, and sea bears, there was no lack of food at first. But the men became thoughtless and killed a great deal of game for mere sport or for the sake of their pelts, this was especially true of the sea otter, the animals were driven farther and farther from camp. Towards the end of the stay it was necessary to go a distance of eighteen to twenty miles to find them.⁴²²

Bread and other foods were also given out but not in the same abundance. From the middle of November to the beginning of May each person was allowed monthly thirty pounds of flour and several pounds of pearl-barley, the last named article, however, gave out after two months. During May and June only twenty pounds of flour were allowed to each man, and in July and August no flour at all was forthcoming, because there were only twenty-five puds (nine hundred pounds) left and this was kept to be used on the voyage to Kamchatka. No one suffered from this scarcity of flour and many did not use up their share partly because they had other things to eat and partly because the lack of a good bake-oven and the poor quality of the flour which had suffered from having stood long in the leather sacks and from having come in contact with salt water and distasteful substances at the time of the wreck.

⁴²² Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 19; Waxel [p. 232] says even thirty miles.

The usual way of preparing it for food was to make it into cakes and fry it in whale, seal, or sea cow oil.

The second company had for its task the providing of wood for the camp and this was regarded as the hardest work of all. With the exception of some scrub-brush there was not a tree on the island. There was a considerable amount of driftwood on the place; that which was near camp was used up very soon in building the huts and for firewood and the remainder was covered by several feet of snow. Towards the end of March the men had to go as far as fifteen and sixteen versts for their wood which they had to carry on their backs. In addition to its being hard and trying work it was also dangerous.⁴²³ After the middle of May when the snow disappeared wood was found close by and the search for fire-wood lost its terrors. A new source of supply came from the breaking up of the boat.

The third company busied itself with the cooking. The question of nationality seems to have been an important factor in the division of labor. Whenever possible it was arranged that a German and Russian should share equally in the work of cooking and hunting.⁴²⁴

⁴²³ On several occasions the men were nearly overcome by the hardships and dangers involved in going such long distances. On April 1, four hunters went out to bring game. Towards evening a blinding snow-storm came up so that they could only with great difficulty see a few feet ahead of them and they could hardly keep their feet. Under the circumstances the men became separated. Three of them spent the night under several feet of snow out of which they extricated themselves the following morning with great difficulty. When they reached camp they could neither speak nor think and one was totally blind. The fourth member of the party after becoming separated fell into the water and was chilled through and through. When found next morning he was wandering up and down the beach, having lost his reason. They were given the necessary attention and they all recovered. About the same time another small party was caught by the high water and was kept on a rock for seven days without food or fire [Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 15-17].

⁴²⁴ — *Ibid.*, 12-13.

During the winter months efforts were made to ascertain whether the place where the men were encamped was part of Kamchatka or some outlying island. A few days after landing several men were sent to examine the lay of the land to the westward. On their return they said that they found no trace of human beings or any evidence which would lead them to think that they were on Kamchatka.⁴²⁵ Towards the end of December another party was sent out eastward and on its return on December 26, it gave its opinion that they were on an island. They did find rudders, casks, and other objects which led them to think that Kamchatka was not far off.⁴²⁶ On February 25, four others were commissioned to go westward, but they did not go far and came back without having accomplished anything of value.⁴²⁷ An attempt was made to follow the coast in a southerly direction. For this purpose several men were sent on March 15, and they, too, were unable to report anything more definite than the finding of a part of a Kamchatka boat known to the men. A week later several members of this company went again in the same direction. It was understood that in case they discovered that they were on an island they should all return at once in order that the construction of a new boat might not be delayed; if however, it was found that they were on the mainland of Kamchatka half of the company should proceed to Avatcha and the other half should hasten back to camp. On April 6 they returned saying that they were certain that they were on an island and that they saw to the northeast of them

⁴²⁵ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 5.

⁴²⁶ — *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁴²⁷ — *Ibid.*

high mountains which seemed to them to belong to some island off Kamchatka and not America.⁴²⁸

Now that there was no longer any doubt as to their being on an island the only way left for reaching Kamchatka was by water. The *St. Peter*, after the exciting events of the night of November 6, lay quietly at anchor until towards the end of that month when she was blown farther on the beach.⁴²⁹ On February 1, a high tide and northwest wind carried her still farther ashore and it became very doubtful whether she could be gotten into deep water again even if it were found that her bottom was sound.⁴³⁰ At a meeting held on April 9, it was decided to break up the boat at once and build a smaller one, and the men were reorganized with this object in view. Twelve men were selected to occupy themselves exclusively with this work, the others, Waxel, Chytref, and Steller excepted, were divided into two gangs to hunt and work about camp by turns.⁴³¹ Although there was now plenty of wood, the men had to go long distances for game, as was already noted, and this was now regarded the hardest work. On May 6 the keel was laid. To celebrate the event Waxel invited all to his dwelling and treated them to the best he had, none of which was intoxicating. Everybody worked with a will for they were eager to get away from the island, and the long and pleasant days helped them very much. Now and then the hunters were fortunate in killing near camp sea cows, or sea bears, or

⁴²⁸ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 12-14, 17-18.

⁴²⁹ — *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴³⁰ — *Ibid.*, 12. According to the *Journal* of the *St. Peter* the officers and sailors met on January 18 and 29 to discuss the extent of the injuries suffered by the *St. Peter*. Five arguments were advanced to prove that the boat was past repair. This report was signed by all the officers and sailors, except Ovtzin who submitted a minority report.

⁴³¹ — *Ibid.*, 18.

finding a whale, all of which made it possible to reduce the number of men in their party and add them to the ship builders,⁴³² or to put them to other work.

Before launching the boat on August 8 all hands gathered for prayer. St. Peter, after whom the new boat was named, was prayed to that he might take the vessel under his protection and bring her safe to Kamchatka.⁴³³ After two days more of hard work, the boat was gotten into the water. She had a thirty-six foot keel, measured forty-two feet from bow to stern,⁴³⁴ and drew five and a half feet of water. On the eleventh the mast was put in and the tackle and gear prepared. At the same time a small ship's boat was being constructed to be carried on deck. Others were putting provisions and other material on board. Among the supplies which were taken on were twenty-five puds of rye-flour, five barrels of salted sea cow meat, also a considerable quantity of dried meat of this animal, two puds pease, one barrel of salted beef which had been saved for this purpose. In addition each man had four pounds of butter and most of them had saved up enough flour during their stay on the island to provide themselves with bread.⁴³⁵

On August 13 all went on board and trusted their lives once more to the waves. That boat was so small and the amount of baggage so large that there was not room enough for the forty-six men to travel with comfort. It was necessary to throw some of the baggage overboard before they could find space for all. After

⁴³² Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 20-21. During July Chytref and others examined the shore by land and water in order to find harbors and to determine on the course to sail after leaving the island.

⁴³³ — *Ibid.* Waxel in his report gives these dimensions: thirty-six feet long, twelve feet deep, five and one-fourth feet under water.

⁴³⁴ — *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ — *Ibid.*, 22.

prayer on the morning of the 14th the sails were hoisted and the voyage begun with a fair wind. The pleasant weather and good breeze remained with them all during the following day, the course sailed being west by south. That night, however, a leak was discovered and the vessel began to fill and many thought that their last moment had come. The sails were reefed and a search was made for the leak which was happily found and stopped. On the sixteenth a similar course to that of the fifteenth was sailed; on the seventeenth Kamchatka came in view. As the boat came under the land the wind either died out altogether or was dead ahead so that it was not before the evening of the twenty-seventh that the St. Peter came to anchor in Avatcha Bay.⁴⁸⁶ Many of the inhabitants welcomed them gladly; others were less elated for having given them up as lost they had helped themselves to the things which the officers and crew had left behind. The day after landing was set apart as a day of thanksgiving for having been spared and brought back in good health. In the old church at Petropavlovsk there used to hang two icons, representing St. Peter and St. Paul. The frame of one was richly decorated with silver donated by those who returned; under it was written,

This holy picture is adorned according to the promise of Dimitri Ovtzin and others on being saved from the desert island and on arriving in Kamchatka in 1742.

SPANBERG'S VOYAGE TO JAPAN

The part of Bering's third proposition, which referred to the finding of a route between Okhotsk and Japan, was entrusted to Spanberg with these instructions:⁴⁸⁷ Captain Spanberg should build, either at Ok-

⁴⁸⁶ Steller in Pallas's *Neue Nördische Beyträge*, vol. vi, 25.

⁴⁸⁷ *Polnoe Sobranie Zaknof, Rossiskoi Imperii*, vol. viii, doc. 6291.

hotsk or Kamchatka, three boats and on these sail to find a way to Japan; on the way he was to examine the islands between Kamchatka Cape and Japan, some of these islands being already under Russian jurisdiction (if there were any islands under the jurisdiction of the Emperor of Japan, he was to take note of those also and try to enter into friendly relations with the inhabitants); to continue from there to Japan and learn about its government, ports, and the possibilities of entering into friendly relations with the people. If there should be any shipwrecked Japanese in Kamchatka, they should be taken back to their country as a sign of friendliness towards their country. On coming to Japan with these shipwrecked Japanese, it might be well to give as an excuse for coming, the desire to return these men to their homes; but in case the Japanese government should refuse to receive them, then they were to be put ashore somewhere and allowed to find their way home. In every possible way friendliness was to be shown and an attempt made to overcome their inveterate Asiatic unsociableness. While in Japan, care was to be taken not to do anything which might offend the Japanese. Warning was given not to believe all that was said to them, nor to allow themselves to be led into a trap and attacked, nor to linger there any longer than was really necessary. Bering's suggestion to invite the Japanese to meet the Russians half-way in their boats was not to be made to them.

Spanberg, as has already been noted, arrived at Okhotsk in 1735, and for three years he was busy building boats and preparing for his mission. His fleet consisted of the flag-ship Archangel Michael (sixty by eighteen by seven and one-half feet), the double sloop Nadezhda (seventy by seventeen by five feet), cap-

tained by Walton, and the old St. Gabriel, in command of Shelting. On the flag-ship were sixty-three men, but the two other boats had forty-four each.

The three vessels left Okhotsk June 18, 1738, and on meeting with ice, ran into Bolshaya River where they remained until July 15, taking on provisions and the crew of the wrecked Fortune. After leaving this port the boats became separated in the fog; the Gabriel disappeared from view on the nineteenth, and five days later the Nadezhda was equally invisible. The Archangel cruised among the Kurils, bestowing names on about twenty-nine of them, but no landing was made on account of the rocky shores. On August 3, Spanberg, being near Urup Island [Company Land] forty-five and one-half degrees, turned back because of the late season, long nights, thick weather, unknown seas, strong currents, lack of provisions, fear of the enemy, and other such-like reasons. Nothing of special interest happened on the return voyage, and on August 17 Spanberg anchored once more in Bolshaya River, where he found Shelting. A week later Walton came in, saying that he had been as far south as forty-three and one-half degrees.

One year of the two allowed for the work was already used up without any great results. During the winter of 1738-1739, Spanberg constructed a new boat (fifty by eleven by four and one-half feet) and in honor of the fort named her Bolsheretzka. She drew but little water and was provided with oars to enable her to move about more easily among the islands and to make landings. The old Gabriel, which had been damaged in the course of the winter in attempting to go to Okhotsk, was repaired and once more made serviceable.

On May 21, 1739, the four boats sailed away from

Kamchatka, directing their course for the first Kuril island, which was reached on the twenty-fifth. Here an interpreter was taken on board. For some unknown reason, Spanberg shifted Walton to Shelting's and Shelting to Walton's boat. From this place they departed June 1, sailing first southeasterly as far as the forty-second parallel without being able to find Gama or any other land, and then the course was changed to southwest. Muller says⁴³⁸ that on June 14 a storm separated Walton from the other navigators, but one is more inclined to believe Spanberg, who charges that Walton had been trying for some time to get away, and that it had been necessary to order the crew of Walton's boat not to follow their captain in such an attempt.⁴³⁹ Intentionally or otherwise Walton disappeared.

Spanberg continued on his course. On June 16, in latitude thirty-nine degrees, he sighted Nippon and followed its coast for two days more which brought him to latitude thirty-eight degrees, forty-one minutes⁴⁴⁰ where he anchored. From deck one could see many villages, cultivated fields, forests, and junks. Two of the last named came up within thirty or forty fathoms of the Archangel Michael but would not approach any nearer although Spanberg invited them to do so. On the other hand they motioned to him to go ashore. Spanberg thought there was some treachery on foot and sailed away.⁴⁴¹ Following the coast in a southerly direction the boat came to anchor again on the 22d, in latitude thirty-seven degrees, thirty minutes.⁴⁴² The people

⁴³⁸ Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 168, 169.

⁴³⁹ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix.

⁴⁴⁰ Muller, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, 168, 169.

⁴⁴¹ — *Ibid.*

⁴⁴² — *Ibid.* Muller [*op. cit.*, 169] gives the location as thirty-eight degrees, twenty-five minutes.

from shore looked on the newcomers with suspicion at first, but gradually they became more friendly and entered into trade relations. Two junks came to the ship bringing gold coins, rice, tobacco, fresh fish, and other articles of trade, taking in return objects offered by the Russians.⁴⁴³ A day or two later there came on board four important Japanese officers. They made their salutations in the most gracious manner and they remained on their knees so long that Spanberg had to request them to rise. They were treated with brandy and Russian dishes, both of which they seemed to enjoy. Spanberg laid before them a chart of these regions and the visitors identified a number of places and referred to the island on which they lived as Nippon. All this evidence convinced Spanberg that he had accomplished the principal part of his mission—to determine the situation of Japan—and he was ready to return.⁴⁴⁴ The stay on the whole was short, because seeing himself surrounded by nearly a thousand islanders and fearing a misunderstanding might arise, Spanberg did not think it wise to remain long.

From this point the Archangel sailed a northeasterly course, discovering, naming, and making landings on a number of the Kuril Islands. On one of these islands there was a village, eight of the inhabitants of which were brought on board. From the description given of them there seems to be no doubt that they were the hairy Ainos. In these waters Spanberg navigated until July 25 and then headed the boat for Kamchatka on account of illness on board. A short stay was made at the first Kuril Island and from there they went on to Bolshaya River where they arrived on August 15. Five

⁴⁴³ Muller, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, 169-173.

⁴⁴⁴ — *Ibid.*

days later the boat sailed away for Okhotsk and anchored there on the twenty-ninth. During the voyage thirteen men died.

Walton, when he found himself alone, sailed away on his own responsibility on west and southwest courses. He sighted Nippon on June 16, in latitude thirty-seven degrees, forty-two minutes;⁴⁴⁵ and coasted in sight of its shore. On the seventeenth he fell in with a Japanese ship and by following her he came to a large city situated in thirty-four degrees, sixteen minutes.⁴⁴⁶ The inhabitants of this part of Japan had had trade relations with Europeans and were therefore more at ease in their presence than those farther north whom Spanberg had met. At the invitation of the natives Walton sent Kasimerof and seven others in the ship's boat to shore to fetch fresh water. They were met on the way by a great many small boats and a large crowd of people welcomed them to shore. The two empty casks were taken in charge by the Japanese who filled them with water. Kasimerof was invited into one of the houses in the city where wine and sweets were placed before him. After walking about and examining the city awhile longer Kasimerof started back for the ship. He was followed by a hundred Japanese boats, in one of which was a man of some distinction. He came on board and exchanged presents and drinks with Walton. Elsewhere on the boat a brisk trade was going on between the Japanese and the Russian sailors. The number of Japanese about the ship became so large that

⁴⁴⁵ There is a great confusion in the original charts and journals and it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine with accuracy the places in question. Muller [*op. cit.*, 175-176] says that Walton came in view of Nippon in latitude thirty-eight degrees, seventeen minutes, and that he came to anchor before a city situated in thirty-three degrees, forty-eight minutes.

⁴⁴⁶ Muller, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, 169-173.

Walton, fearing trouble, pulled up the anchor and went out to sea as soon as the Japanese officer departed. Stops were made for the purpose of taking on fresh water and making observations of the country and the people, of which interesting descriptions are given. When in latitude thirty-three degrees, twenty-eight minutes the Gabriel turned back and reached Bolshaya River July 23. Three days later the Bolsheretz appeared, and, accompanied by the Gabriel, the two boats sailed away August 7, making Okhotsk on the twenty-second. The Nadezhda experienced many hardships after leaving the flag-ship (July 31), especially in trying to get to Okhotsk. Twice she came in sight of the desired haven but was driven back each time by a storm, compelling her finally to give up and return to Bolshaya River for the winter.

Spanberg reported to Bering the results of his voyage and said, among other things, that if his boats had kept together he would have asked the nearer Kuril Islands to come under the jurisdiction of the Russian Empire, and that all the islands from the forty-third degree of latitude could without much danger be brought under subjection. For this purpose he asked to be put in charge of another expedition. This Bering would not grant, because the time allowed Spanberg for this kind of work had expired. After a consultation with the officers, it was decided to let Spanberg go to the capital, where announcements of his voyage had already been sent. Spanberg, taking his papers with him,⁴⁴⁷ set out, and when he had come as far as Jakutsk he found instructions from the Admiralty College not to come any nearer. In April he received another mes-

⁴⁴⁷ *Delisle Manuscripts*. It is not clear whether the papers were sent ahead or were left behind for him to take.

sage, from the Imperial Cabinet this time, telling him to come with all speed. He had gone but a short distance when he was stopped by an order of April 15, commanding him to go back and do the work over again.⁴⁴⁸

Bering was about ready to leave for Kamchatka, with

⁴⁴⁸ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 363-365. Spanberg and Walton were on bad terms with each other and with their officers. Spanberg complained that Petrof, his pilot, was a drunkard. Petrof said that Spanberg made him change the journal and cursed him in German and Russian and threatened to hang him. Walton said that Kasimerof, one of his officers, was disobedient, would not stand his watch, nor keep the journal. Kasimerof charged that Walton beat him. Walton and the priest accused Spanberg of mistreating them. The crews swore than Spanberg and Walton abused them. Pizaref, who was not friend of Spanberg's, wrote a letter to the Senate saying that it was in Korea and not Japan that Spanberg had been, because according to a Japanese map found at Okhotsk, Japan is just south of Kamchatka and not fifteen degrees removed where Spanberg placed it. Bering examined Spanberg's log book, finding there many errors, and Spanberg detected in Walton's enough faults to fill a sixteen page note book. Having before it all these charges, inaccurate log books, and contradictory evidences, the Admiralty College did not know whom to believe, and it, therefore, decided to have Spanberg do the work over again in a more thorough manner.

In 1741, the Admiralty College took all the documents relating to Spanberg's expedition and placed them in the hands of Professor Shishkof of the Naval Academy. He examined and compared them, and came to the conclusion that although according to the map and statements of Pizaref, Spanberg could not have been in Japan, yet since Kirilof's and Delisle's maps place Japan southwest of Kamchatka, and since Spanberg sailed on that course, it is quite probable that he was in Japan. In the meantime more documents came in, and to examine these the Admiralty College appointed a commission consisting of Captains Laptef and Nagaef and Professors Shishkof and Biltsof, to see what it could make out of the material. This body was in session until 1746 and made this report: "Without any doubt it is clear that Captain Walton, judging from all circumstances, was really on the eastern coast of Japan and not in Korea. . . . As to the voyage of Captain Spanberg, judging from his journal, it could hardly be believed that he was on the northern coast of Japan. . . . But since he was with the other boats from May 23, when they left Bolsheretzka, up to June 15, and since he noted down in his journal the appearance of the Japanese coast and other happenings which he observed; therefore it is possible that Spanberg was in Japan and on his return among the Japanese islands. . . . But to attempt from his journal to put his voyage on a chart and to locate correctly the islands he saw on the way and some of the Japanese islands is quite impossible, not only for an outsider, but for Spanberg himself."

all the provisions on hand, when Spanberg returned to Okhotsk, in the summer of 1740. This made it necessary for Spanberg to go to Jakutsk for other supplies, and it was June, 1741, before he came back with a part of them, the remainder arriving in September. A new boat, the St. John (seventy by eighteen by six and one-fourth feet), was constructed to take the place of the St. Gabriel.⁴⁴⁹ As it was too late to enter on the voyage that year, Spanberg went only as far as Bolsheretzsk, where he wintered. Before leaving Okhotsk he despatched the Nadezhda in charge of Shelting, assisted by Gwosdef, the same who sighted America in 1732, to chart the western coast of Okhotsk to the Amur. With fair winds the Nadezhda came to the Shantar Islands and later to the Ouda River, which Shelting reported was unfit for settlement on account of the sterility of the soil and the lack of building material. From the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth, the boat cruised among the Shantar Islands and then, owing to a leak, headed for Bolshaya River, anchoring October 9.

On May 23, 1742, Spanberg took his fleet out to sea. The St. John was made the flag-ship with seventy-eight persons on board, having, in addition to the regular crew, a son of Spanberg, a youth of about twenty, two students from the St. Petersburg Academy to act as Japanese interpreters,⁴⁵⁰ a son of Prince Dolgoruki, a priest, and a surgeon. The Archangel Michael was commanded by Shelting and had forty people on her; the Nadezhda, captained by Ptishzef, had thirty-three;

⁴⁴⁹ From this time on no more is heard of the St. Gabriel. She was probably one of the two freight boats Bering took along with him to Kamchatka; but what became of her after that trip is not known.

⁴⁵⁰ They had learned the Japanese language from two Japanese who had been shipwrecked in Kamchatka years before and were sent to St. Petersburg.

and the Bolsheretzka thirteen, including Boatswain Kassin, who was in charge.⁴⁵¹

After leaving Kamchatka a stop was made on the first Kuril island, where an interpreter was taken on board and two natives baptized. From this island the boats sailed May 30, heading southwesterly, and running into a great deal of fog. The weather cleared up on June 4, giving Spanberg an opportunity to determine his position, which was latitude forty-seven degrees, and to notice that two of his boats were out of sight. Eight days later the Bolsheretzka also disappeared from view. The St. John continued alone until June 22, being at the time in latitude forty-one degrees, fifteen minutes and near Japan. The weather seems to have been fair and the very best time of the year for navigating in these waters, and yet for some inexplicable reason, Spanberg called a council to decide whether they should go back. Most of the officers were only too glad to return, because, they said, the season was already far advanced, that it was not safe for one boat to sail alone in these waters, that a number of the crew were ill, and that as until now the winds had been contrary they were likely to be so on the homeward voyage. There were those on board of the opinion that they should sail on until July 10, which shows that the condition of the boat was not dangerous. It was finally compromised to go on until July 6. This agreement was never carried out, for on June 30, in latitude thirty-nine degrees, thirty-five minutes, the St. John, which had been rather hastily constructed of unseasoned timber, sprang a leak. Under the circum-

⁴⁵¹ Walton did not take part in this voyage. He was promoted to the rank of captain and requested to come to the capital, but he died on the way in 1742.

stances the course was set for the first Kuril island, which was reached without much difficulty, and here the three other boats were found at anchor.

Shelting was once more shifted to the *Nadezhda* and with a pilot and geodist was ordered to chart the coast from Ouda to the Amur. Sailing away July 24, he made on August 1 the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island, in latitude fifty degrees, ten minutes, and coasted alongside of it to what is known as Laperouse Strait. Owing to the heavy fogs about the island, he was prevented from making an observation, and on account of the head winds he was unable to proceed. So he concluded to go to Okhotsk, which place he reached September 10 and joined the remainder of Spanberg's squadron, that had made this port August 26, after having been at Bolshaya River.

This brought to an end Spanberg's third and last voyage to Japan. It seems that even for that period, and notwithstanding his handicaps, the task assigned him should have been accomplished in one year. The blame for the failure others besides Spanberg should share. It was difficult to obtain results from a crew made up of different nationalities and landsmen who knew that their chief did not have the full confidence of his superiors. Neither the officers nor the men had their souls completely in their work; their main object was to go through the performance and hurry home. This was especially true of the last voyage. Another trouble was that all concerned in the undertaking were physically and mentally worn out, easily offended, and given to quarreling. The third attempt of Spanberg's was as useless as it was fruitless; and for this were to blame the officers of the capital, who pre-

ferred to follow dead maps rather than Spanberg's live account.

Looked at from the point of view of geographical knowledge acquired, these three voyages were very valuable. In spite of the harsh report of the commission on Spanberg's voyage, D'Anville, Buache, and Bellin constructed their maps out of the charts and journals which were so severely condemned. Spanberg's voyages pointed out a new way to Japan, they gave some idea of the northern part of the Japanese possessions, they demonstrated, by crossing several times the parallel of Gama Land, that such land did not exist, and they proved that State Island and Company Land were two of the Kuril Islands, that Jeso is a comparatively small island and not a continent, and that Japan is not a peninsula of Tartary, as Guillaume Delisle would have it believed.

ARCTIC VOYAGES ⁴⁵²

It has already been pointed out that Bering's proposition as to the charting of the coast of northern Siberia from the Ob to the Lena was accepted but changed so as to take in the region from the Lena to the Anaduir, in order to prove beyond a doubt that America and Asia were or were not united. Owing to the vast territory to be covered, it was found advisable to divide the work among five sections: (1) Archangel to the Ob; (2) Ob to the Yenisei; (3) Yenisei to Cape Taimur; (4) Lena westward to Cape Taimur; (5) Lena eastward to the Anaduir.

Two years' time was allowed to each section in which

⁴⁵² This account is based chiefly on the papers found in *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, and the *Delisle Manuscripts*.

to do its work; if at the end of the stipulated period the work was not done, the chief officer of that section was to report at St. Petersburg for further orders. From the beginning, the section having for its task the exploration of the coast from Archangel to the Ob was taken care of by the Admiralty College. The other four sections were nominally under Bering's supervision. But, as he moved gradually eastward, these, too, fell into the hands of the Admiralty College. Bering's responsibilities, so far as these Arctic voyages are concerned, were not burdensome, and they had little to do in delaying his own voyage.

I. *Archangel to the Ob*

For this work were built two strong, decked boats (seventy by twenty-one by eight feet), such as are used in these regions and are known as *kotshi*, and they were named Expedition and Ob. Lieutenants Muravyof and Pavlof were chosen as commanders, assisted by pilots, under-pilots, surgeons, priests and mineralogists. Without counting guides, interpreters, and others not directly connected with navigation, the two boats had a combined crew of fifty-one men. A herd of reindeer was ordered to be sent to Pustosersk in case the men should winter there.

On July 4, 1734, the two *kotshi* made a start, passing out of the mouth of the Dwina six days later, and dropping anchor in Yugor Strait on the twenty-fifth. The Kara Sea being free of ice it became possible to reach a point near the Yamal, or Samoyede Peninsula, by the end of the month. After a short stop to take on drift wood and fresh water, the boats sailed away on a northerly course, keeping close to the land. From August 3 to 8, in latitude seventy degrees, the vessels were de-

tained by headwinds and ice, and other troubles delayed them another week. They finally got clear and by August 18 sailed as far as seventy-two degrees, thirty-five minutes. With the task almost finished, the officers decided to turn back because the winds were contrary, the season late, and because they said they "were not far from the mouth of the Ob." By September 4, the Expedition and the Ob were at the mouth of the Petchora, where a little later they were hauled up. From here the crews went to Pustorsersk for the winter.

The next attempt to reach the Ob was begun on June 29, 1735. On account of the great amount of ice in the Kara Sea and also because of the fog which separated them, the boats suffered more than the preceding year. Muravyof put back when he had come to seventy-three degrees, four minutes, and Pavlof turned from seventy-three degrees, eleven minutes. Near the entrance to the Petchora, the *kotshi* united and anchored a little distance up the stream on September 9.

As the two years allowed for the work had been used up, Muravyof asked for an extension of time, new boats, lighthouses, geodists, etc. All these were granted by the Admiralty College. Owing, however, to charges and counter-charges of Muravyof and Pavlof against each other and their subordinates, also on account of complaints which the inhabitants of Pustorsersk filed against the head officers, they were removed from command and reduced to the grade of sailors. Lieutenant Malgin, who succeeded to the command, took charge of the Expedition on May 25, 1736. Before he got clear out to sea he was caught in the ice and lost the boat but saved the provisions. He repaired the Ob and sailed on her June 21 to Dolgoi Island where he was joined by the two new boats which had been built for his ser-

vice. They were named the First and Second, and were about the same size as their predecessors, except that they drew less water. At Yugor Strait, Malgin with a crew of twenty-six went on board the First, and on the Second he placed Lieutenant Sukarof with twenty-four men. The Ob was sent back. By the end of the summer Malgin had come near the seventieth degree, and there he hauled up his boat for the winter. Several members of the crew went to Obdorsk to remain during the cold weather.

Early in the spring of 1737 the geodist Selifontof was sent to chart White [Beloi] Island, and although he made satisfactory progress, he was nevertheless unable to complete it for lack of food for his deer. The summer of 1737 was exceptionally favorable for Arctic exploration, the sea being unusually free from ice, and it will be noticed that all the officers who were successful, achieved their tasks during this summer. Malgin stood out to sea with his two boats on July 6, meeting at first with ice but after a few days he struck an open lead, so that he was able to reach the northern point of the peninsula by the twenty-third. Turning from here he sailed into the Ob Bay and River and anchored in front of Berezof on October 2, and from there went to the capital to report his success. The boats were sailed back by his officers, who spent two years in the effort.

2. *Ob to Yenisei*

Lieutenant Dimitri Ovtzin with a crew of fifty-six men was put on the Tobol (seventy by fifteen by seven feet), which was provided with oars. Ovtzin left Tobolsk May 14, 1734, followed by several barges of provisions. A stop was made at Obdorsk to put up warehouses and prepare for the winter and from there

Ovtzin sailed north, coming by August 5 to seventy degrees, four minutes, and turned back (for the usual reasons) to Obdorsk. During the fall, Cossacks were sent to procure information about the coast, and to put up lighthouses, and the geodist and pilot were set to work charting the channel. In 1735 Ovtzin had even less success than in 1734, for he did not go beyond sixty-eight degrees, forty minutes, turning back because thirty-seven, or about three-fourths of the crew were down with scurvy. From Tobolsk he went to St. Petersburg, asking for better boats, officers, and surveyors. All was granted, even power to exceed the instructions, provided the work was done, and it was impressed upon him that it must be done.

Not waiting for the completion of the new boat, Ovtzin made one more attempt in 1736 in the old one, but when he came only as far as seventy-two degrees, forty minutes he was obliged, because of the ice, to retrace his course to Obdorsk. The winter and early spring were utilized in putting up lighthouses and storehouses along the banks to the mouth of the Yenisei. In 1737 Ovtzin took charge of the newly completed Ob-Postman (seventy by seventeen by seven and one-half feet), and the command of the Tobol he gave to Koshelof, who had thirty-five men under him, the same number as his chief. On June 29, the men bade farewell to their Obdorsk friends and started down the river, taking on stores as they advanced. Slowly they moved along, passing the seventy-fourth parallel by August 7. After a few days' detention by head winds, the boats got under way, rounding Cape Matte-Sol (seventy-three degrees, fifteen minutes), and thence directing their course up the bay and River Yenisei to Turuchansk, where they anchored in October. When

the river became navigable in the spring, Ovtzin took the Tobol to Yeniseisk and from there went to St. Petersburg. Because of friendly relations with the exiled Prince Dolgorouki, Ovtzin was reduced to the rank of sailor and ordered to Okhotsk to join Bering, with whom he made the voyage to America.⁴⁶⁸

3. *Yenisei to Cape Taimur*

The Ob-Postman had assigned as pilot Minim, who had instructions to double Taimur Peninsula and to sail to Chatanga Bay. With a crew of twenty-seven men the pilot sailed away from his winter quarters on June 4, 1738, and on August 16, in latitude seventy-three degrees, seven minutes, found himself completely surrounded by ice. Failing to advance he gave it up for the present and sailed back to Turuchansk for the winter. His efforts of 1739, owing to a late start, were equally ineffectual. In January, 1740, Under-pilot Strelegof, accompanied by dog teams, charted the northeast coast of the Yenisei to seventy-five degrees, twenty-six minutes, but could go no farther on account of his weak eyes.

Minim entered on his last attempt on July 6, 1740, coming to the mouth of the Yenisei on August 3, and,

⁴⁶⁸ It may perhaps be of interest, although somewhat foreign to the subject, to read a part of the original instructions given to the officers in whose charge Prince Dolgorouki and two others were placed to be taken to Kamchatka. The prisoners were to be watched with all care "so as to prevent them from escaping. No one is to be allowed to approach them; ink and paper they are not to have . . . no one is to talk to them, not even you officers and soldiers of the guard. Not only are you forbidden to talk to them, but you are not even to ask their names, mention them to no one, and allow no person to approach them for that purpose. . . . When you stop overnight, have separate quarters for each of the prisoners and allow no communication between them. In Kamchatka put them in prison where there are no other such prisoners. Let their names not be heard nor be seen on paper," etc. — *Russkaya Starina*, 1876, vol. xv, 449-50.

thanks to an open sea and fair wind, to latitude seventy-five degrees on the twentieth. His advance from now on was blocked by ice, and, in spite of his exertions, he could not go more than one-fourth of a degree beyond his last record (seventy-five degrees).

During the year 1741 Minim, while waiting for instructions from headquarters, charted the River Yenisei to the fort Yeniseisk. His charts and journals he forwarded to the Admiralty College with suggestions for the better success of the work. That body, however, had lost confidence in him, and also because of numerous charges filed against him by his subordinates and others, Minim was, in the year 1749 (for the case had dragged on till then), reduced for two years to the grade of sailor. The work was not abandoned, but placed in the hands of C. Laptef.

4. *Lena Westward to Cape Taimur*

To the Jakutsk (seventy by sixteen by six and one-half feet), in charge of Lieutenant Prochinchef and fifty men, was assigned the hard task of doubling the point of Taimur Peninsula and reaching the Yenisei. Leaving Jakutsk June 30, 1735, followed by barges of provisions, they made Stolb Island by August 2 and turned to Bikovskoi Cape. On the twenty-fifth the mouth of the Olenek was sighted and selected for the winter quarters in the midst of a small village of about twelve Russian families of hunters and traders. After September 20 the river was closed to navigation, and the sun was not seen between November 3 and January 22. The Jakutsk was able to get free of the ice and go under sail again on August 3, 1736, making satisfactory progress for several days and passing Anabara River. Picking her way among the icebergs, she came, on Aug-

ust 13, to the mouth of Chatanga Bay (seventy-four degrees, nine minutes) where she lay to in order to send men ashore. They found a hut, food, and a dog, but no human beings. From this place the Jakutsk headed slowly on her course, steering between icebergs, polar bears and walrus. By this careful and strenuous work the men had the satisfaction of finding themselves on August 19 in latitude seventy-seven degrees, twenty-nine minutes, but unfortunately not able to go beyond that. Prochinchef, who was very ill, called his officers together for consultation, and they decided to go to the Olenek, which place they reached, after a great many dangers and hardships, on September 2. Prochinchef died on board August 29 and was buried on shore September 6. His wife, who had been with him all through this adventure, survived him but a few days, and was buried by his side. The command of the party fell now to the pilot Cheluskin, and he, not knowing how to proceed because the allotted time had been used up, went to Jakutsk to consult with Bering, who, unfortunately, had set out for Okhotsk before the pilot's arrival.

These numerous failures, instead of discouraging, merely strengthened the Admiralty College in its determination to succeed. Tempting offers, and promises of reward, were held out to get the proper men to do the work well. The newly appointed officers were instructed that if the work could not be done in one year, it was to be taken up the year following, the year following that, even the fourth year if necessary. Should it seem altogether impossible to accomplish the task by water, then an officer was to be detailed to chart the coast from the River Chatanga to the Yenisei, along the shore of Taimur Peninsula. Chariton Laptef was

selected as Prochinchef's successor, and whatever Laptef asked was granted. Salary was paid in advance, all the requisitions were supplied, storehouses were erected on the Rivers Anabara, Chatange, and Taimur, and men were sent thither to catch supplies of fish. The boat Jakutsk was brought from her winter quarters to Jakutsk and put in proper condition for the voyage. In fact everything that could possibly contribute to the success of the undertaking was done.

Laptef, officers, and crew of forty men, departed from Jakutsk on June 9, 1739, having in their wake boats with provisions to be left in the warehouses at the Olenek. The struggle with the ice began July 21 when the Jakutsk stood out to sea. Chatanga Bay was reached August 6, and there a part of the winter provisions were unloaded. Eight days later the boat went on from here on her northern course, coming August 21 to Cape St. Thaddeus, seventy-six degrees, forty-seven minutes, but could go no farther. The party of men which was sent ashore, to put up lighthouses and find a suitable place to haul up the boat for the winter, returned discouraged, having been unable to find even drift wood. It was therefore concluded to go for the winter to Chatanga, where quarters were waiting for them, at the mouth of the River Bludnoi (seventy-two degrees, fifty-six minutes), prepared by several Russians and a small number of Tungus families.

As soon as the days began to lengthen, the crew engaged actively in preparations for the work of the coming summer. In addition to the work of providing food supplies, charting parties, made up of Russians and Tungus, were sent out on their dog and reindeer sleds in different directions. Finally, on July 12, the Jakutsk left her winter home to begin at once the fight

with the ice, for it took her a whole month to reach the sea. During the morning of August 13, in latitude seventy-five degrees, thirty minutes, the vessel was seized by the ice and carried northward until stopped by another ice-floe. A leak was discovered, and the boat filled so fast that by next morning she was half full of water. When the attempt to lighten failed to produce the desired result hopes of saving her were given up, especially as the ice with the boat started to drift in an east-southeast direction. All hands took to the ice where a cold and sad night was spent. In the morning the shore was descried about fifteen miles away, and towards it the men headed, but it was a long and painful march, not coming to an end before the sixteenth. Fortunately the ice remained near the shore until August 31, giving the crew an opportunity to save the greater part of the provisions. Discouraged, suffering from cold and dampness, the men sickened, lost hope, and almost prayed that death would come. Laptef did all he could to put life into the men, and succeeded in leading them back to their winter quarters, where several died soon after their arrival.

With the loss of the *Jakutsk* went Laptef's last hope to chart the coast by sea. He therefore undertook to do it by land. In fact, he had already prepared for such an emergency by having storehouses put up the winter before. He divided up the work among three parties. Cheluskin, the pilot, aided by two soldiers and three dog-sledges, left the camp March 17 for the mouth of the Pjasina River with the intention of going from there to the mouth of the Taimur. The geodist Chekin, accompanied by soldiers, a Jakut and three dog-teams, set out April 22 with instructions to round North East Cape, and to continue along the west shore to

Taimur River. Laptef, with one soldier, one Jakut and two dog-teams, departed April 24 for the mouth of the Taimur, to which place he had sent twelve dog-sledges with provisions, three weeks before. To Taimur Bay seven loads of supplies were transported in charge of one of the officers, and the remainder of the material and provisions was loaded on reindeer sleds and taken to the Yenisei.

When in latitude seventy-six degrees, thirty-five minutes, Chekin and his party began to suffer from snow-blindness and gave up. Cheluskin carried out his instructions, having proceeded along the shore from the Pjasina towards the Taimur until he met Laptef in latitude seventy-five degrees, twenty-one minutes. The last mentioned started from the Taimur, marching as fast as his sore eyes would permit him, until June 21, the day he fell in with his pilot. The two returned to Pjasina, whence the whole command went to the Yenisei and wintered at Turuchansk.

Owing to the failure of Chekin to carry out his part of the plan, North East Cape was still left to chart. Cheluskin was asked to do this, and he entered on the work in December, 1741. He reached the mouth of the Chatanga at the end of February and Cape St. Thaddeus May 1. At this point he began taking observations along the coast to the north; and on May 7, he stood at the extreme point of the cape, which now bears his name and the latitude of which he determined to be seventy-seven degrees, thirty-four minutes. On his return he was met by two soldiers with provisions, followed by Laptef himself. The whole party went to Turnachansk and Yeniseisk, where Laptef took leave of his faithful comrades and hastened away to the capital to report.

5. *Lena Eastward to the Anaduir*

When the *Jakutsk* sailed from Jakutsk, she had as companion boat the *Irkutsk* (sixty by twenty by seven and one-half feet), Lasinius in command and a crew of fifty men. Lasinius's orders were to sail as far as he could eastward and to the Anaduir if possible.⁴⁵⁴ From the *Lena* Lasinius put out to sea August 7, 1735, on a southeasterly course, and four days later he encountered so much ice that it was decided to look for winter quarters, which were found August 14, on the River Chariulach [Borkhaya Bay]. There were at this place five Jakut huts, but the men preferred to build their own. The new construction measured seventy-seven feet in length, twenty-one in width, and six in height. It was divided into four compartments, having in all three ovens, a kitchen, and a bath. The ovens, not being made of clay, gave a great deal of trouble and very little heat. On the whole it would seem that the men were very comfortable, in fact, too comfortable for their own good, and were little inclined to move about. As a result of this and on account of other reasons, scurvy broke out among them. Lasinius was the first victim, on December 19, followed by thirty-five others. By spring only nine men were reported alive. The six missing were probably at Jakutsk, for in November one man was arrested and sent thither under guard.

When Bering, who was at Jakutsk, heard of the state of health in the camp of Lasinius, he immediately despatched help. In the spring Dimitri Laptef with a crew of forty-three men was ordered to take three flat

⁴⁵⁴ One of the striking things in these Arctic explorations was the bad feeling which developed among the men in a very short time. When Prochinchef and Lasinius left Jakutsk they were the best of friends, but by the time they came to the mouth of the *Lena* they would not speak to each other nor anchor their boats alongside.

boats with provisions and to go where the Irkutsk was laid up and take up the work where Lasinius left off. The new leader landed a part of his force and his supplies on Bikovskoi Cape on June 25, 1736. With the remaining men, he went to where the Irkutsk was hauled up to put her in condition for the sea. He finally got her under sail, but made very little progress because of the shallow water and the ice. On August 13 the position of Cape Borkhaya was determined as seventy-three degrees, sixteen minutes. Unable to advance the Irkutsk sailed back to the Lena to look for a warm spot during the cold weather, and wintered at a place in latitude seventy degrees, forty minutes.

A delicate question came up for settlement. The time limit for the work was two years, but Laptef did not know whether the year of Lasinius counted or not. Bering himself was in doubt on this point, for Muller says that he consulted the scientists on this matter, but came to no decision.⁴⁸⁵ Not knowing what to do, Laptef went to Jakutsk to see Bering in person, but the latter had already gone to Okhotsk without leaving instructions. Laptef therefore concluded to go to St. Petersburg, but before reaching there he received word from the Admiralty College telling him to go back and continue the work. As he was at the time not far from the capital, he went on. This was unfortunate. By so doing he missed the season of 1737, which was, as has been pointed out, an unusually favorable one for exploration.

The Admiralty College told Laptef that the task assigned him must be done; if not in one year, then in two or three. Time and money were not to be considered. Should it seem utterly impossible to do the work by

⁴⁸⁵ Muller, *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 155.

water, it should be finished by land up to the River Koluima, and Sviatoi Nos was to be charted by all means. As Laptef represented that it might not be possible to continue the exploration east of the Koluima on account of the warlike Chukchi, he was told to proceed from the Koluima overland to the Anaduir and there await a boat which Bering would send him from Kamchatka, and with this boat he was to attempt rounding Chukotski Nos and sail from there to the Koluima. In order not to be hindered by too rigid instructions, he was allowed to break them whenever the good of the cause demanded. Thus encouraged Laptef turned back to Jakutsk, taking with him officers and instruments, and on the way he gathered supplies and money for two years.

Early in the spring of 1739 there were sent from Jakutsk the sailor Loshkin and a small party, to chart the coast from the River Yana to Sviatoi Nos, and on his return from the Yana to the Lena, Kindyakof, the geodist, was instructed to begin at the head of the River Indigirka and survey it to its mouth. Laptef reached Jakutsk in May, just as the river opened to navigation, and very soon afterwards he sailed down the Lena with a large force of men. He made the mouth of the stream on July 5, but was detained by the ice a short time, so that he did not come to Borkhaya Cape before August 4, and during the succeeding week he nearly lost his vessel in a successful attempt to reach the mouth of the Yana. On August 14 he passed and ascertained the position of Sviatoi Nos, seventy-two degrees, fifty minutes. For four days the weather was favorable for advancing, but on the eighteenth a bitter cold wind began to blow, crowding the ice about the ship. When in front of the Indigirka on August 22, Laptef sent two

men in a small boat to examine the shores, and for six days he waited in vain for their return and finally was obliged to sail away without them. On the twenty-eighth the Irkutsk, being in the neighborhood of fresh water, two small canvass boats (frames made of barrel staves) were ordered ashore. One failed to come back, and the other did not succeed in landing. Each day the cold became more intense, and the company watched with sadness the freezing in of their boat. On September 5, a fifteen-hour southwest blow set in, taking the ship and ice forty versts from shore. It was followed by a north wind, which, although it spent itself in a short time, made the approach to the shore possible. Another ship's boat was despatched to shore to make a landing, and on her return brought back the men lost a few days before, and the joyful tidings that the mouth of the Indigirka was close at hand. The rescued sailors said that they had been wrecked on landing, and that since then they had suffered the pangs of cold, cramp, and hunger, their only food being grass and such foxes as came in their way. Happily for them Kindyakof had completed his survey of the Indigirka to the mouth and found them. The geodist, perceiving at a glance the critical position of the Irkutsk and the men, hurried away to a settlement to bring help, leaving directions for entering the stream should the ship escape the ice. The Irkutsk had in the meantime come within ten miles of land, and Laptef gave orders that her cargo should be unloaded and taken ashore. By the fifteenth the severe weather was over, and it became almost pleasant, so that within a week most of the needed stores had been landed. By this time Kindyakof had returned from the settlement (about a hundred miles away) and took the whole company back with him for the winter.

Before giving themselves the pleasure of a much needed rest, Loshkin examined the coast to the River Lazeya, and Cherbinin with Kindyakof the eastern bank of the mouth of the Indigirka. In the early spring Kindyakof surveyed the coast from the Lazeya to the Koluima, while Laptef mapped the Khroma. During the winter Laptef, after talking the matter over with the Siberians among whom he lived, came to the conclusion that the plan of the Admiralty College to sail from the Anaduir to the Koluima was not feasible because (1) the warlike Chukchi would not help, (2) the time for navigation was short, and (3) because of the uncertainty of securing a boat from Kamchatka, since the whereabouts of Bering was unknown. With the above noted arguments, Loshkin went to St. Petersburg. Laptef's answer from the Admiralty College was, that although he could not be expected to live up strictly to his instructions, it was hoped that Chukotski Nos would be circumnavigated; but if this were impossible, the shores should be surveyed by land marches.

In June, 1740, the regular force, aided by a party of eighty-five natives, was put to work freeing the vessel from the ice, but she was in such bad shape that she had to be taken to pieces and patched. On July 29 Laptef made a start and two days later reached the sea. The mouth of the Lazeya was passed on the first day of August. Anthony Island (one of the Bear Islands) was charted on the second day, the mouth of the Koluima was reached on the fourth day, and a report was sent to Lower Koluima. On August 8 the struggle with the ice was recommenced, and after six days of fighting, Big Baranof Cape was mapped on the fourteenth. Further advance was hindered by the ice, and Laptef turned back and wintered at Lower Koluima.

In the autumn Kindyakof was ordered to explore the upper Koluima, and Cherbinin to trace the road from the River Angarka to the Anaduir and there prepare timber for building a boat to sail down that stream. Arrangements were also made to send provisions and cannon by the River Aniui, to be transported from there on deer sleds to the Anaduir. Laptef spent his time in building two lodkas (twenty-five by nine by three and one-half feet), intending to double Baranof Cape in them. Taking twelve men in each lodka, he sailed down the Koluima on June 29. On July 8 he came to the mouth of the river; July 25 he was twenty-five miles east of the river, and being unable to advance, he retraced his course on the twenty-sixth. After making several other fruitless efforts Laptef, by August 4, was so discouraged that he came to the conclusion that the undertaking was beyond human powers to accomplish, and, therefore, on August 10, 1741, he went into winter quarters.

Taking forty-five dog teams, Laptef set out that same fall (1741) on his march to the Anaduir fort, by way of the Great Aniui to the Amgorka, and from there on deer teams to the Anaduir fort, arriving November 7. In the spring he built two large row boats, and in company with four other boats found there, he went down the Anaduir, taking observations as he went along. The reason he made no attempt to go from there to the Koluima was because no boat had been sent to him from Kamchatka by Bering, whose fate was unknown. Laptef went back from the Anaduir fort to the Koluima and thence to St. Petersburg by the way of Jakutsk.

Although very little in the line of actual exploration and discovery was undertaken after 1742, Bering's second expedition did not come to an end, officially, until

1749. Beginning with the time when Peter the Great signed the instructions for the first expedition, twenty-five years had been spent in discovery and exploration in the northern regions. Many points, once in doubt, were settled by these voyages. They decided that a northeast passage was impracticable, that Novaya Zemlya is not a peninsula, that the Asiatic coast extends much farther east than was supposed, that Terra de Jeso, Company Land, and Gama Land, as pictured by the cartographers, did not exist, that Japan is an island, and that the American coast runs in a northwesterly direction from Cape Blanco. In short, they made clear all the points which, Guillaume Delisle claimed, were obscure in 1720. Sad to say, the one question, the important question, the *raison d'être* of these voyages—whether America and Asia are united—was not at that time answered to the satisfaction of all. It is true that it was generally believed that the two were separate continents, yet when the doubter demanded scientific proof none could be given. How did any one know that the two were not united? Had any one ever gone from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water? Was it not possible that between the Koluima and East Cape the Asiatic continent extended northward, joining somewhere with the American continent? Stories of hunters and Chukchi could not be accepted as final. Some of these questions were actually raised. Such an authority as James Burney, the well known writer and navigator, who had been with Cook in the Bering Strait, read a paper before a scientific body of London in which he insisted that it was not conclusively proved that the Old and the New Worlds were two distinct continents.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Burney, James. *Memoir on the Geography of the North-eastern Part of Asia* (London, 1818).

But outside of this, and one minor point,⁴⁵⁷ nearly everything else of geographical interest which was undertaken was successfully carried out.

But what a price was paid for this knowledge! Only a few of those who enlisted survived the years of hard labor, privations, cold, and suffering. Even those who lived to return to the scenes of their childhood were so broken in health that the joy of living was nearly gone. The exact spot where the ashes of Bering, the Dane, lie is not known; Steller, the German, died a lonely and pitiful death in the wilds of Siberia; Walton, the Englishman, fell by the wayside unnoticed and forgotten; and rain has long since washed away all traces of the grave where the Frenchman Delisle de la Croyere was laid to rest. Chirikof, the Russian, contracted a disease from which he suffered for three years after his return home until death came to his relief. There was also the great army of minor officers and privates whose very names have been forgotten, and who were left where they fell. The least we can do in appreciation of their efforts is to pass over charitably their faults and praise their virtues. Some day a monument may be erected to these forgotten pathfinders, before which we may outwardly honor their memories and feel inwardly inspired.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ The region about the mouth of the Amur and Sakhalin Island was left unexplored.

⁴⁵⁸ From the records of the Marine Department [*Opisanie del Archiva Morskovo Ministerstva* and *Obschi Morskoi Spisok*] and from reliable secondary authorities, it has been possible to follow the career of several of the officers to the end.

When Bering's death became known at Kamchatka his private property was sold at auction and the proceeds, about one thousand rubles, were sent to his family. Whatever wages were due him at the time of his death were also paid over to his wife and children. In addition the Senate voted him a reward of five thousand rubles.

Spanberg left Siberia in 1745 without permission, and for this he was sen-

Before closing this chapter and period a word should be said in praise of the Admiralty College, the life and soul of all this work. To all who reported failure this body had but one answer, "the work must be done." The hardest task of the Admiralty was not to secure men to do the work, but to enlist the right kind of men and to defend them from the reactionaries at home who raised the cry that all these expeditions were profitless and a waste of life and money. The men in the field displayed physical courage, their superiors at home moral courage.⁴⁵⁹

tenced to suffer capital punishment. But the Danish government and friends interceded for him and he was pardoned. Later he was taken back into service. He died in 1761, being at that time captain of the first rank.

Chirikof contracted consumption in Siberia. In 1746 he was transferred to St. Petersburg and was presented to the empress. He died in 1748 holding the rank of captain-commander.

"*Ober-shter-kriegs-kommisar*" of the Fleet Chariton Laptef died in 1763.

Dimitri Laptef was retired in 1762 on half pay with the rank of Vice-Admiral.

Steller died in Siberia in 1746. He was on his way to Russia when he was falsely accused and dragged into prison where he was taken ill and died soon after being freed.

Waxel reached the rank of captain of the first rank. When he died his widow was granted a pension of two thousand rubles.

In 1760 Cheluskin was made captain-lieutenant. A little later he was again promoted.

Chytref was made contre-admiral in 1753. Ovtzin in 1757 was in command of the Poltava holding at the time the rank of ober-shter-kriegs-kommisar.

All others who took part in these expeditions were advanced one grade in rank, dating from July 15, 1744, and their wages were paid accordingly. The Senate requested the Admiralty College to reward them as it should seem best.

Shelting was retired from service in 1780 on pension, being at the time contre-admiral.

⁴⁵⁹ *Zapiski Hydrograficheskovo Departamenta*, vol. ix, 221. The names that follow are those of the men in the Senate and the Admiralty College who signed the instructions of 1733:

In the Senate - A. Ushakof, Prince I. Trubetskoi, Count M. Golovkin, V. Novosiltsof, Obersécretary I. Kirilof.

In the Admiralty College - Vice-admirals N. F. Golvin and N. A. Senyavin, Contre-admirals Prince N. M. Golitsin, P. P. Bredal, V. A. Dimitrief-Mamonof, Captain-commanders Z. D. Mishukof, T. Tran, Prince V. Urusof, A. I. Golovin, Procurator I. Kozlof.

IX. COMPLETION OF THE SURVEY OF NORTHEASTERN SIBERIA AND THE AMUR REGION

In the last chapter attention was called to two undertakings of the Bering voyages which were left unfinished. One was whether Asia and America were united, and the other was the survey of the coast about the Amur River and Sakhalin Island. It took Russia another century to bring these two tasks to a satisfactory end. After 1750 the work of exploration was carried on in an irregular way and on a small scale, but on the other hand it was in charge of trained men who did their work thoroughly and scientifically.

The relation of Asia to America continued to occupy people's minds and it was the first of the two questions to be worked out by Russia. Shalaurof, a wealthy merchant of Siberia, undertook at his own expense to solve the problem. In 1761 he sailed from the Jana River and came that year as far as the Koluima. On July 21, 1762, he put out to sea from the mouth of that stream and, notwithstanding his brave efforts, he could not reach Shalagski Cape. His last attempt was in 1764. That summer he went out to sea from the Lena River and neither he nor any member of his crew was ever seen again.⁴⁶⁰ In 1778, Cook passed through Bering Strait, doubled East Cape, and sailed along the northeast coast of Asia to Cape North.⁴⁶¹ This achievement, as well as the voyage of Laperouse, stimulated

⁴⁶⁰ Coxe, W. *Account of Russian Discoveries* (London, 1780), 323-329.

⁴⁶¹ Cook, J. *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), vol. ii, 466.

the Russian government to new efforts. In 1785 Billings, an English navigator, who had been with Cook, was commissioned by the Empress Catherine to chart the Arctic shore from the Koluima River to East Cape.⁴⁶² He made the attempt during the month of July, 1787, but on account of the ice and fog he advanced but a short distance from his starting point.⁴⁶³ Four years later he undertook to chart the coast by land marches from the shore. He left his boat in the Bering Strait and marched into the interior from Metchigne Bay. One of his officers, Gikef, was sent with a party of Chukchi to East Cape, and from there he followed the shore, partly on foot and partly by boat to within about ninety miles of Koliutchin Island.⁴⁶⁴ Both of Billings's undertakings added little to what was already known. The question of the relation of Asia to America was still an open one and would remain so until some one succeeded in doubling Shalagski Cape. For a time it was doubted whether Shalagski was a cape. Burney⁴⁶⁵ advanced the theory that it was an isthmus connecting Asia with America. In 1820, the Emperor Alexander I became deeply interested in the problem and ordered Lieutenant Ferdinand von Wrangell to the front to investigate.⁴⁶⁶ Wrangell, followed by dog teams, left the Koluima in February, 1821, and on March 5 he stood on the northwest point of Shalagski Cape. To make doubly sure that it was a cape, he rounded the headland and followed the eastern shore

⁴⁶² Billings' *Expedition* (London, 1802), "Appendix," no. v.

⁴⁶³ — *Ibid.*, 78.

⁴⁶⁴ Wrangell's *Siberia and Polar Sea* (London, 1840), cx-cxii.

⁴⁶⁵ Burney, J. A. *Chronological History of the North-eastern Voyages of Discovery and of the Early Navigations of the Russians* (London, 1819), chap. xxv.

⁴⁶⁶ Wrangell, *op. cit.*, cxxv.

for a distance.⁴⁶⁷ On February 26, 1823, he departed once more from the Koluima for Shalagaski Cape which he reached March 8. From here he continued his march eastward to Koliuchin Island where he arrived April 15.⁴⁶⁸ His efforts joined to those of Cook and Billings proved finally that Asia and America were not united.

The survey of the coast of Sakhalin and East Tartary was delayed until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although Russia deserves the chief credit for carrying this work to a successful termination, she is by no means entitled to all the credit. China, Japan, France, and England also made certain contributions towards its accomplishment. The investigation of this topic is, therefore, somewhat involved and necessitates a study of the navigations and the cartography of this region from the time the Europeans first came into these waters until the insularity of Sakhalin was definitely ascertained.⁴⁶⁹

It is quite evident, judging from the physical similarities of the inhabitants, that there has always been communication between the island and the Chinese mainland; there is, strange as it may seem, little to indicate that Sakhalin was generally known in China. The Jesuits, who occupied themselves with the geographical questions of that country, did not hear of the island before they went on their astronomical expedition in the eighteenth century.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁷ Wrangell, *op. cit.*, 109.

⁴⁶⁸ — *Ibid.*, 332-370.

⁴⁶⁹ Sakhalin had various names. Witsen called it Amoerse, Laperouse named it Tchoka, Krusenstern spoke of it as Karafouto, Klaproth claimed that Tarakai was its proper name, the Russian Senate referred to it in 1732, as *Bolshoi* [large].

⁴⁷⁰ Du Halde, J. B. *Description . . . de L'Empire de la Chine*, vol. iv, 12.

From there they went out to sea in a northerly direction as far as the Ulja River. At this point they left their boats and proceeded overland to Jakutsk, arriving early in 1646. In his report Poyarkof makes the statement that the Giliaks live "on the islands of the ocean"⁴⁸⁰ referring no doubt to Sakhalin. A reliable Russian writer says (without giving authority) that Poyarkof was wrecked on a large island soon after leaving the Amur.⁴⁸¹ There is no need, however, of direct evidence to prove that the Russians were aware of Sakhalin, for sailing, as they did, in the Tartary Strait they could not help but see it. Although trade relations were established with the natives of the upper waters of the Amur, the Russians rarely went down to the mouth of the river.⁴⁸² By the treaty of Nertchinsk, in 1689, the Amur River and Sakhalin were removed from Russia's sphere of influence, and the citizens of that country were forbidden to go near these places.

The charts which Poyarkof and some other Siberians drew of the regions which they traversed have disappeared. There have, however, come down two maps of Siberia, both drawn at the request of the czar, one in 1667 or 1668 by Peter Godunof, and the other by Semen Remezof some years later.⁴⁸³ On these two maps

the Shilka to the Amur in six days. . . The Amur falls into the Shungal . . . and from there the Amur continues to the sea" [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, 50-55]. In addition to the term Amur the river had other names. According to Muller the Manchoux called it Sachalin Ula, the Chinese Helung Kiang, also Chelundsiam, the Tungas Schilkar, Schilk or Silkar, and the ancient Mongols Karamuram. Siebold gives the Japanese name as Manke. Witsen says that Ngam-Cumkiam is the Chinese name.

⁴⁸⁰ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iii, 50-55.

⁴⁸¹ Sadovnikof, D., *Nashi Zampleprochodsi*, 78.

⁴⁸² In addition to Poyarkof's voyage only two or three other Russian parties came to the mouth of the river [*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, no. 100, 354].

⁴⁸³ Godunof's map and memoir accompanying it may be found in Titof,

the Amur River is represented, but Sakhalin is not, due probably to the fact that they were asked to describe Siberia⁴⁸⁴ and not the islands. That it was well known in Siberia that there was a large island at the mouth of the Amur may be proved from Witsen, who quotes a Russian manuscript of 1666 to that effect.⁴⁸⁵ Other documents of the latter part of the seventeenth century make mention of a large island at the mouth of the Amur, and one gives a description of the inhabitants.⁴⁸⁶

Godunof's and Remezof's maps are valuable because they give the Siberian's idea of Siberia, and because they fell into the hands of Witsen who used them in 1687 to construct his great map of northern Asia.⁴⁸⁷ He acknowledges that he used Godunof's map,⁴⁸⁸ and a critical comparison of Witsen's and Remezof's maps shows that the former owes a great deal to the latter.⁴⁸⁹ On Witsen's map the "Amur" River is traced to its mouth, situated between the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth

Siberia in the Seventeenth Century. A Swedish ambassador, C. J. Prutz, who was at Moscow in 1669, made a copy of the map and brought it home with him. This copy has been preserved and reproduced by Nordenskjöld in Ymer of 1887.

Remezof's map and notes have been published in 1882 and is known as "*Tscertejnaya Kniga Sibir.*" Remezof says that the bases of his map are his own explorations and the maps he found in Siberia. Several sheets of his maps were completed as early as 1673, and the remaining somewhere between that date and 1701.

⁴⁸⁴ Titof, A. *Sibir V XVII Weke*, 25.

⁴⁸⁵ Witsen, N. *Noord en Oost Tartaren*, vol. ii, 825.

⁴⁸⁶ Titof, A. *Sibir V XVII Weke*, 84, 110, 111.

⁴⁸⁷ Witsen was one of the greatest geographers of his time. He was painstaking and had the historian's eagerness to get at the sources. His position as burgomaster of Amsterdam gave him an opportunity of meeting and becoming the teacher and friend of Peter the Great and of securing through him, when Witsen visited Russia, very valuable material for his literary undertakings.

⁴⁸⁸ Schrenck, L. *Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-Lande*, vol. iii, 95-98.

⁴⁸⁹ Middendorf, A. Th. von. *Sibirische Reise*, vol. iv, 36-38.

Remezof's map is marked up with Dutch explanations and translations. This in itself does not prove that Witsen used it, but taken together with the evidence just mentioned the probabilities of his having done so are very strong.

parallels. Opposite to it is a large "Amoerse Eylandt," and a little to the north is another island, "Stolpka Memcoy,"⁴⁹⁰ probably intended for one of the Shantars.⁴⁹¹ Here then is the earliest published map distinctly tracing and naming the Amur River and indicating the island which bears the name of Sakhalin.

Witsen's map was copied by other cartographers. Edward Wells in 1698 or 1699 and Herman Moll in 1701 reproduced the Amur River and the Amoerse Eylandt and located them where Witsen did. Guillaume Delisle is indebted to Witsen for the good points of his map of Tartary which he published in 1708. Delisle, however, makes some changes, the reasons for which are not apparent. In his hands Witsen's Fluvius Amur becomes Riviere d'Amour, emptying itself into the ocean about six degrees farther south. Amoerse Eylandt is transformed into the "Isle d'Amour" but retains the position given it by Witsen. A small number of map makers were temporarily influenced by Delisle, the majority still followed Witsen; and even Delisle himself, in a later map, located the mouth of the river between the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth parallels.⁴⁹²

Until the early thirties of the eighteenth century Witsen was the generally accepted authority for this part of the world. By that time new and scientific data had become accessible. Three Jesuits, Regis, Jartoux, and

⁴⁹⁰ The word "Memcoy" is meaningless. In two of the seventeenth century manuscripts found in Titof's *Siberia* [pp. 54, 110], reference is made to a *Stolp Kamennoi* [stone column], opposite the mouth of the Kamchatka. Witsen often made mistakes in translating from the Russian, and he may have done so in this case.

⁴⁹¹ At Jakutsk the existence of the Shantars was known about 1644, but they were not explored until many years later.

⁴⁹² *L'Asie* (Amsterdam, after 1721). This time he calls the river Ghammas, a term which he borrowed from Sanson. Delisle's principal contribution to the cartography of this part of the world is the word "Amour," which certain map makers still prefer to "Amur."

Fidelli went down the Amur in 1709⁴⁹³ and came near enough to the mouth of the river to learn from the natives that there was a large island close by.⁴⁹⁴ About ten years later a map of these regions was completed in China and a copy sent to France. This copy fell into the hands of D'Anville who was constructing a map to go with Du Halde's *China*. On the Jesuit map the mouth of the Amur, or Saghalien oula, is situated near the fifty-second parallel, and the island facing it is much larger than the Amoerse Eylandt of Witsen. On the copy which D'Anville possessed no name was given to the island, but close by these words were written: *Saghalien Anga Hata*, meaning, "Rocks at the mouth of the Black River."⁴⁹⁵ In his ignorance of the Chinese language, D'Anville translated the words as "Island of the Black River."⁴⁹⁶ In the course of time the words "Anga Hata" were dropped, leaving Saghalien for the name of the island.⁴⁹⁷ D'Anville's map, being superior to Witsen's, superseded it, and the term Saghalien superseded Amoerse and all other names given to it later.⁴⁹⁸

With the exception of Poyarkof and one other party of Russians in the seventeenth century⁴⁹⁹ and the efforts of Bering's lieutenants in the eighteenth century there

⁴⁹³ Du Halde, J. B. *Description . . . de l'Empire de la Chine*, vol. i, p. xxx.

⁴⁹⁴ — *Ibid.*, vol. iv, 12. "Ils nous apprirent les premiers, ce que nous ne savions pas, qu'il y avoit vis-a-vis l'embouchure du Saghalien oula une grande Isle habitée par des gens semblables a eux. Dans la suite l'empereur y a envoyé des Mantcheoux, qui y ont passé sur les Barques de ces Ketcheng-tase lesquels demeurent au bord de la Mer, et ont commercé avec les Habitans de la partie occidentale de l'Isle."

⁴⁹⁵ Klaproth, J. *Aperçu des Trois Royaumes*, 188.

⁴⁹⁶ — *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ The name is also written: Saghalin, Sagalien, Sachalien, etc.

⁴⁹⁸ D'Anville's map was published in 1735.

⁴⁹⁹ See footnote 482.

is no record that other Europeans sailed in Tartary Strait until the coming of Laperouse in 1787. This famous Frenchman set about clearing up the cartographical confusion of this region. After touching at Jeso Island, he sailed into Tartary Strait until he was stopped by the shallow water in the neighborhood of the fifty-second parallel. In his report and chart he announced that there was no navigable channel.⁵⁰⁰

Ten years later Broughton, following the course of Laperouse, succeeded in reaching farther north by fifteen miles,⁵⁰¹ but without finding a passage. Krusenstern, in 1805, undertook to solve the problem in another way. Instead of following the western shore of Sakhalin he sailed along the eastern, and in so doing determined the northern extent of the island. He doubled and named the northern capes and then steered a southerly course through Tartary Strait, hoping that in this manner he would join his efforts with those of Laperouse. But when within two hundred miles of his desired goal, and before sighting the Amur River, he was brought to a standstill by the sand banks, and turned back, believing Sakhalin to be a peninsula.⁵⁰²

It is probably unique in the annals of modern geography that three scientists, among the greatest naviga-

⁵⁰⁰ Laperouse, J. B. *Voyage de Laperouse autour du Monde*, vol. iii, 53. "Cette stagnation des eaux paraissait être une preuve qu'il n'y avait point de chenal."

⁵⁰¹ Broughton, W. R. *Voyage of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean*, vol. vii, 302. Broughton was "fully convinced that there was no opening to the sea in this direction, the whole being closed by lowland, which we could plainly distinguish at intervals."

⁵⁰² Krusenstern, A. J. de. *Voyage Autour du Monde*, vol. ii, 247. "Il est par consequent démontré que Sakhalin est uni à la Tartarie par une isthme très-bas, et ainsi n'est qu'une presqu'île. Toutefois il est possible et même très vraisemblable qu'anciennement, et peut-être même à une époque peu éloignée, Sakhalin était isolé du continent comme les cartes chinoises le représentent."

tors of their day, studying the subject on the spot should come to such erroneous conclusions. It is not surprising that stay-at-home cartographers adopted their views. Some made Sakhalin a peninsula of Tartary, connecting it with the mainland just at the spot left unexplored by Krusenstern and Broughton.⁵⁰³ Others, although not distinctly uniting the two bodies, yet indicated that they are joined by sandbanks and called Sakhalin a peninsula.⁵⁰⁴ There are a few, however, who still picture Sakhalin as an island,⁵⁰⁵ but it is not probable that they mean that it is circumnavigable.⁵⁰⁶

The following extract from Findlay's work entitled *A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean*⁵⁰⁷ gives the generally accepted English view regarding Sakhalin:

It is not absolutely determined whether Sakhalin be an island or peninsula, but as all evidence tends towards the latter opinion, that appellation has been retained . . . it must therefore be considered that Sakhalin is joined to the continent by a flat sandy neck of land over which, it is possible, the sea may wash when the strong southerly gales which occur here drive the waters to a higher level, and that the isthmus may be of comparatively recent date, and still on the increase from the deposits of the Amour, so that the older Chinese charts may be correct.

On the map accompanying this work Sakhalin is represented as a peninsula.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰³ Heinrich Keller, Weimar, 1814. Probably a copy of the map in Langsdorff's *Reise um die Welt*.

⁵⁰⁴ Vandermalen, P. H. *Asie* (Bruxelles, 1827).

⁵⁰⁵ Malte-Brun, *Traite Elementaire de Geographie*: "A peu de distance des cotes de la Mantchourie s'etend la longue ile de Saghalien. . . "

⁵⁰⁶ Laperouse seems to be the first to have given the name Manche de Tartarie to the waters separating the island from the mainland. Broughton was the first to apply the term Gulf of Tartary. There are other names such as Mamia Rinso Strait, Tartary Strait, etc.

⁵⁰⁷ London, 1851, part i, 618.

⁵⁰⁸ For a somewhat similar view see M'Cullouch's *Universal Gazetteer* (New York, 1849), vol. ii.

Krusenstern's view as to the shape of Sakhalin was accepted in Russia.⁵⁰⁹ There were at this time other expeditions to Sakhalin: Davidof and Chwostof in 1806 and 1807,⁵¹⁰ and Podushkine in 1809-1811;⁵¹¹ but these touched merely on the southern point which was already known. There is no record of any others between that date and 1845.⁵¹² Towards the middle of the nineteenth century Russia, for various reasons not necessary to enter on here, decided to examine a little more closely the regions along the Amur. Not having any government boats in the Okhotsk Sea, it asked the Russian American Company to send an expedition. In 1846 the brig Grand Duke Constantin, in command of Gavrilof, was put in commission. His instructions were to pass himself off as a non-Russian⁵¹³ and in every possible way to leave the impression with the natives, particularly the Chinese, that the Russian government had nothing to do with his movements. Gavrilof entered on his duties that very same spring and remained at work all summer. He died soon after his return, and the extent of his efforts are somewhat uncertain⁵¹⁴ and of little importance, since it had no influence on the events that followed.

⁵⁰⁹ Captain Golownin in his *Japan and the Japanese speaks of "Sagalin Peninsula."*

⁵¹⁰ Asiatic Society of Japan. *Transactions*, vol. i.

⁵¹¹ De Sabir, C. *Le Fleuve Amour* (Paris, 1861), p. 47.

⁵¹² Barsukof, I. *Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski*, vol. i, 268. Among the documents there presented is one dating 1850 which has this interesting statement: "He [American whaler] sent three boats to the Sakhalin shore and had dealings with the Giliaks. Neither our Okhotsk boats nor those of the Russian American Company ever allowed themselves this privilege and never went near Sakhalin except when specially ordered to do so."

⁵¹³ He was ordered not to take Russian but Virginia tobacco.

⁵¹⁴ Barsukof, I. *Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski*, vol. i, 171. Muravyof says that Gavrilof entered the gulf of the Amur from the north, but did not find a passage to the mouth of the river. De Sabir [*op. cit.*, 52] claims that Gavrilof did enter the mouth of the Amur.

Russia's success on the Amur is due in large part to one of her great statesmen, Nicolai Nicolaewitz Muravyof-Amurski. Appointed governor-general of Siberia in 1847, Muravyof set about extending Russia's power on the Pacific. Before leaving St. Petersburg he selected Nevelski, a sea captain in the service of the Russian American Company, to help him carry out his plans. Through his efforts Nevelski was commissioned by the Russian Government to undertake a secret expedition with the following objects in view: to explore the northern part of Sakhalin, the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland, and the gulf and mouth of the Amur.⁵¹⁵ Early in the spring of 1849, Nevelski arrived in Kamchatka, and, as soon as he discharged his cargo, he sailed for Sakhalin. He carefully surveyed and charted the northern point of Sakhalin and the Amur Gulf. When no longer able to find a channel for his ship *Baikal* he went into a small boat and continued his southward course to the mouth of the Amur which he entered. Not yet content with his achievement, he pushed on still farther south to the most northerly point attained by Broughton, thus proving most convincingly that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula.⁵¹⁶

From 1849 to 1855 Nevelski and other Russian officers were exploring and charting the waters and harbors of the Amur and Sakhalin. A channel was found, and the *Baikal* sailed into the Amur from the north in

⁵¹⁵ Barsukof, I. *Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski*, vol. ii, 37.

⁵¹⁶ — *Ibid.*, vol. i, 198, 222-224. Muravyof was anxiously waiting for him at Ayan [Okhotsk Sea]; and when on the morning of September 3, 1715, the *Baikal* hove in sight, Muravyof went out in a small boat to meet her. When near enough to be heard the governor called for news, and Nevelski shouted back: "God helped us . . . we have accomplished our important task. . . Sakhalin is an island. It is possible to enter the gulf and the river Amur by seagoing vessels either from the north or the south."

1850.⁵¹⁷ Three years later⁵¹⁸ the gunboat *Wostok*, coming from Japan, entered the river from the south.

These important discoveries were known to very few people. The greatest secrecy was maintained for fear of exciting China and arousing the hostility of other countries, particularly England.⁵¹⁹

During the Crimean War the question whether Sakhalin is an island or a peninsula became something more than academic. England's ignorance on this point had very practical results, and for a time put her in a humiliating position. In 1855 an English squadron, consisting of the *Sibylle*, *Hornet*, and *Bittern*, in command of Captain C. Elliot, was sent to the North Pacific to attack a Russian squadron of six ships. Although outnumbering the English the Russian squadron was really much weaker as a fighting force. Aided by fog and the information from an American whaler,⁵²⁰ the Russians escaped from Kamchatka and found shelter in De Castries Bay. Here the English found them, and, supposing that the Russians were much stronger than they really were, Captain Elliot did not think it wise to take

⁵¹⁷ Barsukof, I. *Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski*, vol. i, 274.

⁵¹⁸ De Sabir, C. *Le Fleuve Amour*, 63.

⁵¹⁹ Muravyof suspected and dreaded England above all other nations. He accused her of desiring to become the leading power in the North Pacific and to deprive Russia of all influence and power. He believed that England had designs on the Amur and that her ships had been there. In 1853 he predicted that the United States would secure Russia's American possessions, and suggested that an alliance should be formed between the United States and Russia against England [Barsukof, I. *Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski*, vol. i, 323; vol. ii, 38, 46, 55].

⁵²⁰ The activity and size of the American trading and whaling fleet during this period is worth noticing. When the Russian squadron left Kamchatka to go to De Castries Bay it hailed an American whaler. In escaping from the bay it fell in with another having on board the crew of a wrecked Russian gunboat [Barsukof, I. *Count Nikolai N. Muraveef-Amurski*, vol. i, 411, 414]. The English squadron in search of the Russians ran into and almost wrecked a whaler [Whittingham, 101].

the offensive. He therefore despatched the Bittern to Jeso to ask help of the English admiral stationed there. The "frigate and corvette," says an officer on board one of these boats, "commenced cruising in a narrow part of the gulf to prevent escape southwards of the Russian squadron."⁵²¹ The Russians, finding the mouth of De Castries Bay clear, took advantage of the fog to slip out to go to the Amur River. A day or two after their departure the English looked into the bay and found it empty; and they did not even know what had become of the enemy. The officer just quoted continues his account:

And as I still believed in the correctness of Laperouse and Broughton's dicta, that there was no passage for ships into the gulf of the Amur, and as, above all, there was no perceptible current, a discoloration of the water, which the discharge of the Amur by its channel must have caused, I imagined that the enemy had passed us in the fog, and that he trusted to an early breaking up of the ice in the sea of Okhotsk to allow his ships to enter the Amur by the north round Cape Elizabeth.⁵²²

When too late the English officers learned how the Russians had escaped. From this time on it became universally known that Sakhalin is an island and that a navigable strait separates it from East Tartary.

By determining the insularity of Sakhalin and by charting the East Tartary Coast, Russia completed the exploration of the interior and the survey of north and northeast Asia and a great part of northwest America. When she had finished there were no more geographical problems to solve in these regions. More than two centuries were spent in these efforts. It took no less time to explore and conquer North America although many powerful nations were engaged in the effort. His-

⁵²¹ Whittingham, *Notes*, 94.

⁵²² — *Ibid.*, 98.

tory must grant to Russia a high place in exploration and discovery.

In the attempt to get a general view of the whole period, one is struck by the crudeness, by the lack of well laid plans at times, and by the tremendous amount of misdirected energy on the part of Russia. There is much that is admirable in the wonderful vitality of her people and deplorable in that it had not been more advantageously used. During this period Russia showed that she could conquer but she gave little evidence that she could civilize; she subdued the natives but did not enlighten them. Russia came into the possession of this vast territory because her population was overflowing with physical energy; she overwhelmed all native tribes and overcame all natural obstacles. It is this strenuous struggle against savage man and wild nature that makes the story of Russian expansion so thrilling and so fascinating.

After 1850 there is a marked change in Russia's attitude in the matter of expansion in the Far East. From then on she formed far sighted plans in regard to that region and sent there her ablest statesmen. She no longer depended on force alone. Her goal was to reach out southward rather than eastward. She withdrew from America and concentrated her energies on acquiring territory south of the Amur and a winter port. But these plans, successes, and failures belong to another period of Russian expansion.

APPENDIX A

MULLER'S ACCOUNT OF DESHNEF'S VOYAGE ⁵²⁸

Bey der Zurückkunft dieser Leute reizte die Nachricht von den Wallrosszähnen mehrere Promyschleni an, Jahres darauf eine zweyte Reise zu unternehmen. Dazu gesellte sich Fedot Alexeew, von Kolmogori gebürtig, eines Moscauischen Kaufmanns von der Gostinna Sotna, Alexei Ussows, Bedienter, und war gleichsam, als das Haupt davon, anzusehen. Er fand aber für gut, von dem Befehlshaber am Flusse Kolyma auch einem in Diensten stehenden Cosacken der das Kroninteresse bey der Reise besorgen möchte, sich auszubitten. Hierzu bot sich einer Simeon, oder Semön, Iwanow Sin Deschnew an, und wurd von dem Befehlshaber mit Verhaltensbefehlen versehen. Vier Schiffe, die man Kotschen nannte, giengen alle zugleich im Junius 1647 aus dem Flusse Kolyma unter Seegel. Man hatte von einem Flusse Anadir, oder nach der damahligen Aussprache Anandir, gehöret, der von fremden Völkern stark bewohnt sey. Man glaubte, derselbe werde auch in das Eissmeer fallen. Folglich war eine mit von den Absichten dieser Reise, desselben Mündung zu entdecken. Allein nicht nur dieses, sondern auch alles übrige, was man zu thun sich vorgenommen hatte, schlug fehl; weil die See selbigen Sommer gar zu voll von Eise war, als dass sie eine freye Fahrt erlaubt hätte.

Dem ungeachtet liess man die gefasste Hoffnung nicht fahren. Vielmehr vermehrte sich die Anzahl der Liebhaber auf das folgende Jahr so wohl an Cosacken, als Promyschleni, dergestalt, dass man 7 Kotschen ausrüstete, die alle einerley Absicht hatten. Was vieren dieser Fahrzeuge wiederfahren, davon schweigen unsere Nachrichten. Auf den drey übrigen waren Semön Deschnew und Gerasim Ankudinow die Häupter der Cosacken, und Fedot Alexeew der vornehmste unter den Promyschleni. Die zwey ersten geriethen noch vor der Abreise in Streit, weil Deschnew darüber eifersüchtig wurd, dass Ankudinow sowohl an der Ehre der zukünftigen Entdeckung-

⁵²⁸ Muller's *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. iii, 7-20.

APPENDIX A

MULLER'S ACCOUNT OF DESHNEF'S VOYAGE

The return of these men with accounts of the walrus tusks encouraged many hunters to undertake a second expedition the following year. A company was organized under the leadership of Fedot Alexeef, a native of Kolmogori and agent of Alexei Ussof, a Moscow merchant of the Gostina Sotna. Alexeef petitioned the officer in charge of the Koluima that a Cossack be sent along to look after the interest of the government on the voyage. At the request of Simeon, or Semön, Iwanof Deshnef he was selected to accompany the party and the necessary commission and instructions were issued to him. The men set sail from the Koluima in June, 1647, in four boats, known as kotshi. There was a report at the time that there existed a river, Anaduir, or as it was called at that time Ananduir, the banks of which were thickly inhabited by an unknown people. It was believed that this river flowed into the Arctic Ocean and one of the objects of this voyage was to discover the mouth of this stream. Not only this undertaking but all the other plans of the party failed because that summer the sea was full of ice making navigation impossible.

Notwithstanding this set-back the men had not lost hope. Indeed, by next year so many more, both Cossacks and hunters, wished to go that it took seven kotshi to accommodate them all. What became of four of these boats our documents do not say. On the remaining three were Semön Deshnef and Gerasim Ankudinof, the headmen of the Cossacks, and Fedot Alexeef, the chief of the hunters. The two first mentioned quarreled even before their departure, because Deshnef was unwilling to share with Ankudinof the honor of the

en, als an denen damit verknüpften Vortheilen, Theil nehmen sollte. Jedes Fahrzeug mag etwan 30 Mann stark gewesen seyn. Wenigstens findet man solches von Ankudinow seinem angemerket. Deschnew versparach zum voraus, 7 Zimmer Zobeln vom Flusse Anadir an Tribute in die Cassa zu liefern. So gross war seine Zuversicht, diesen Fluss zu erreichen; welches denn zwar auch endlich geschahe: jedoch nicht so bald, und nicht mit so leichter Mühe, als er es sich vorgestellt hatte.

Der 20te Junius 1648 war der Tag, an welchem diese merkwürdige Reise von dem Flusse Kolyma angetreten wurd. Es ist, wegen der noch wenigen Kenntniss, die wir von dortigen Gegenden haben, gar sehr zu beklagen, dass nicht alle Umstände dieser Fahrt sorgfältig aufgezeichnet sind. Deschnew, der in einem Berichte nach Jakutsk seine Thaten selbst erzehlet, scheint von dem, was ihm zur See begegnet ist, fast nur zufälliger Weise zu reden. Bis an die grosse Tschcktschische Landecke finden wir gar nichts von Begebenheiten erwehnet. Es wird keiner Hindernissen von Eise gedacht. Vermuthlich waren auch keine. Denn Deschnew erinnert bey einer andern Gelegenheit, dass die See nicht alle Jahre, so wie dieses mahl, vom Eise rein zu seyn pflege. Mit der grossen Landecke fängt allererst seine Erzählung an, welches auch derjenige Umstand ist, der die meiste Aufmerksamkeit verdienet "Diese Landecke," sagt er, "sey ganz anders beschaffen, als diejenige, welche bey dem Flusse Tschukotschia (westlich vom Flusse Kolyma) sich befinde. Sie liege zwischen Norden und Nordost, und drehe sich in einer Ründung gegen den Anadir hin. Auf der Russischen (d. i. westlichen) Seite derselben falle zum Wahrzeichen ein Bach in die See, bey welchem die Tschuktschi ein Gerüste, wie ein Thurm, von Wallfischknochen aufgerichtet hätten. Gegen über der Landecke (es ist nicht angezeigt, auf welcher Seite) seyen zwei Insuln in der See, auf welchen man Leute gesehen, von Tschuktschischer Nation, durch deren durchlöcherzte Lefzen Wallrosszähne hervorgeraget hätten. Man möge von der Landecke bis an den Fluss Anadir mit vollkommen gutem Winde in drey mahl 24 Stunden seegeln können, und zu Lande werde es auch nicht weiter seyn, weil der Anadir in einen Meerbusen falle." Uebrigens geschahe es noch an dieser Landecke, dass Ankudinows Kotsche zerscheiterte, und dass die Leute von derselben auf die übrigen beyden Kotschen geborgen wurden. Nachdem Deschnew und Fedot Alexeew den 20. September noch am Lande gewesen, und

discovery and the profit which would result from the proposed voyage. On each of the boats there were about thirty men, at least that was the number on Ankudinof's kotsh. Deshnef promised, before going, to bring from the Anaduir seven *Zimmer* of sables [a bundle of forty skins was called a *Zimmer*] as tribute, so confident was he of reaching the river. In the end he was successful but it was not done as quickly and as easily as he had imagined.

On the twentieth day of June 1648 this remarkable voyage from the mouth of the Koluima was entered upon. It is to be regretted that since we know so little of these regions that no fuller details of this expedition have come down to us. Deshnef in one of his reports to Jakutsk, wherein he speaks of his deeds, refers incidentally to what happened to him at sea on this voyage. We know nothing at all of what occurred from the time he left the Koluima until he reached the large Chukchi Cape. There is no mention made of ice obstructions probably because there were none. In another connection Deshnef says that the sea is not as free from ice every year as it was this time. His narrative begins with a description of the large cape which is of such importance in this connection that it deserves careful consideration. "This cape," says he, "is quite different from the one by the river Tschukotschia (west of the river Koluima). The cape is situated between north and northeast, and turns in a circular direction towards the Anaduir. On its Russian side (i.e. west side) there is a stream flowing into the sea, and near by that the Chukchi have erected a pile, like a tower, made of whalebone. Opposite the cape (it is not said on which side) are two islands on which were seen Chukchi who had holes in their lips in which were pieces of walrus tusk. With a good wind one can sail from the cape to the Anaduir in three times twenty-four hours, and it would not take any more time to go by land because the Anaduir empties into a bay." On this same cape Ankudinof's kotsh was wrecked, and the crew was distributed on the two other boats. On the twentieth of September Deshnef and Fedot Alexeef were on shore and had a fight with the

mit den Tschuktschi ein Gefechte gehalten, worin der letzte verwundet worden: so verloren bald darauf die beyden Kotschen einander aus dem Gesichte, und kamen nicht wieder zusammen. Deschnew wurd bis in den October von Wind und Wetter in der See herun getrieben. Endlich litte er Schiffbruch, und zwar, wie es die Umstände geben, ziemlich weit in Süden von dem Flusse Anadir, etwa in der Gegend des Flusses Olutora. Was mit Fedot Alexcew und seiner Schiffgesellschaft geschehen, wird unten gesagt werden.

Deschnew war 25 Mann stark, mit denen er sich aufmachte, den Anadir zu suchen. Er fand ihn aber, wegen Mangels eines Wegweisers, erst nach 10 Wochen, die er zu Fusse gewandert. Die Gegend, wo er den Anadir erreichte, war unweit desselben Mündung, in einer Gegend, die sowohl von Einwohnern, als von Waldung, entblösset war. Dieser Umstand setzte ihn und seine Gefährten in die grössste Verkümmerniss. Wovon sollten sie sich ernähren? Durch die Jagd konnte solches wegen Mangels wilder Thiere, die meistens den Wäldern folgen, nur sehr sparsam geschehen, und zum fischen fehlte es an der nöthigen Geräthschaft. In Erwegung dieses begaben sich 12 Mann von der Gesellschaft den Anadir aufwärts. Diese aber trafen innerhalb 20 Tagen, so sie in der Irre herum giengen, eben so wenig Menschen an, so dass sie zuletzt sich gezwungen sahen, nach Deschnews Standlager zurück zu kehren, welches jedoch wegen Hungers und Müdigkeit nur die wenigsten erreichten.

Den folgenden Sommer 1649 fuhr Deschnew mit seinem Volke zu Wasser den Anadir aufwärts, und fand Leute, die sich Anauli nannten, die damahls ihrn ersten Tribut am Flusse Anadir bezahlten. Diese, da sie ohnedem nicht zahlreich, und doch dabey widerspenstig waren, sind in kurzer Zeit ganz aufgerieben worden. Damahls wurd Anadirskoi Ostrog, als eine Simowie, von Deschnew gegründet. Dasselbst nahm er seine Wohnung. Er war besorgt wie er dereinst nach dem Flusse Kolyma zuruckkömmen, oder, nur Nachricht von seinen Begebenheiten dahin uebersenden möchte, als ihm andere dazu den Weg zeigten, die den 25. April 1650 über Land dey ihm ankamen.

Man war seit Deschnews Abreise am Flusse Kolyma nicht müssig gewesen, neue Abfertigungen, sowohl zu Wasser, als zu Lande, zu veranstalten, damit, wenn die Hofnung mit jenen fehl schlüge, doch die weiter in Osten gelegende Gegenden nicht unerforscht blieben. Unter diesen verdient eine zur See nicht sowohl wegen der dabey

Chukchi, in which Alexeef was wounded. After this the two boats became separated and did not again unite. Deshnef was out at sea until October, driven here and there by wind and weather. In the end he was shipwrecked, and from all indications, at a considerable distance south of the River Anaduir, somewhere in the neighborhood of the River Oliutora. What became of Fedot Alexeef and his men will be explained farther on.

Deshnef and his companions, numbering twenty-five men, set out to find the Anaduir. Not having a guide they wandered on foot for ten weeks before they found the stream, at a point not very far from its mouth, in a neighborhood where there were to be found neither human beings nor timber. This circumstance made their situation very critical. How should they support themselves? They could not hunt because all the wild game remained in the forests, they could not fish because they lacked the necessary fishing gear. Under the circumstances twelve men of the party started up the river. They wandered about for twenty days without seeing a human being and were at last forced to turn back to Deshnef's camp, but on account of hunger and weariness only a very few reached the destination.

The following summer, 1649, Deshnef and his men went up the Anaduir by boat and found the natives of the country who called themselves Anauli and who paid their first tribute. These people although few in number resisted stubbornly and were soon destroyed. Deshnef built a zimovie and made this place his headquarters which in time became Anaduirskoi Ostrog. He was wondering how he might get back to the Koluima or how he might send thither a report of his movements, when the way was pointed out to him by others who had come overland and had joined him on April 25, 1650.

Those who remained behind, after Deshnef's departure from the Koluima, were busy making preparations to go by land and sea to the eastward for the purpose of making discoveries. One of these attempts at discovery deserves attention, not so much on account of

gemachten Entdeckungen, als der Gelegenheit wegen, wodurch sie veranlasset worden, angeführet zu werden.

Michael Staduchin, ein Cosacke von Jakutsk, hatte im Jahre 1644 mit einigen seiner Gefährten den untersten Ostrog am Flusse Kolyma erbauet. Er war Jahres darauf nach Jakutsk zurückgekommen, mit einigen Nachrichten, die zu verdienen schienen dass derselben Gewissheit untersucht würde. Ein Weib von denen am Flusse Kolyma wohnhaften Völkern solle ihm gesagt haben, es liege im Eissmeere eine grosse Insul, die sich vom Flusse Jana bis gegen über den Kolyma erstreckte, und vom festen Lande könne gesehen werden. Die Tschuktschi von dem Flusse Tschukotschia, welcher vom Kolyma in Westen in das Eysmeer fällt, pflegten im Winter mit Rennthieren in einem Tage nach dieser Insul über das Eyss zu gehen, und daselbst Wallrosse zu fällen, von welchen sie die Köpfe sammt den Zähnen mit sich zurück brächten, und dieselbe anbeteten. Er habe zwar selber dergleichen Zähne bey diesen Leuten nicht gesehen, aber von Promyschleni gehöret, dass sich dergleichen bey ihnen befänden, und dass gewisse Ringe an ihren Rennthiers-Schlitten von Wallrosszähnen gemacht seyen. Die Promyschleni bestärkten auch die Wirklichkeit sothaner Insul, und hielten sie für eine Fortsetzung des Landes Nowaia Semlia, wohin man von Mesen zu fahren pflege. Ueberdem habe er von einem grossen Flusse Pogitscha, den andere Kowytscha genannt, gehöret, der drey oder mehr Tagereisen zur See mit gutem Winde zu fahren, jenseits des Kolyma in das Eissmeer falle. Es sey viel Vorthail für die Krone in diesen Gegenden zu hoffen, wenn man eine grössere Anzahl von Cosacken dahin schicken werde. u. s. w.

Auf diese Nachrichten und Vorschläge wurd Staduchin den 5. Junius 1647 zum zweyten Mahle nach dem Flusse Kolyma abgefertiget, mit dem Befehle, dass er von dort nach dem Flusse Pogitscha gehen, an demselben eine simowie anlegen, die dortigen Völker zinsbar machen, und von der vorgebenen Insul im Eissmeere Nachrichten einziehen sollte. Er überwinterte am Jana, gieng im Nachwinter 1648 in 7 Wochen mit Narten nach dem Indigirka, bauete daselbst eine Kotsche, und fuhr damit nach dem Flusse Kolyma.

Darauf geschahe im Sommer des Jahres 1649 die Seefahrt um den Fluss Pogitscha zu suchen. Staduchin, der noch ein anderes Fahrzeug, das auf dieser Reise zerscheiterte, mit sich hatte, fuhr unter einem Seegel 7 mahl 24 Stunden, ohne einen Fluss anzutreffen. Er liess anhalten, schickte aus, um Leute aufzusuchen: aber auch diese

what it really accomplished as because of the circumstances which surrounded it.

Michaelo Staduchin, a Jakutsk Cossack, with a number of his associates built the Lower Koluimsk Ostrog in the year 1644. He returned to Jakutsk the year following with information which seemed to merit fuller investigation. He said that he had met a woman, who belonged to one of the native tribes living along the Koluima, who told him that there is a large island in the Arctic Ocean, stretching out from the Jana to the Koluima, which island may be seen from the mainland. The Chukchi of the River Chukotschia, which is west of the Koluima and falls into the Arctic Ocean, were accustomed to go to that island in winter over the ice on their reindeer in one day. There they killed walrus and brought back with them the heads with the tusks, and these they worshipped. Staduchin himself did not see walrus tusks among these people, but hunters had told him that the natives had them and that the runners of their deer-sleds were made from these tusks. The hunters also confirmed the existence of this island and they were of the opinion that it was a continuation of Nowaia Semlia, to which place one used to go from Mesen. At the same time he heard of a large river, Pogicha, others call it Kowytscha, which with fair wind is three or more days' journey by sea, on the other side of the Koluima and falls into the Arctic Ocean. It would be to the great advantage of the government to send into these regions a large number of Cossacks, etc. . . .

On the strength of this information and recommendation, on June 5, 1647, Staduchin was sent a second time to the Koluima, with instructions that he should proceed to the river Pogicha and there erect a zimovie and make the inhabitants pay tribute, and obtain more data regarding the island in the Arctic Ocean. He wintered on the Jana, leaving there in the late winter of 1648, and after seven weeks travel on sleds reached the Indigirka, where he built a kotsh and went to the Koluima.

This is how it came about that a search by sea for the Pogicha was made in 1649. Staduchin, in addition to the boat which he already had, took with him another one which was wrecked on the voyage, sailed seven times twenty-four hours without finding a river. He made a halt and sent his men ashore to find the natives of the

wusten von keinen Flüssen in derselben Gegend zu sagen. Die Küste war felsicht, man konnte folglich nicht fischen, auch mangelte es an gnugsamen Vorrathe von Proviante. Deswegen kehrte Staduchin nach dem Kolyma zurück. Von der vorgegebenen Insul im Eissmeere dass sie auf dieser Fahrt wäre gesucht, oder gefunden worden, findet sich keine Anzeige. Aller Nutzen bestund in einigen mitgebrachten Wallrosszähnen, die Staduchin nach Jakutsk schickte, und vorschlug, dass man um mehr zu suchen, ausdrücklich Leute dahin auf den Fang schicken sollte.

Nun wuste man schon, Pogitscha sey eben derselbe Fluss, welcher auch Anadir genennet werde. Man glaubte nicht mehr seine Mündung in selbiger Gegend suchen zu müssen. Man erfuhr durch die heidnische Völker, dass es über Land dahin näher sey. Dieses gab zu der folgenden Abfertigung Gelegenheit. Eigentlich hatte man die so nützliche Nachricht, von einem Wege zu Lande nach dem Flusse Anadir, einem Feldzuge zu danken, den die Cosacken vom Kolyma zu Anfange des Jahrs 1650 den Fluss Anui aufwärts thaten. Was man vorher wuste, bestund nur in einem ungewissen Gerüchte. Hier aber bekam man Gefangene von einem Volke Chodynzi, die selbst den Weg anzuzeigen wusten.

Alsobald that sich eine Gesellschaft freywilliger Leute, theils Cosacken, theils Promyschleni, zusammen, welche bey dem Befehlshaber, zu Kolymskoi Ostrog durch eine Bittschrift ansuchten, dass man sie nach dem Flusse Anadir möge abgehen lassen, um die dortigen Völker auf Tribut zu setzen. Solches geschah. Semön Motora, so hiess der Anführer dieser Leute, bekam den 23 März oberhalb am Flusse Anui einen angesehenen Mann von den Chodynzi gefangen, und nahm ihn mit sich nach dem Anadir. Motora war es, der den 23. April, wie oberwehnet, am Anadir ankam, allwo er sich mit Deschnew vereinigte. Michaelo Staduchin folgte diesem, und brachte 7 Wochen unterwegs zu. Als er am Anadir ankam: so gieng er Deschnews Simowie vorbey, that seine Sachen besonders, und lebte mit jenem aus Eifersucht in bestandigem Streite. Deschnew und Motora wollten ihm aus weichen, dadurch, dass sie sich vornahmen, nach dem Flusse Penschina zu gehen. Indem es ihnen aber an einem Wegweiser fehlte, so sahen sie sich gezwungen von dem Wege zurück zu kehren. Darauf begab sich Staduchin nach dem Penschina, und nachher ist nichts weiter von ihm gehöret worden.

Deschnew und Motora hatten am Anadir Fahrzeuge gebauet, um

country, but these knew of no river in that region. The coast was rocky so that they could not do much fishing, and also because they lacked the needed provisions, Staduchin turned back to the Koluima. Of the aforementioned island not a trace was discovered. All that he had to show for his troubles were a few walrus tusks which he sent to Jakutsk with the proposal that men should be sent to him to look for more.

From all this it will be seen that the Pogicha was the same stream which some called Anaduir. It was no longer believed that its mouth was to be found where it was once supposed to be. It was learned through the heathen natives that the way to the river was much nearer by land. This explains the expedition described below. This useful information of a land route to the Anaduir, was secured by a party of Cossacks in the beginning of the year 1650 while they were making war at the headwaters of the Aniu. All the information thus far had been of a hearsay character, but on this occasion a number of Chodynzi, who knew the way well enough to act as guides, were made captive.

As soon as that was known a company was formed, made up in part of Cossacks and in part of hunters. These men petitioned the officer of Koluimsk Ostrog to be allowed to go to the Anaduir and to take tribute of the inhabitants. This petition was granted. Motora, the leader of this band, captured on the Aniu River on March twenty-third a prominent man of the Chodynzi tribe and took him along to the Anaduir. Motora reached the Anaduir April twenty-third, as aforementioned, and joined forces with Deshnef. Michaelo Staduchin followed closely on the footsteps of Motora, spending seven weeks on the way. When he came to the Anaduir he passed by Deshnef's zimovie and lived apart from the others with whom he was continually quarreling and fighting. Deshnef and Motora, in order to keep out of his way, left their camp and started to find the River Penjinsk. But not having a guide they were forced to turn back. Soon after this Staduchin went to the Penjinsk and since that time nothing has ever been heard of him.

Deshnef and Motora built boats on the Anaduir intending to go to

damit zur See zu gehen, und mehrere Flüsse zu entdecken, als des letztern Tod erfolgte; indem er zu Ausgange des Jahres 1651 in einem Gefechte mit den Anaulen umkam. Indessen dienten die Fahrzeuge dazu, dass Deschnew damit im Sommer das 1652 Jahr nach der Mündung des Flusses Anadir fuhr, allwo er bemerkte, dass auf der nordlichen Seite der Mündung eine Sandbank sich weit in der See erstreckte. Dergleichen Sandbanke werden in Sibirien Korgi genannt. Auf der an der Mündung des Flusses Anadir pflügten sich Wallrosse häufig einzufinden. Deschnew bekam einige ihrer Zähne, und hielt seine Muhe dadurch für gnugsam belohnt.

In Jahre 1653 liess er Holz fällen, um eine Kotsche zu bauen, womit der bis dahin eingenomene Tribut zur See nach Jakutsk abgesandt werden könnte. Weil es aber an dem übrigen Zubehöre fehlte; so unterblieb die Sache. Man hörte auch, dass die See um das grosse Tschuktschische Noss nicht alle Jahre vom Eise frey sey.

Eine zweyte Reise nach der Korga, der Wallrosszähne wegen, geschahe im Jahre 1654. Dabey befand sich auch Juschko Seliwerstow, ein von Jakutsk neuangekommener Cosacke, welcher den Michaelo Staduchin auf seiner Seereise begleitet hatte, und da er von diesem mit dem Vorschlage, die Wallrosszähne zum Nutzen für die Krone aufsuchen zu lassen, nach Jakutsk geschicket worden: jetzt mit der Verordnung, solches zu thun, versehen war. In seinem Verhaltungsbefehle ist, nebst dem Anadir, auch der Tschendon, ein Fluss, der in den Penschinskischen Meerbusen fällt, benennet, an welchen beyden er, weil man damahls von Deschnews Thaten zu Jakutsk noch nicht unterrichtet war, die Völker auf Tribut setzen sollte. Hierüber entstunden wieder Uneinigkeiten. Seliwerstow wollte sich die Erfindung der Korga zuschreiben, als wenn dieses der Ort sey, wohin er mit Staduchin im Jahre 1649 zur See gekommen sey. Deschnew aber bewies, dass sie nicht einmahl das grosse Tschuktschische Noss, welches aus lauter Felsen bestünde, und ihm da Ankudinows Kotsche daran zerscheitert, nur gar zu bekannt sey, erreicht hätten. "Dieses, sagte er, sey nicht das erste Vorgebürge, welches unter dem Nahmen von Swätoi Noss vorkomme. Die dem Tschuktschischen Noss gegenüber liegenden Insuln der zahnichten Menschen, deren wir oben gedacht haben, seyen das eigentliche Wahrzeichen desselben. Diese Menschen habe Deschnew, nicht aber Staduchin und Seliwerstow, gesehen: und die Korga an der Mündung des Flusses Anadir sey noch sehr weit davon entfernt."

sea for the purpose of discovering new rivers. These plans were not carried out on account of the death of Motora who lost his life in a fight with the Anauli in 1651. The boats were, however, made use of by Deshnef in 1652, when he went to the mouth of the river where he noticed on the north side a sandbank which stretched way out to sea. Such sandbanks were known in Siberia as korgas. On this sandbank walrus gathered in large numbers. Deshnef succeeded in finding several tusks and considered himself repaid for his troubles.

In the year 1653 Deshnef had timber cut intending to build a kotsh on which to take his tribute to Jakutsk by sea but not having the other necessary materials the plan was not carried out. It was also reported that the sea in the neighborhood of Chukotski Nos is not every year free from ice.

A second voyage to the sandbank for the purpose of collecting walrus tusks took place in the year 1654. Among others there came Iuschko Selivestrof, one of the recently arrived Cossacks from Jakutsk, and who had been with Michaelo Staduchin on his sea-voyage and who was sent by him to Jakutsk to ask for authorization to collect walrus tusks as tribute. In this mission he was successful. In the instructions he is ordered to force the payment of tribute from the people who live on the Anaduir as well as those who inhabit the Tschendon, a stream that flows into the Penjinsk Bay. This was probably done because at Jakutsk nothing was known of Deshnef. Bad feeling broke out at once. Selivestrof claimed for himself the discovery of the sandbank, saying that it was the same place which he and Staduchin saw in 1649 on their voyage. Deshnef argued that this could not be the case because they had never come as far as Chukotski Nos, which is very rocky and on which Ankudinof's kotsh was wrecked. "This promontory," says he, "is not the first one which presents itself and which is known as Sviatoi Nos. Chukotski Nos is identified by the islands opposite to it on which live people with pieces of walrus tusks in their lips. These people Deshnef saw but Staduchin and Selivestrof did not see. The sandbank at the mouth of the Anaduir is a long way from these islands."

APPENDIX B

DESHNEF'S REPORT ⁵²⁴

In the year 1648, June 20, I, Semeon, was sent from the Kovima River to the new river to the Anaduir to find new, non-tribute paying peoples. And in the year 1648, September 20, in going from the Kovima River to sea, at a place where we stopped, the Chukchi in a fight wounded the trader, Fedot Alexeef, and that Fedot was carried out with me to sea, and I do not know where he is, and I was carried about here and there helplessly until after October 1, and I was thrown up on the beach on the forward end [*perednei konex*] of the Anaduir River. We were in all twenty-five on the kotsh, and we all took to the hills, not knowing which way to go [or, not knowing the way]. We were cold and hungry, naked and barefooted, and I, poor Semeon, and my companions went to the Anaduir in exactly ten weeks, reaching that stream low down near the sea. We were unable to catch fish, there was no wood, and on account of hunger we separated. And twelve men went for twenty days up the Anaduir without seeing human beings and reindeer or native trails, and turned back. And when they had come within three days of camp they made a halt. [They were never heard of again.] And out of the twenty-five we were left twelve, and we went up the Anaduir in boats and met with the Anauli people.

To go from the Kovima to the Anaduir by sea there is a cape stretching far out into the sea, and not the cape which lies off the Chukchi River. To that cape Michaelo Staduchin did not come. Opposite that cape are two islands, and on one of these islands live Chukchi, who have pieces of walrus tusks in their lips. That cape lies between north and northeast [*polunoshnik*]; and on the Russian side of the cape there is a small river. The Chukchi have a tower of whale bone; and the cape turns around to the Anaduir. In a good run one can go from the cape to the Anaduir in three days and no longer, and to go by land to the river it is no farther, because the

⁵²⁴ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 7.

до той Анандыри рѣки и до той корги, что твоимъ государевымъ счастьемъ принесли мы холоти и сироты твои, и до того мѣста Михайло Стадухинъ съ товарищи не доходили, потому, государь, знатно, что въ прошломъ во 157 году съ Колымы рѣки ходилъ Михайло Стадухинъ моремъ впередъ на Погычу рѣку, а съ моря пришелъ онъ во 158 году сентября въ . . . день, и писалъ онъ Михайло съ Колымы рѣки въ Якутской острогъ къ твоимъ государевымъ воеводамъ, что бѣжалъ де онъ Михайло моремъ впередъ семеры сутки, а рѣки де не нашелъ никакой, нашелъ де онъ Михайло небольшихъ людей Коряцкихъ и изыковъ де перемалъ, а на роспросѣ языки сказали, что впередъ де людей много есть, а рѣки де они не знаютъ никакой, и онъ Михайло съ товарищи воротились назадъ въ Колыму рѣку; а впередъ того мѣста есть каменной носъ Большой, вышелъ въ море далеко и людей на немъ добръ много, а противъ того носу есть острова въ морѣ, а на островахъ людей добръ много жъ, а мы сироты твои, которые были съ Семеномъ Дежневымъ, тотъ каменной носъ и острова знаемъ и людей видѣли, а не тотъ носъ, что есть первой Святой носъ отъ Колымы рѣки, а Анандырь рѣка отъ того Большого носу и отъ острововъ далеко; да въ прошломъ, государь, во 162. году охочей служивой человекъ Юрья Селиверстовъ писалъ въ Якутской острогъ съ Анандыря, къ твоимъ государевымъ воеводамъ, съ промышленнымъ человекомъ съ Оверкою Мартемьяновымъ, что де то мѣсто прежь сего провѣдалъ онъ Юрья.

А во 161 году мы Семейка и Микитка съ товарищи лѣсъ добыли, а хотѣли съ государевою казною отпустить моремъ въ Якутской острогъ, и язь Семейка съ товарищи то вѣдаемъ, что море большое и сулон великое о землю близко, безъ доброй снасти судовой, и безъ доброго паруса и якоря, итти не

смѣли, и иноземцы говорятъ: не по вся дгоды лды отъ береговъ относить въ море; а горою черезъ Камень государевы казны съ великими людьми черезъ многіе неясачные люди розныхъ родовъ выслать не смѣли, потому быть въ государевѣмъ жадованьѣ. писалъ де онъ Юрья въ Якутской острогъ, что ту коргу и морского звѣря и заморную кость звѣря того принесли онъ Юрья прежь сего, какъ былъ съ Михайломъ Стадухинымъ, а не мы служивые и промышленные люди; а то онъ писалъ ложно.

потому что не доходилъ онъ Михайло до Большого каменного носу, а тотъ носъ вышелъ въ море гораздо далеко, а живутъ на немъ люди Чухчи добръ много, противъ тогожъ носу на островахъ живутъ люди, называютъ ихъ зубатыми, потому что принимаютъ они сквозъ губу по два зуба немалыхъ костяныхъ, а не тотъ, что есть первой Святой носъ отъ Колымы, а тотъ Большой носъ мы Семейка съ товарищи знаемъ, потому что разбило у того носу судно служивого человека Ерасима Онкудинова съ товарищи, и мы Семейка съ товарищи тѣхъ разбойныхъ людей имали на свои суды, и тѣхъ зубатыхъ людей на острову видѣли жъ, а отъ того носу та Анандырь рѣка и корга далеко. Ивановъ Дежневъ человекъ бьетъ. Въ прошломъ во 156 году, июня въ 20 день, съ Колымы рѣки посланъ я Семейка на новую рѣку на Анандырь для принеся новыхъ неясачныхъ людей. И въ прошломъ же во 157 году, мѣсяца сентября въ 20 день, идучи съ Колымы рѣки моремъ, на пристанищѣ торгового человека Федота Алексѣева Чухочьи люди на дракъ ранили, и того Федота со мною Семейкою на морѣ рознесло безъ вѣсти, и послало меня Семейку по морю постѣ Покрова Богородицы всегда неволею, и выбросило на берегъ въ перелней конецъ за Анандырь рѣку; а было насъ на дочѣ вѣтъ двадцать пять человекъ.

и пошли мы всё въ гору, сами пути себѣ не знаемъ, холоды и голоды, ноги и босы, а шелъ я бѣдной Семейка съ товарищи до Анадыря рѣки ровно десять недѣль, и попали на Анадырь рѣку внизу близко моря, и рыбы добыть не могли, лѣсу нѣтъ, и съ голоду мы бѣдные врознь разбрелись. И вверхъ по Анадырь пошло двѣнадцать человекъ, и ходили двадцать день, людей и аргипиницъ, дорогъ иноземскихъ, не видали, и воротились назадъ и не дошедъ за три дница до стану опочевались)

А осталось насъ отъ двадцати пяти человекъ всего насъ двѣнадцать человекъ, и пошли мы двѣнадцать человекъ въ судахъ вверхъ по Анадырь рѣкѣ, и шли до Анаулскихъ людей,

А съ Ковымы рѣки итти моремъ на Анадырь рѣку есть носъ, вышелъ въ море далеко, а не тотъ носъ, которой отъ Чухочы рѣки лежитъ, до

того носу Михайло Стадухинъ не доходить, а противъ того носу есть два острова, а на тѣхъ островахъ живутъ Чухчы, а вѣзываютъ у нихъ зубы, прорѣзываютъ губы, кость рыбы зубъ, а лежитъ тотъ носъ промежъ сиверъ на полуношникъ, а съ Рускую сторону носа признака: вышла рѣчка, становье тутъ у Чухочъ дѣлано, что башни изъ кости китовой, и носъ поворотить кругомъ къ Анадырь рѣкѣ подлегло, а доброго побѣгу отъ носа до Анадыря рѣки три сутки, а болѣ нѣтъ, а итти отъ берегу до рѣки недаль, потому что рѣка Анадырь пала въ губу. А въ прошломъ во 162 году, ходилъ я Семейка возлѣ моря въ походъ, и отгромилъ я Семейка у Коряковъ Якутскую бабу Федота Алексѣева, и та баба сказывала, что де Федотъ и служилой человекъ Герасимъ померли цынгою, а иные товарищи побиты, и остались невеликіе люди и побѣжали въ лодкахъ съ одною душою, не знаю де куда. А

„И я, холопъ твой, съ ними торговщи и съ промышленными людьми шли моремъ, да шти кочахъ, девяносто человекъ; и прошедъ Анадырское устье, судомъ Божиимъ тѣ наши всѣ кочи море разбило, и тѣхъ торговыхъ и промышленныхъ людей отъ того морского разбоя на морѣ по(ов)уло и на тундрѣ отъ иноземцовъ побитыхъ (sic), а я нѣмъ голодною смертію померли, нтого всѣхъ изгнбло 64 человекъ (л. 6).

„А я, холопъ твой, отъ тѣхъ товарищей своихъ остался всего дватцать четыремъ человекъ, и тѣхъ товарищей моихъ зимнимъ путемъ на лмжахъ, съ нарты,—со стыди (то-есть—студа, стужи), и зъ голоду и со вся кой нужи, недошедъ Анадыря рѣки, дорогою идучи 12 человекъ безвѣстно не стало. А я, холопъ твой, на Анадырь рѣку доволоса всего двѣнадцатьмъ человекъ, и съ тѣми достальными своими товарищи, не хоти голодною смертію помереть, ходилъ я, холопъ твой, въ походъ въ Анаулскимъ и въ Ходымскимъ не къ ясачнымъ мужикомъ. И Божією милостію

FACSIMILE OF EXTRACTS FROM DESHNEF'S REPORT

[*Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim, vol. iv, doc. 7 and Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnava Prosveschenia, December, 1890, 303*]



Anaduir falls into a bay. In the year 1654 in a fight I captured from the Koriaks a Jakut woman belonging to Fedot Alexeef, and she said that Fedot and Gerasim died of scurvy, some of their companions were killed, and the few who remained escaped in boats with their lives, and she did not know what became of them.

DESHNEF, 1662 ⁵²⁵

And I, your servant, with these hunters and traders went to sea on six kotshi, ninety persons; and having passed the mouth of the Anaduir, by the will of God all these our kotshi were broken [wrecked] at sea [*use nashi kotshi more razbilo*], and of all these hunters and traders some were drowned in this wreck, others were killed by the natives on the tundra, and others died of hunger, altogether sixty-four (64) persons lost their lives.

And I, your servant, was left with twenty-four men [it may also mean twenty-four in all] and with these companions I started on sleds and snow shoes, suffering cold, hunger, and want of other necessities before reaching the Anaduir. On the way twelve men disappeared without our knowing what became of them. And I reached the Anaduir with twelve men, and with these, not wishing to die of hunger, went to fight against the Kanauli and Chodinski peoples, but not against those who pay tribute.

VETOSHKKA AND COMPANIONS ⁵²⁶

Staduchin had never been to the Anaduir River or to the Korga which we have discovered. He had not been there because in 1649 Staduchin went to sea from the Koluima to the Pogicha River and returned from sea in September, 1650, and reported from Koluima to Jakutsk that he was out at sea seven days and found no river but met a few Koriaks and had captured some interpreters, and, upon inquiry, they said that they knew of no river, but there were many people to the eastward. Staduchin then came back to the Koluima. Beyond that place there is a Large Stone Cape [*Kammenoi Nos Bolshoi*] which runs far out to sea, and many people live on it, and opposite that cape are islands in the sea with many inhabitants, and we your servants, who were with Semeon Deshnef, know that cape

⁵²⁵ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnovo Prosveschenia*, December, 1890, 303.

⁵²⁶ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 6.

and islands and saw the people. It is not that cape which is the first Sviatoi Nos from the Koluima River, and from the Anaduir River to that Large Cape and islands is far. In 1654 the hunter Yurya Selivestrof wrote to Jakutsk from the Anaduir to your woevods – that it was he and not we who first discovered that place – Yurya formerly went to sea with Staduchin, and this Staduchin was a long way from the Anaduir.

DESHNEF AND SEMENOF ⁵²⁷

In the year 1654 Selivestrof sent secretly a letter to Jakutsk . . . saying that he found the Korga, the sea-animals, and the walrus tusks, when he was with Michaelo Staduchin, and not we . . . Michaelo Staduchin did not come as far as the Bolshoi Kamennoi Nos, and that nos stretches out a long distance into the sea, and on this nos live many Chukchi. On the islands opposite that nos live people. They are called Zubati, because they insert in their lips two small bones. It is not the cape which is the first Sviatoi Nos from the Koluima, but that Bolshoi Nos we, Semeon and companions, know, because on that cape was wrecked the boat of Erasim Ankudinof and party, and we, Semeon and companions, took these wrecked people on our boats, and saw the Zubati people on the island, and from that nos to the Anaduir is far.

In the year 1653 we, Semeon, Mikita, and companions, cut down timber and wished to go with the tribute to Jakutsk by sea. And I, Semeon, and companions, seeing that the seas were heavy and rough near the shore, and not having the proper ship's tools, good anchors, and nails, we did not dare to go. The natives said that it is not every year that the shores are free from ice; we could not send the tribute across the mountains on account of the hostile natives.

⁵²⁷ *Dopolnenia K Aktam Istoricheskim*, vol. iv, doc. 7.



APPENDIX C

TRAITÉ DE NERTCHINSK ⁵²⁸

1. La rivière nommée Kerbetchi, qui est la plus proche de la rivière Chorna, appelée en Tartare Ourouon, et qui se décharge dans le fleuve Saghalien oula, servira de bornes aux deux Empires, et cette longue chaîne de montagnes, qui est au-dessous de la source de ladite rivière de Kerbetchi, et qui s'étend jusqu'à la mer orientale, servira aussi de bornes entre les deux Empires : ensorte que toutes les rivières, ruisseaux grands ou petits qui coulent de la partie méridionale de ces montagnes, et vont se jeter dans le fleuve de Saghalien oula, et toutes les terres et pays qui sont au sud du sommet desdites montagnes, apartiendront à l'Empire de la Chine, et que toutes les terres, pays, rivières et ruisseaux qui sont de l'autre côté du sommet des autres montagnes s'étendant vers le nord, demeureront à l'Empire de Moscovie, avec cette clause néanmoins que tout le pays qui est immédiatement entre ladite chaîne de montagnes et la rivière nommée Oudi, demeurera indécis, jusqu' à ce que les Ambassadeurs des deux partis étant retournés dans leur pays, ayent pris les informations et les connoissances nécessaires pour traiter de cet article, après quoi on décidera l'affaire, ou par les Ambassadeurs, ou par les lettres.

De plus, la rivière nommée Ergoné, qui se décharge aussi dans le fleuve Saghalien ou la, servira des bornes entre les deux Empires : ensorte que toutes les terres et pays qui sont au sud de ladite rivière d'Ergoné apartiendront à l'Empereur de la Chine : et tout ce qui est au nord demeurera à l'Empire de Moscovie. Toutes les maisons et habitations qui sont présentement au sud de ladite rivière d'Ergoné à l'embouchure de la rivière de Meritken, seront transportées de l'autre côté sur le bord septentrional de l'Ergoné.

2. La forteresse bâtie par les Moscovites dans le lieu nommé Yacsa, sera entièrement démolie, et tous les sujets de l'Empire de Moscovie

⁵²⁸ Du Halde, J. B. *Description . . . de la Chine* (A La Haye, 1736), tome iv, 242. — ORIG.

APPENDIX C

TREATY OF NERTCHINSK ⁵²⁹

1. The river named Kerbechi, which is next to the River Shorna, called, in Tartarian, Urwon, and falls into the Saghalian, shall serve for bounds to both empires: and that long chain of mountains which is below the source of the said River Kerbechi, and extends as far as the Eastern Sea, shall serve also as bounds to both empires; insomuch that all the rivers and brooks, great or small, which rise on the southern side of those mountains, and fall into Saghalian, with all the lands and countries from the top of the said mountains southward shall belong to the Empire of China; and all the lands, countries, rivers and brooks which are on the other side of the other mountains extending northward, shall remain to the Empire of Russia; with this restriction nevertheless, that all countries lying between the said chain of mountains and the River Udi shall continue undecided, till the ambassadors of both powers on their return home shall have gotten proper informations and instructions to treat of this article; after which the affair shall be decided either by amassadors or letters. Moreover, the River Ergone, which falls also into the Saghalian ula, shall serve for bounds to the two empires; so that all the lands and countries lying to the south thereof shall appertain to the Emperor of China, and whatever lies to the north of it shall remain to the Empire of Russia. All the houses and dwellings, which are at present to the south of the said Ergone at the mouth of the River Meritken, shall be removed to the north side of the Ergone.

2. The fortress built by the Russians, in the place called Yaksa, shall be entirely demolished, and all the subjects of the Empire of

⁵²⁹ Du Halde, J. B. *Description of the Empire of China* (London, 1741), vol. ii, 314-315.

qui demeurent dans ladite forteresse, seront ramenez avec tous leurs effets sur les terres appartenantes à la couronne de Moscovie.

Les chasseurs des deux Empires ne pourront, pour quelque cause que ce soit, passer au-delà de ces bornes ainsi déterminées.

Que s'il arive qu'une ou deux personnes de petite conséquence fassent quelques excursions au-delà des limites, soit pour chasser, soit pour voler ou piller, on les prendra aussi-tôt, et on les menera aux Gouverneurs et aux Officiers établis sur les frontières des deux Empires, et lesdites Gouverneurs informez de la qualité du crime, les puniront comme ils le mériteront.

Que si des gens assemblez jusqu'au nombre de six ou de quinze vont en armes chasser ou piller sur les terres qui sont au-delà de leurs limites, ou s'ils tuent quelques sujets de l'autre couronne, on en informera les Empereurs des deux Empires, et tous ceux qui seront trouvez coupables de ce crime, seront punis de mort, et on ne suscitera point de guerre pour quelque excès que ce puisse être de personnes particulières, beaucoup moins agira-t-on par voye de fait en répandant du sang.

3. Tout ce qui s'est passé jusqu' à présent, de quelque nature qu'il puisse être, sera enseveli dans un éternel oubli.

4. Depuis le jour que cette paix éternelle entre les deux Empires aura été jurée, on ne recevra aucun transfuge ou déserteur de part ni d'autre: mais si quelque sujet d'un des deux Empires s'enfuit dans les terres de l'autre, il sera aussi-tôt pris et renvoyé.

5. Tous les sujets de la couronne de Moscovie, qui sont présentement dans l'Empire de la Chine, et tous ceux de la couronne de la Chine qui sont présentement dans l'Empire de Moscovie, demeureront dans l'état où ils sont.

6. Ayant égard au présent traité de paix et d'union réciproque entre les deux couronnes, toutes sortes de personnes de quelque condition qu'elles puissent être, pourront aller et venir réciproquement, avec toute sorte de liberté, des terres sujettes à l'un des deux Empires dans celles de l'autre, pourvû qu'ils ayent des patentes par lesquelles il conste qu'ils viennent avec permission: et il leur sera permis de vendre et d'acheter tout ce qu'ils jugeront à propos, et de faire un commerce réciproque.

Russia, now dwelling in the said fortress, shall be transported with all their effects upon the lands appertaining to the crown of Russia. The hunters of the respective empires may not, upon any account whatever, pass beyond the bounds settled as above. That in case one or two ordinary persons should happen to make excursions beyond the limits, either to hunt, steal, or plunder, they shall be immediately seized and brought before the governors and officers established on the frontiers of both empires; and the said governors after being informed of the nature of the crime, shall punish them according to their deserts. That if people assembled, to the number of ten or fifteen, shall go armed to hunt or pillage on the land beyond their limits, or shall kill any subject belonging to either crown, the emperors of both empires shall be informed thereof, and those found guilty of the crime shall be put to death: but no excess whatever committed by private persons shall kindle a war, much less shall blood be shed by violent means.

3. Every thing that has passed hitherto, of what nature soever it may be, shall be buried in everlasting oblivion.

4. From the day that this perpetual peace between both empires shall be sworn to, neither side shall receive any fugitive or deserter: But if any subject of either empire shall fly into the territories of the other, he shall be immediately secured and sent back.

5. All the subjects of the crown of Russia, who are at present in the Empire of China, and all those belonging to the crown of China who are in the Empire of Russia, shall remain as they are.

6. Regard being had to the present Treaty of Peace and Mutual Union between the two crowns, all persons, of what condition soever they be, may go and come reciprocally, with full liberty, from the territories subject to either empire into those of the other, provided they have passports by which it appears that they come with permission; and they shall be suffered to buy and sell whatever they think fit, and carry on a mutual trade.

APPENDIX D ^{529a}

EUROPEAN OPINION REGARDING KOZIREFSKI

Les Nouvelles de Moscou portent qu'un certain religieux nommé Ignace Kosirevsky est arrivé de Sibirie il s'est arrêté pendant plusieurs années à Kamchatka ou il a fait bâtir le couvent des Hermites. Il a fait aussi plusieurs recherches dans le pays et hors du pays, de sorte qu'on peut espérer de lui plusieurs choses de ce pays tant par rapport à l'histoire qu'à la situation aux habitans et à d'autres particularitez. Il est d'une famille pollonoise, mais né et élevé à Iakutskoi, ou son grand Pere Fedor Kosirevski fut envoyé en esclavage sous le czar Alexe Michalowitz du tems des guerres avec la Pologne. Son Pere Pierre Kosirevski et le Religieux Ignace (qui s'appeloit avant que d'entre dans l'ordre, Iwan Petrovitz Kesirevski) et plusieurs autres personnes furent envoyées par ordre du Dumnoi Diak de la Pricase Siberienne Anoré [?] Wimius, par le Palatin de Iakutskoi Dorosé Traurnicht dans le pays de Kamchatka à l'an 1700 pour réduire sous la puissance des Russes et rendre tributaires tout les habitans du pays de meme que ceux des pays voisins. Apres donc qu'ils eurent soumis Les Contreés d'Anadirski de Kuracki et d'autres nations qui confinent ils pallissaderent l'an 1702 dans le Kamchatka au dessus du fleuve de ce nom, et l'année suivante au dessous, deux endroits comme ostrogs (fortresses) ou ils mirent en sureté les tribus qu'ils avoient recus jusques la et mirent en otage des Sudskes [?] nations les principaux et ceux du pays de Kamchatka. Ils appelerent la premiere astrog (Pallisade) Verkhnei Kamchatskoi Ostrog et l'autre Nishnei Kamchatskoi Ostrog; mais le pere Pierre Kosirevski fut tué, l'an 1708 dans une isle voisine. Apres cela en 1711, 1712, 1713 et 1714 Ignace Kosirevski recut ordre de Iakutskoi de se bien informer des limites de ces pays et sur tout du Kamchatkoi Nos, et des isles voisines de s'enquerir sous quelle puissance sont toutes les nations qui se trouvent la et d'obliger a payer le tribut tous ceux qui n'ont pas proprem't de Souverain et de s'informer autant qu'il est

^{529a} *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 2, B.

APPENDIX D

EUROPEAN OPINION REGARDING KOZIREFSKI

There is news from Moscow that a monk by the name of Ignatius Kozirefski has arrived from Siberia. He has spent many years in Kamchatka where he built a convent for monks. He has made researches in the country so that one has a right to expect important information from him about that region, inhabitants, history and other subjects connected therewith. He is of a Polish family but was born and brought up at Jakutsk where his grandfather Fedor Kozirefski was sent as a slave by the Czar Alexe Michaelowitz in the time of the Polish wars. His father Peter Kozirefski and the monk Ignatius (whose name before becoming a monk was Iwan Petrowitz Kozirefski) and many others were ordered by the Dumnoi Diak of the Sibirski Prikaz, Anorei [?] Wimius, through the woewod [?] of Jakutsk, Dorosei Traurnicht, to Kamchatka about the year 1700 to reduce to Russian subjection and tributaries all the inhabitants of Kamchatka and of the neighboring countries. After having subdued the Koriaks and the other tribes of the Anaduir region they built a fort in the year 1702 in Kamchatka on the headwaters of the river of that name. The following year they put up one lower down that stream. In these two ostrogs they placed for safe keeping the tribute which they had collected up to that time also the principal men of the Sudski [Chukchi (?)] and Kamchadels as hostages. They named the first fort Upper Kamchatka Ostrog and the second Lower Kamchatka Ostrog. In the year 1708 Peter Kozirefski was killed on an island near Kamchatka. During the years 1711, 1712, 1713, and 1714 Ignatius Kozirefski had orders from Jakutsk to make investigations as to the extent of the country and especially of Kamchatka Cape and the near by islands, to inquire to what government all these peoples owe allegiance and to force all those to pay tribute who have no sovereign, to inform himself as much as possible regarding Japan,

possible du pais du Japon de quelle maniere on pourroit y arriver, quelles armes ont les habitans et comment ils font la guerre, si on peut croire qu'ils entreroient en amitie, et en commerce avec la nation Russe, et quelles marchandises ils auroient bien besoin de Syberie. Il est informé exactement de toutes ces choses en partie lui meme, pendant les voyages qu'il a fait sur mer et sur terre, en partie par les gens qu'il a envoyés dans ce pais; de sorte qu'il peut donner beaucoup de nouvelles tres curieuses du cours de la mer vers le Japon et des isles qu'il faut passer, pareillem't de la ville Matmei ou Matsmei qui est située sur la derniere de ces isles. Il a eu aussi plusieurs recontres avec les habitans meridionaux du, pais du Kamchatka avant que de les pouvoir mettre sous l'obeissance; mais il les a toujours heureusem't vaincu et enfin ayant imposé un tribut à ceux qui restoient, et pris d'eux des otages; il fit fortifier de nouveau avec des pallisades un endroit nommé Bolshoiretskoi Ostrog sur la grande riviere appellée Bolchaia Reka qui se jette dans la Mer Pensinskoi ou il a fait batir un port de mer pour la navigation. L'an 1715 il fit batir a ses depens, touché par les prieres des pauvres de la Colonie, des Invalides, des Veillards, des malades, des blesses et d'autres personnes hors de service, une maison de prieres et chapelle de l'Ascension de Marie et un couvent, sur le fleuve de Kamchatka dans un endroit desert, dans lequel, il se fit l'an 1718 religieux, et changea son nom de Bateme Ivan pour prendre celui de l'ordre Ignace. Le Tribut qui paient les Kamtchadeles aux revenues de l'Empereur, consiste en peaux de Zibelines de Renards, et de Castors. Il a aussi apporté des nouvelles très certaines d'une Montagne nommé Sopka (c'est à dire volcan) située pres du fleuve Kamchatka, laquelle jette de feu et d'ou il sort de la fumée des charbons ardents et de la cendre, de meme que d'autres endroits tres remarquable.

the way thither, what weapons the inhabitants have and how they wage war, whether there might be reason to believe that they would be willing to enter into friendly and commercial relations with the Russians, and the kind of merchandise from Siberia they might be willing to buy. He is fully informed on all these points, partly through his own efforts by making voyages by land and sea, and partly through the efforts of others whom he sent into those regions. He is in a position to give some very interesting information on the course to be sailed in going to Japan and the islands one would have to pass on the way, also regarding the city of Matmei or Matsmei which is situated on the last one of these islands. He has had several fights with the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka before he could bring them under his control, fortunately he has always been successful and he has been able to impose tribute on them and make them give hostages. He rebuilt a second time Bolsheretsk Ostrog on the River Bolshaja Reka which flows into the Penjinsk Sea. He also constructed a port for navigation. Moved by the sufferings and prayers of the poor, invalids, aged, sick, wounded, and others unfit for labor, he erected at his own expense a church and chapel, dedicated to the Ascension of Mary, and a convent. These buildings were located on a deserted spot on the River Kamchatka. In the year 1718 he became a monk and changed his baptismal name Iwan for that of the order Ignatius. The tribute which the Kamchadels pay to the emperor consists of sable, fox, and beaver skins. He has also brought very definite information about a volcano situated near the Kamchatka River which emits fire, smoke, hot coals and ashes. There are other very remarkable places of which he tells.

APPENDIX E

NAVIGATION ET DECOUVERTES FAITES PAR LES RUSSES DANS LA MER ORIENTALE ENTRE LES DEUX VOIAGES DU CAPITAINE BEERINGS VERS LES ANNÉES 1731 ET 1732 ⁵⁸⁰

NOUVELLES CONNOISSANCES SUR LES TERRES ORI- ENTALES DONNÉES PAR MR. FEODOR IVANITCH SOIMONOF LE 1 MARS, 1738 ⁵⁸¹

Le Capitain commandeur Beerings à son retour de son premier voyage a recontré 10 matelots qui etoient envoiez pour la mer orientale lesquels se sont embarquez sur le vaissau qu'a laissé à Okhota le capitaine Beerings ils ont été sur ce bateau au Camchat et par la mesme route qui le capitaine Beerings avoit suivi et mesme audela et ils ont fait la decouverte des deux golfes A B, et ensuite tirant à l'est ils ont trouvé l'Isle C et une grande terre D à une demi journee de distance de la terre F. etant aupres de cette grande terre il est venu à eux un homme dans un petit batiment semblable à ceux des groenlandois et lui aiant demandé dans quel pais ils etoient il ne leur a pas pû dire si ce n'est que c'etoit un grand pais; ou il y avoit beaucoup de fourures. ils ont parcoru la côte D E de ce pais pendant deux jours allant au Sud; mais lorsquils tachoient d'y débarquer ils ont été assailis d'une rude tempete qui les a ramenés au camchat; ils ont aussi parcouru les isles qui sont à la pointe meridional du Camchat et ont été jusqu'à la grande isle qui est vis à vis de l'embouchure de la riviere d'Amour ils ont débarque dans cette isle et y ont trouvé 3 Russes qui etoient prisonniers par les Tartars habitans de cette isle; ils les ont emmenes avec eux et sont revenus sur les côtes de la mer orientale au nord de l'embouchure de la riviere d'Amour et enfin à Okhota. le pilote Russe qui a fait cette navigation pendant 2 etes consecutif [?] etant mort a été succédé par un Allemand qui a pris son journal et est venu à Tobolsk avec les matelots; mais ayiant eu

⁵⁸⁰ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 16.

⁵⁸¹ — *Ibid.*, 16, A.

APPENDIX E

NAVIGATION AND DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE RUS- SIANS IN THE EASTERN OCEAN [PACIFIC] BE- TWEEN THE TWO VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN BEERINGS DURING THE YEARS 1731 AND 1732

NEW INFORMATION REGARDING THE EASTERN LANDS FURNISHED BY MR. FEODOR IVANITCH SOIMONOF, MARCH 1, 1738

The Captain-commander Beerings on his return from his first voyage met ten sailors who were sent to the Eastern Ocean. They went on board the boat left by Captain Beerings and, following his route, they went to Kamchatka and even beyond that where they discovered two gulfs A, B. From there they steered east and found the island C and a large body of land D, a half days distance from the land F. While they were near this land there came to them a man in a small boat similar to those of Greenland. He was asked what country that was and whether there were any fur-bearing animals, but he could not give them any satisfactory information. For two days they sailed along the coast D E of this country going in a southerly direction. They attempted to make a landing but a storm came up forcing them back to Kamchatka. They cruised also among the islands at the southern part of Kamchatka and came as far as the large island opposite the mouth of the river Amur. They landed on the island and found among the Tartars, who inhabit this place, three Russian captives. Taking them along they sailed for the Eastern Ocean, north of the Amur River, and finally to Okhotsk. The Russian pilot, who was engaged in this navigation for two consecutive summers, died, and he was succeeded by a German who, with his journal and sailors, came to Tobolsk. They got into a fight and

du bruit entre'eux l'on a envoyé de Tobolsk à Petersbourg l'un de ces matelots pour etre jugé et examiné, c'est lui qui aiant été mis a la question a fait le rapport susdit; surquoy le College del'Amirauté pour etre mieux informé de toute cette affaire a envoyé un ordre à Tobolsk (depuis peu de jours) pour faire venir à Petersbourg l'allemand avec son journal et les autres à l'occasion du rapport cydessus que m'a fait Mr. Soimonof. il m'a dit que l'on n'a pas sceu comprendre ici comment le capitaine Beerings qui dans son premier voyage a parcouru par mer la pointe meridionale du Camchat depuis Bolchia-reka jusqu'à Kamchatka Gouba et comment disje il n'a fait aucun mention du observation des petites isles qui sont à la pointe meridionale du Camchat quisque ces isles se voient mesme des côtes du Camchat à ce qu'a rapporté le Capitaine Schpanberg qui a fait la mesme route que le Capitaine Beerings et qui a mesme dit que les habitans de ces Isles paioient tribut à S. M. I.

one of the sailors was sent from Tobolsk to St. Petersburg for trial, and, when questioned, he gave the information just mentioned. The Admiralty College wishing to know more about this discovery sent an order to Tobolsk (only a few days ago) that the German with his journal and all others connected with this voyage should come to the capital. Mr. Soimonof said that it is hard to understand why Captain Beerings, who in his first voyage sailed in the waters south of Kamchatka – from Bolshaja Reka to Kamchatka Gulf, made no mention of these islands south of Kamchatka; it would seem that, according to the report of Captain Spanberg, who was over the same waters as Captain Beerings, that these islands may be seen from Kamchatka and that the inhabitants even pay tribute to His Imperial Majesty.

APPENDIX F

MEMOIR PRESENTED TO THE SENATE WITH MAP WHICH BERING USED IN GOING TO AMERICA ⁸²²

Explication de la carte de la mer orientale dressée pour montrer le plus court chemin de l'Asie à l'Amérique. Lue à l'Académie l'an 1732.

Cette carte représente la véritable situation et distance des côtes orientales de l'Asie, connues jusqu'à présent, avec les terres de l'Amérique Septentrionale les plus voisines. Elle a été dressée pour faciliter la découverte du plus court chemin de l'Asie à l'Amérique.

La route la plus ordinaire que l'on a tenue jusqu'ici pour aller de l'Asie à l'Amérique a été des Philippines au Mexique, entre les parallèles de 10 et de 35 degrés de latitude septentrionale. Cette route est particulièrement fréquentée par les Espagnols à qui appartiennent les îles Philippines et le Mexique. Elle est d'environ 130 degrés en longitude, ce qui ne fait pas moins de 2500 lieues marines de 20 au degré, ou 13,000 wersts. Le Chemin de l'Asie à l'Amérique devient d'autant plus court que l'on s'approche, plus près du pôle septentrional, et que l'on part des terres de l'Asie plus orientale pour arriver aux plus occidentales de l'Amérique. Telle a été la route de Dom Jean de Gama en allant de la Chine à la nouvelle Espagne, et celle d'un vaisseau français nommé le St Antoine lequel est le premier qui a fait le retour de la nouvelle Espagne à la Chine. Ces deux routes sont un peu plus courtes que le route ordinaire des Philippines à la nouvelle Espagne: mais si l'on partoit de l'extrémité orientale des terres soumises à S. M. I. le chemin à l'Amérique seroit encore de beaucoup plus court.

Depuis le cap de l'Asie le plus avancé au nord-Est vis-à-vis lequel est parvenu M. le Capitaine Beerings, sous la hauteur de 67 degrés $\frac{1}{2}$ jusqu'aux terres les plus voisines de l'Amérique qui nous sont connues jusqu'à présent, il n'y a pas le plus court chemin que 600 lieues marines, ou un peu plus de 5000 wersts, ce qui n'est pas le

⁸²² *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 14.

APPENDIX F

MEMOIR PRESENTED TO THE SENATE WITH MAP WHICH BERING USED IN GOING TO AMERICA

Explanation of the map of the eastern sea which was prepared for the purpose of showing the nearest way from Asia to America. Read at the Academy in the year 1732.

This map represents the true situation and distance of the eastern shores of Asia, known up to the present time, with that part of the continent of North America which is nearest to it. This map was made for the purpose of helping in the discovery the shortest route between Asia and America.

The course which has usually been sailed until now, in going from Asia to America, has been from the Philippines to Mexico, between the parallels ten and thirty-five degrees north latitude. This route has been made use of especially by the Spaniards to whom belong the Philippine Islands and Mexico. It is about one hundred thirty degrees in longitude, which would make not less than two thousand five hundred marine leagues of twenty to the degree, or thirteen thousand wersts. The course between Asia and America becomes shorter as one approaches the north pole, and between the most easterly part of Asia and the extreme western point of America. Such was the course of Dom Jean de Gama in going from China to New Spain, and this was also true of a French boat, the St. Antoine, which was the first to make the return voyage from New Spain to China. These two routes are somewhat shorter than the one usually made use of in going from the Philippines to New Spain: but if one should sail from the easternmost territories of His Imperial Majesty the route to America would be still shorter.

From the most northeasterly cape of Asia, which Captain Beerings had reached, in sixty-seven and one-third degrees, to the nearest American territory, which is known to us at the present time, the shortest way is about six hundred marine leagues, or a little more than five thousand [three thousand?] wersts, which is less than one-

quart de la longueur des deux routes marquées cidessus. Il est vrai que l'on ignore si ce sont des terres ou des mers qui se rencontrent dans ce plus court trajet de l'Asie à l'Amérique, personne n'y aiant encore été, à moins que ceux qui en ont quelque connoissance n'aient voulu la tenir secrète pour en profiter seuls à l'exclusion des autres nations.

Comme l'on ne connoit point non plus jusqu'où s'étendent au Nord-Ouest les terres de l'Amérique Septentrionale il se pourroit faire qu'elles s'approcheroient de l'Asie, de sorte qu'il n'y auroit entre l'Asie et l'Amérique que de petits trajets de mer qui se pourroient peut être faire aisément avec de mediocres bâtimens, en prenant les tems propres.

Cette conjecture d'un chemin assez court et peutêtre facile entre l'Asie et l'Amérique n'est pas sans fondement, après les indices que M le Capitaine Beerings a apperçus des terres voisines à la côte Nord-Est de l'Asie, qu'il a parcouru dans son premier voiage, entre les parallèles de 50 et de 60 degrés Ces indices sont, 1° de n'avoir trouvé en s'éloignant de ces côtes que peu de profondeur, et des vagues basses, telles que l'on les trouve ordinairement dans des détroits ou bras de mer, bien différentes des hautes vagues que l'on trouve sur les côtes exposées à une mer fort étendue.

2° d'avoir trouvé des pins et autres arbres deracinés amenés par le vent d'Est, au lieu qu'il n'en croit point dans le Kamtchatka.

3° d'avoir appris des gens du país que le vent d'Est peut amener en 2 ou 3 jours les glaces, au lieu qu'il faut 4 ou 5 jours de vent d'Ouest pour emporter les glaces de la côte Nord-Est de l'Asie.

4° Que de certains oiseaux viennent regulierement tous les ans dans les mêmes mois du côté de l'Est, et qu'après avoir passé quelques mois sur les côtes de l'Asie, ils s'en retournent aussi regulierement dans la même saison.

A ces indices remarqués par M. le Capitaine Beerings, on peut ajouter quelques autres preuves de vraisemblance que l'inspection de la carte peut fournir. Par exemple ces côtes vues par Dom Jean de Gama, que j'ai placées vis-à-vis du Kamtchatka font peutêtre partie d'un grand continens qui seroit contigu à l'Amérique, et qui irois rejoindre au Nord de la Californie la côte Septentrionale de l'entrée decouverte par Martin d'Aguillar: au moins trouve-t'on dans quelques anciennes cartes une longue côtemarquée dans tous ce trajet, ce qui sans doute n'a pas été fais sans raisons, quoique nous ne les sachions

fourth of the length of the two routes mentioned above. Whether one would meet with new lands or new seas on this short route between Asia and America it is not easy to say because no one has ever been there, or if they have they have kept the matter secret so that they only might profit by this information and keep other nations out.

One is equally in the dark as to how far in a northwesterly direction North America extends, it is quite possible that it approaches close to Asia, so that there is only a very short distance between the two continents and that it would be easy to go from one to the other in an ordinary boat during fair weather.

This assumption of a short and possible easy route between Asia and America is not without some foundation, if we take into consideration the signs of land near northeastern Asia which Captain Beerings noticed between the parallels fifty and sixty degrees while he was on his first voyage. These signs are:

(1) At some distance from the shore he found the water rather shallow and the waves small just as in straits or arm of the sea, quite different from the high waves which one meets with along the coast that is washed by a large sea.

(2) He saw uprooted fir and other trees which were brought by the east wind, which trees are not seen in Kamchatka.

(3) From the natives of the country he learned that an eastern wind brings ice in two or three days, while it takes a western wind four or five days to carry off the ice from northeast Asia.

(4) That certain birds come regularly every year about the same month from the east and after having passed several months on the Asiatic shore they return with the same regularity the same season.

In addition to the evidences brought out by Captain Beerings, there are others of equal value which one may gather by looking at the map. For example the shores seen by Dom Jean de Gama, which I have located opposite Kamchatka, are perhaps a part of a large continent contiguous to America, joining it north of California at the entrance discovered by Martin d'Aguillar. On the old charts one finds indicated a long shore line on this course. There must have been some reason for this, although we do not know what it is

pas, et que les Geographes modernes ne s'y soient pas conformés : mais l'expérience journaliere nous apprend que l'on est quelquefois obligé de revenir à des anciennes opinions que l'on avoit abandonnées.

De plus, si l'on considere sur la carte tous ces golfes et Bayes, comme de Hudson, de Baffins, de Davis, decouvertes en differens tems par ces courageaux navigateurs qui cherchoient le passage le plus court de l'Europe à l'Asie par le Nord-Ouest et dans lequel ils n'ont pas reussi; en considerant dis je de quelle maniere ce passage est fermé par toutes ces côtes que l'on voit sur ma carte, l'on ne peut que s'imaginer que ces côtes sont les bornes d'un continent qui peutêtre s'étend considerablement à l'Ouest et au Nord, et qui par consequent s'approche beaucoup de l'extremité de l'Asie qu'a parcourue M. le Capitaine Beerings dans son premier voiage.

Si ce continent supposé s'étendoit assez pour rejoindre vis-à-vis du Kamtchatka les côtes vues par Dom Jean de Gama, ce seroit alors le long des côtes de l'Asie qu'a parcourues M. le Capitaine Beerings qu'il faudroit placer le detroit d'Anian.

Je ne veus pas soutenir l'existence du detroit d'Anian qui est peutêtre imaginaire; mais on ne peut pas douter qu'il n'y ais quelque part entre L'Asie et l'Amerique un detroit considerable quel qu'il soit.

Varenius dans sa Geographie generale en donne la preuve suivante: Que dans la partie de la mer pacifique qui est entre la Tartarie et les côtes occidentales de l'Amerique Septentrionale, à 700 milles du Japon, on trouve un courant du Nord et du Nord-Ouest, quoique dans le même tems le vent souffle d'un côté opposé; mais que 100 miles avant que d'être aux côtes de la nouvelle Espagne, ce courant ne se trouve plus. On ajoute à cella que dans les 700 milles, on trouve beaucoup de baleines et de ces poissons que les Espagnols appellent albacares, bonites, etc., et poisson qui se voient d'ordinaire auprès des détroits, de sorte que l'on peut juger qu'ils viennent de ce detroit, etc.

Sur tous les indices que j'ai rapportés cidessus, sans pretendre rien prescrire, l'on pourroit proposer differents routes pour faire la decouverte de ces terres les plus voisines de l'Asie à son orient.

and modern geographers do not see fit to accept this view. Experience, however, teaches us every day that it is often necessary to go back to the opinions of the ancients which had at one time been abandoned.

Moreover, on looking at the map one will note all the bays and gulfs, such as the Hudson, Baffins, Davis, discovered at various times by these brave navigators who were seeking a short passage from Europe to Asia through the northwest and in which efforts they failed. If you take all these things into consideration and the way in which this passage is closed, as may be seen on my map, you will be more or less forced to imagine that these shores are the limits of some continent which extends perhaps to the west and north, and which therefore comes very close to the extreme eastern part of Asia where Captain Beerings was on his first voyage.

If the supposition is correct and there is a continent stretching out far enough [to the west and north] to join opposite Kamchatka the shores which were seen by Dom Jean de Gama, it follows then that the Anian Strait should be located along the coast of Asia where Captain Beerings sailed.

I do not insist that there is an Anian Strait, which is perhaps wholly imaginary, but one can not help feeling that somewhere between Asia and America there must be an important strait, whatever its character may be.

Varenus in his general work on geography gives these reasons [for believing in the existence of a strait]: in that part of the Pacific Ocean which is between Tartarie and the western part of North America, about seven hundred miles from Japan, the current sets from the north and from the northwest, although at the same time the wind blows from an opposite quarter; but when within one hundred miles of the shores of New Spain this current is no longer felt. An additional proof on this subject is that within these seven hundred miles there are to be found whales and fish which the Spaniards call albacares, bonites, etc., fish which are ordinarily found in neighborhood of straits, so that one may reasonably suppose that they come from this strait, etc.

Taking into consideration all the evidence I have given above, one could, without any pretensions at finality, suggest several different courses to be sailed in order to discover the lands east of and nearest to Asia.

1° Si l'on s'avançoit jusqu'au terme de l'Asie le plus septentrional et le plus orientale en même tems, jusqu'où est parvenu M. le Capitaine Beerings, l'on pourroit ne pas manquer d'arriver à l'Amerique quelque route que l'on prenne entre le Nord-Est et le Sud-Est, en ne faisant pas 600 lieues, au plus.

2° Sans s'avancer si avant, il seroit peutêtre plus aisé de partir du lieu de la côte orientale du Kamtchatka où M. le Capitaine Beerings a apperçu des indices dont j'ai parlé cidevant d'une terre voisine à son orient, aller reconnoitre cette terre et la suivre, etc.

3° On pourroit peutêtre trouver encore plus promptement et avec plus de certitude les terres vues par Dom Jean de Gama, en les cherchant au sud du Kamtchatka. Ces terres, comme l'on voit sur la carte sont à l'orient de la terre de la Compagnie, qui a été decouverte l'an 1643 par des vaisseaux Hollandois qui en ont pris possession au nom des Etats d'Hollande. Mais je n'ai pas su que l'on ait fais descente aux terres vues par Dom Jean de Gama, ni par consequent que l'on en ait pris possession.

Je suis bien fâché de n'avoir pu trouver ici d'autres connoissances de ces terres vues par Dom Jean de Gama, que se que j'en ai marqué dans la carte, d'après les dernieres cartes de feu mon frere, premier Geographe du Roi très Chretien; mais comme il en a marqué la situation à l'égard de la terre de la Compagnie et de la terre d'Yeço, et que je suis certain d'ailleurs de la situation de ces deux dernieres terres vues par Dom Jean de Gama a l'égard du Kamtchatka, je ne doute pas que ces terres vues par Dom Jean de Gama ne doivent être à l'endroit marqué sur la carte.

Sur les deux premieres routes que je vient d'indiquer pour la decouverte des terres inconnues qui sont entre l'Asie et l'Amerique, je n'ai rien à ajouter à ce que j'ai dit cidevant: mais à l'égard de la troisieme, si l'on veut la tenter par la terre d'Yeço et la terre de la Compagnie, en passant entre ces deux terres et l'isle des Etats qui est au milieu, je peus fournir pour cette navigation toutes les connoissances dont on peut avoir besoin pour ne pas s'y tromper. Il me reste à marquer ici sur quels fondemens j'ai placé cette terre d'Yeço dans ma carte, de même que tous les autres pais situés à cette extrémité orientale de l'Asie.

Les terres qui sont de côté de l'Asie, colorées de rouge, sont de la domination de la Chine, sous laquelle j'ai compris le royaume de Corée vassal tributaire de la Chine, et tout ce pais de Tartars Orien-

(1) If one should start from the most northerly and at the same time the most easterly point of Asia, that is about the neighborhood reached by Captain Beerings, he could not fail to come to America provided he steered a course between northeast and southeast, and putting it at the very highest figure the distance would not be more than six hundred leagues.

(2) Without even going so far, it might perhaps be more easy to sail from that part of the eastern coast of Kamchatka where Captain Beerings noticed to the east of him those signs of land of which I have spoken, and to locate that land, examine it, etc.

(3) One could perhaps find more quickly and with more certainty the lands seen by Dom Jean de Gama by looking for them south of Kamchatka. These lands, as may be seen on the map, are east of the Company Land, which was discovered in the year 1643, by vessels belonging to the Dutch who took possession of them in the name of the States of Holland. But I am not aware that any one has ever been on the lands seen by Dom Jean de Gama, and, therefore, no one has as yet taken possession of them.

I am very sorry not to have been able to find here any other information regarding the lands seen by Dom Jean de Gama than which I have marked on the map, based on those of my late brother, first geographer of the very Christian king. But since he has located it with regard to Company Lands and Yeco Land and as I am certain of the situation of these two bodies of land in relation to Kamchatka, I am confident that the lands seen by Dom Jean de Gama should be where they are located on the map.

As to the first two routes of which I have just spoken, for the discovery of the unknown lands which are between Asia and America, I have nothing more to add to what has been said above. But in regards to the third, if one should wish to attempt it by way of Company Land and Yeco Land, by going between them and State Island which is in the middle, I am able to furnish for such a navigation all the necessary information so that no mistake might be made. I should like to explain here what my authority is for locating Yeco Land on my map, as well as all the other countries which are situated on this extreme eastern part of Asia.

The territories on the Asiatic side which are marked in red are under the control of China, among which I have included the kingdom of Korea, a tributary vassal of China, and all the region of

taux jusqu'aux limites des terres appartenantes à S. M. I. de toute les Russies. Je me suis servi de la couleur verte pour marquer sur cette extrémité orientale tout ce qui a été decouvert et soumis à la Russie. Je ne me suis attaché qu'a en decrire les cotes; mais elles y sont exactement tracées. Celles de la Chine et de pais dépendans ont été marquées d'après les cartes de la Chine; et les côtes des pais soumis à la Russie ont été marquées d'apres la carte et les operations de M. le Capitaine Beerings dans sa premiere expedition. Les cartes de la Chine dont je me suis servi sont rapportées au meridien de Pekin, dont la situation à l'égard du meridien de Petersbourg m'est exactement connue par plusieurs observations des Satellites de Jupiter faites de part et d'autre; et comme l'on sais aussi, part un grand nombre d'observations faites à Petersbourg la situation de son meridien à l'égard du premier meridien qui passe par l'isle de fer, j'y ai pu rapporter les cartes de la Chine.

C'est à ce premier meridien qui passe par l'isle de fer que je me suis réglé pour marquer toutes les longitudes de ma carte. Pour ce qui est de la longitude du Kamtchatka et des côtes voisines j'ai pu aussi la rapporter au meridien de l'isle de fer, par l'examen que j'ai fait des deux eclipses de Lune observées au Kamtchat par M. le Capitaine Beerings et par ses gens dans sa premiere expedition, et que j'ai comparées avec les mêmes observations faites en Europe, etc.

Du Côté de l'Asie, j'ai peint en jaune les isles qui composent l'empire du Japon, et en bleu la terre d'Yeço et les autres isles et terres voisines decouvertes par les Hollandois, Japonnais et autres.

La situation du Japon est assez bien connue par la distance où l'on sait qu'il est de la Corée. L'on est aussi assuré de l'entendue et de la situation entre elles de toutes les isles qui composent l'empire du Japon, et cela par les observations, cartes et memoires des Missionnaires Jesuites, du tems qu'ils prêchoient l'Evangele dans cet empire; et depuis qu'ils en ont été chassés l'on a les Memoires des Hollandois; et en dernier lieu ceux de Kemfer assurent encore la situation géographique de cet empire et de ses dependances. Pour ce qui est de la terre d'Yeço ou d'Eso, de l'isle des Etats et de la terre de la Compagnie que j'ai marquées au nord du Japon, entre cet empire et le Kamtchatka j'ai suivi les cartes Hollandoises où ces pais sont marqués d'après le journal de marine de la navigation qui y a été faite par les Hollandois, l'an 1643.

Les Hollandois n'ont pas publié le journal même de cette naviga-

Eastern Tartary as far as the possessions of His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias. The territory in this far east which is marked in green has been discovered and conquered by Russia. I have made no attempt to do anything more than mark the coast line but this is accurately done. The coasts of China and dependent countries are traced after Chinese maps, and those of regions belonging to Russia are based on the surveys made by Captain Beerings in his first expedition. The Chinese maps which I used follow the meridian of Peking, the relation between this meridian and that of St. Petersburg is known to me through several observations of the satellites of Jupiter made at different times, and since one knows also, through a large number of observations made at St. Petersburg, the situation of its meridian in regard to the first meridian which passes through the island of Fer, I have been able to work from the Chinese maps.

In marking all the longitudes on my map I have been guided by this first meridian which passes through the isle of Fer. As to the longitude of Kamchatka and the neighboring regions I knew them also in relation to the meridian of the Isle of Fer. I worked this out by examining the two eclipses of the moon which were observed at Kamchatka by Captain Beerings and those with him on his first expedition, and by comparing them with the same observations made in Europe, etc.

On the Asiatic coast I have painted in yellow the islands which make up the empire of Japan, and in blue Yeco Land and all the other islands and adjoining territories discovered by the Dutch, Japanese, and others.

The position of Japan is sufficiently well known from the distance which separates it from Korea. The extent and the distance of the different Japanese islands from each other is also well known through the observations, maps, and memoirs of the Jesuit missionaries at the time when they preached the Gospel in that empire. Since their expulsion we have had the memoirs of the Dutch, and more recently those of Kemfer make clear the geographic situation of this empire and its dependencies. As to Yeco Land or Eso, State Island, and Company Land which I have located north of Japan, between that empire and Kamchatka, I have followed the Dutch maps on which these places are indicated after the journal of the navigation made by the Dutch in the year 1643.

The Dutch have not published the journal of the said navigation ;

tion : mais comme ils sont parti du cap Nabo ou de Gorée qui est à la partie la plus septentrionale du Japon, et qu'ils ont marqués sur leurs cartes la situation de la terre d'Yeço a l'égard de ce cap Nabo, cela m'a suffi pour placer exactement cette terre d'Yeço, l'isle des Etats, et la terre de la Compagnie d'après les cartes Hollandoises.

La côte de la terre d'Yeço qui regarde la Tartarie n'est pas terminée dans les cartes Hollandois mais j'ai tracé legerement cette côte en faisant de la terre d'Yeço une isle, et laissant un canal ou bras de mer entre cette côte d'Yeço et celle de Tartarie. J'ai trouvé un indice ou une preuve que cela devoit être ainsi, et cela par une des premieres relations que l'on a de la terre d'Yeço, dans laquelle il est dit qu'à l'occident de cette terre il ya un detroit que l'on ne peut passer à cause de la rapidité du courant, etc.

L'Etendue que j'ai donnée à la terre d'Yeço dans ma carte, ne contredit pas à la situation d'une grande isle que les cartes Chinoises mettent vis à vis de l'embouchure de la riviere d'Amour. Enfin cette même position d'étendue que j'ai donnée dans ma carte à la terre d'Yeço n'empêche pas que l'on ne puisse placer les petites isles que l'on voit sur ma carte peintes en verd, situées entre la terre d'Yeço et la pointre meridionale du Kamtchatka. Il est vrai que dans plusieurs cartes manuscrites que l'on a faites dans le pais sur differens rapports de gens qui ont été au Kamtchatka l'on marque à la place de ce petit tas d'isles une suite d'isles beaucoup plus grandes qui s'entendent depuis la pointe meridionale du Kamtchatka jusqu'au Japon ; mais comme ces cartes ne sont ni orientées ni réglées suivant les latitudes, et que d'ailleurs, par les observations et la carte du Geodist Evreinow l'on voit que ces isles n'occupent pas plus de deux degrés, c'est ce qui me les a fait placer ainsi dans ma carte, sans que leur situation contredisse à cette que j'avois donnée à la terre d'Yeço.

Dans les cartes Hollandoises la terre de la Compagnie n'est pas terminée à l'orient ; apparemment parceque les Hollandois n'y ont pas été : mais aiant trouvé dans les dernieres cartes de feu mon frere la terre de la Compagnie terminée à l'orient par une côte et par quelques isles, j'ai cru devoir le suivre en cela, jugeant bien qu'il ne l'aura pas fait sans fondement, quoiqu'il n'en paroisse pas fort assuré, puis qu'il n'a marqué cette côte orientale de la terre de la Compagnie et les isles adjacentes, que d'un trait leger, qui etoit la maniere dont il avoit coutume de se servir pour marquer ce dont il etoit moins assuré.

but as they sailed from Cape Nabo or Goree, which is the most northerly part of Japan, and as they have indicated on their maps the situation of Yeco Land in relation to Cape Nabo, I have been able to locate exactly this Yeco Land, State Island, and Company Land by following the Dutch charts.

The coast of Yeco Land in its relation to Tartary is not brought to an end on the Dutch maps, but I have traced lightly that coast in making of the Yeco Land an island, and leaving a channel or an arm of the sea between Yeco and Tartary. I have some reason or proof for believing that this is the true situation because in one of the earliest accounts which we have of this Yeco Land, it is said that on the west of it there is a strait which one is unable to pass on account of the rapidity of the current, etc.

The extent which I have marked of the Yeco Land in my map does not conflict with the position of a large island which the Chinese maps have opposite the mouth of the river Amur. Neither does the situation and extent which I give on my map to Yeco Land make it impossible to locate a number of small islands, which I have done, between Yeco Land and the southern point of Kamchatka. It is true that on many manuscript maps which one has made in the country, based on accounts of people who have been in Kamchatka, one has located, in place of this small group of islands, a chain of larger islands which reach out from the most southern point of Kamchatka to Japan. But as these maps are not constructed according to latitudes, and since, moreover, by the observations and map of the geodist Evreinof these islands do not take up more than two degrees, this is why I have located them in this manner on my map, their situation not necessarily conflicting with that which I have given to Yeco Land.

On the Dutch maps, Company Land has no limits on the east, probably because the Dutch have never been there. I have, however, found among the maps of my deceased brother that Company Land is limited on the east by a coast line and by several islands and in this I have followed him, knowing full well that he must have had good reason for his action, although it would seem that he was not very sure of his ground because the coast of Company Land and the adjacent islands he traced very faintly, which was his usual way of indicating that he was not very sure of his position.

APPENDIX G

RAPPORT EN RUSSE AVEC LA TRADUCTION SUR LES
HABITANS TROUVEZ LE 9/20 SEPTEMBRE 1741
DANS UN PORT AUPREZ DU KAMCHATKA AU
RETOUR DE VOYAGE QUE LE CAPITAINE
ALEXIS TCHIRIKOV ET MON FRERE †
ONT FAIT VERS L'AMERIQUE ⁵⁸⁸

On trouve à la fin le resultat avec la traduction du dernier endroit ou l'on s'etoit avancé dans le sus dit voyage.

Traduction

Le 9 Septembre (1741 anc style) la Latitude a été observée de 51° 12' et la Longitude 11° 54' 6'' le Rhombe du Vent du Sud-Est etoit 77 04, la distance 451 (ou 7° 31') a 8 heure du matin les brouillards étant un peu dissipés nous vimes une côte à la distance de 200 sagens; qui a des hautes Montagnes et des grandes herbes la vue etoit verte, mais nous ne vimes point de bois. Les endroits de cette côte vers la mer sont fort étroits, et il ya une grande quantité de pierres sur la côte et sous l'eau. Nous appercumes deux personnes qui alloient du nord vers de Midi sur l'herbe sous une haute montagne aupres d'un ruisseau, et il est vrai-semblable qu'ils nous ont vu, puisque ils venoit plus pres pour mieux examiner notre batiment, nous leur criames en Langue Russe et Kamtschatka pour venir chez nous, et vers le 9 heures nous entendimes une voix des personnes qui vennoient de la côte du se [?] vers notre Batiment, mais nous vimes point du Monde et on ne pouvoit point distinguer leur voix acause de la tempête, cependant nous leur criames toujours par une trompète et sans trompète en les priant de venir chez nous.

A 9 heures nous vimes venir vers notre Batiment 7 petits bateaux dans chacun de ces Bateaux il n'y avoit qu'une personne, la longueur de ces Bateaux etoit environ de 15 pieds, et la largeur de 3, le devant

† Louis Del'Isle De la Croyere. — ORIG.

⁵⁸⁸ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 21.

APPENDIX G

A REPORT IN RUSSIAN, WITH THE TRANSLATION, ON THE INHABITANTS FOUND ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1741 IN A PORT NEAR KAMCHATKA BY CAPTAIN ALEXIS CHIRIKOF AND MY BROTHER † IN THE VOYAGE WHICH THEY MADE TO AMERICA

At the end will be found, in translation, the situation of the place reached on the said voyage.

Translation

The ninth of September 1741 [old style], latitude fifty-one degrees, twelve minutes, longitude eleven degrees, fifty-four minutes, six seconds, the rhumb of the wind from the southeast being seventy-seven degrees, four minutes, the distance four hundred fifty-one (or seven degrees, thirty-one minutes), eight o'clock in the morning, when the fog had lifted somewhat we saw land about two hundred sajen from us. We could see mountains and tall green grass but no trees. The beach is very irregular and broken up, and there are many rocks above and below the water. We noticed two persons at the foot of a mountain walking on the grass alongside of a stream and advancing from north to south. They apparently observed us because they came closer towards us for the purpose of examining our boat. We called to them in the Russian and in the Kamchatka language to come to us, and towards nine o'clock we heard the voices of people who were coming from the shore towards our boat, but we could see no one and could not make out their voices on account of the storm. We, nevertheless, continued calling to them through a trumpet and without it to come to us.

About nine o'clock we saw approaching our ship seven small boats in each of which there was one person. The length of each of these boats was in the neighborhood of fifteen feet and the width three feet.

†Louis Del'Isle De la Croycere. — ORIG.

est fort pointu, et la poupe arondie, ils sont partout entourés de pean de chien marin ou d'autres. le tillac est arrondi, et couvert d'une même pean, à la poupe il ya un trou rond ou l'homme se met, qui est vetu d'une chemise avec un cocluchon faite des boiaux de Baléne ou d'autres Bêtes maritimes il y a des cordes de pois qui sont attachées au trou, avec lesquelles l'hommes se noue, et il y avoit cependant quelques uns qui n'étoient pas noués, ils avoient aussi autour d'eux des pierres dans les Bateaux, leurs rames sont doubles faites du bois de boulaou bien legerment, avec lesquelles ils rames des deux coté, ils vont dans cet bateaux tres hardiment et fort vit sans craindre les vagues les plus forts. Etant venu à la distance de 50 sagens de notre Batiment, ils commencerent tous à crier et a se tourner des deux côtés pas d'une maniere comme s'ils vouloient nous parler, mais comme les Jakouts et les Toungousses quand ils veulent sorceler, ce qui nous fit connoitre, que les personnes qui étoient venu chez nous faisoient des sorcelages suivant leur maniere, ou des prieres, afin que nous ne puissions pas leur faire aucun tord, mais on ne peut pas savoir positivement pour quoi ils ont criéz si epouvantablement, après avoir criés ainsi pendant une demi quart d'heure, ils commencerent à se parler d'une maniere ordinaire, dans ce tems la nous leur faissions des mines agrèables en leur faissant des reverences et donnant des signes pour les faire venir près de notre Batiment, cependant ils n'oserent pas venir plus près, ils faisoient des mouvemens des mains comme s'ils prepaioient des arcs, ce qui nous fit juger qu'ils crainisoient que nous ne fissions du efeux sur eux, ce qui fait que nous leur donnames à connoitre autant qu'il étoit possible, que nous leur ferons aucun tord, et en mettant nos mains sur la poitrine, nous leur fimes connoitre qu'ils seroient reçu par nous en ami, en meme tems j'ai jetté vers eux dans l'eau une tasse chinoise en les priant de la recevoir pour une marque d'amitie pour pouvoir mieux les attirer aupres de notre Batiment un parmi ces gens la prit la tasse et en faissant des mouvemens des mains, il fit comprendre qu'il n'en avoit pas besoin, et vouloit la rejeter sur notre Batiment, alors nous lui fimes des reverences en le priant de la garder pour lui, mais il la jetta dans l'eau. Apres cela j'ai ordonné de couper deux morceaux de satin, que j'ai jetté dans l'eau en les priant de venir près de notre batiment, ils prirent ces morceaux de satin et après les avoir gardé un peu de tems ils les rejetterent sans prendre rien pour eux. Ensuite j'ordonnoit d'apporter quelques Marchandises parmi les presens, savoir des

The prow is very pointed, the deck and the stern somewhat round and the whole covered with the skins of hair seal or some other animal except one round hole on deck for the boatman, who is dressed in a kind of shirt with hood made of the intestines of whale or other sea animals. Around each hole in the boat are leather cords with which the men tie themselves to the boats, yet several of the men were not tied. They had also near them in their boats rocks, and they used the double paddle, lightly made out of wood, paddling first on one side and then on the other. They travel very boldly and swiftly without being afraid of the biggest waves. When these men had come within fifty sajens of our boat they all began to shout and to turn first to one side and then to the other, not as if wishing to speak to us, but more as the Jakuts and Tungus do when engaged in witchcraft, which led us to think that our visitors were engaged, according to their own custom, in some similar occupation, or praying that we might not cause them any harm, but we can not say with certainty why they made such a frightful noise. After having shouted in this manner for seven or eight minutes they began to talk among themselves in an ordinary tone of voice. During this time we smiled on them and made them salutations, beckoning them to come nearer our ship. This, however, they refused to do, making gestures as if they were preparing bows and arrows. These signs led us to think that they feared we would fire on them, and we, therefore, assured them as much as we were able under the circumstances, that we would not harm them. By placing our hands on our hearts we tried to tell them that they would be received by us as friends. In order to draw them near to us I threw towards them a Chinese cup asking them to accept it as a sign of friendship. One of their men picked up the cup and then made some gestures to signify that he had no need of it. He was on the point of throwing it back on board when we begged him to keep it but he cast it into the sea. After this I ordered that two pieces of satin should be cut which were thrown into the water and the men were asked to approach our ship. They picked up the satin and after keeping it a short time they put it away from them. Finally I had other things brought, such as beads, bells,

pierres rouges des sonnettes des aiguilles, du tabac de la Chine et des pipes, et en leurs montrant ces choses je les priois de venir plus pres du Batiment je n'avoit pas beaucoup du monde sur le Tillac, parceque j'avois ordonné à la plus grande partie de se tenir sous le Tillac sous les armes pour notre sureté, apres les avoir fait comprendre par toute sorte de mines, que s'ils venoient prés de notre Batiment ils ne leurs sera rien fait du mal, ce qui les a encouragé de plus, c'est que nous leur montames, que nous n'avions plus d'eau ni de quoi boire, en les priant de nous aider la dans, un moment après un venant fort près de notre Batiment, nous lui donnames du tabac de la Chine avec une pipe, qu'il recu et mit auprès de lui sur le Tillac, ce qui fit venir tous les autres près du Batiment, nous leur donnames des sonnettes des pierres rouges et des aiguilles, ce qu'ils reçurent sans temoigné beaucoup de contentement, aparement ne sachant pas à quoi les employer, et nous appercumes qu'ils ne savoient pas que le cuivre et les aiguilles s'anfonces dans l'eau, parceque qu'ils ne les sererent [?] pas, car il arrivoit que quelqu'une des choses tomboit dans l'eau ils ne les empechoient point de tomber mais ils gardoient seulement l'endroit où cela etoit tombé. Nous appercumes qu'il y avoit parmi eux quelques uns qui avoient porté leurs mains à la bouche et avec l'autre ils faisoient comme s'ils coupoient quelque chose et tout d'un coup ils auterent leurs mains, ce qui nous fit comprendre, qu'ils nous demander des couteaux, parce que les Kamtchadels et les autres nations de ces environs ci, coupent les viandes en mangeant au pres de la bouche. J'ordonnoit de leurs donner un couteau, qu'ils recurent avec beaucoup de joie en l'arrachant de l'un et l'autres, et nous prierent instamment de leur donner des couteaux; après cela nous les pricames quelques uns de venir sur notre Batiment pour mieux faire voir la bonne intention dans laquelle ils etoient d'agir avec nous en ami, esperant de pouvoir engager quelques uns pour venir avec nous suivant l'instruction donnée à mons. le Capitaine Commandeur; nous n'avons non seulement pu engagé personne avec nous, ne pouvant pas les parler, mais pas même de venir sur notre Batiment, peut être pouvoient ils comprendre se que nous voulions par nos instantes prieres de venir sur notre Batiment. Pendant ce tems la nous voulions leur donner un petit tonneau pour nous aller de l'eau à terre, mais ne vulerent pas recevoir ce tonneau, nous montrant des vessies, dans lesquelles ils vouloient nous apporter de l'eau, dabord trois Bateaux partir pour aller à terre nous apporter de l'eau, et apres etre revenu aupres du

needles, Chinese tobacco and pipes, and showing them these objects I asked them to come nearer the boat. I had not many people on deck at the time, the greater part being below decks under arms in case there was need of them. We did all that we could to assure them that if they would come near our boat no harm would befall them. That which had the greatest influence with them was that we showed them that we had no water nor anything else to drink and we begged them to help us procure the same. A moment later one of the visitors came quite close to our ship. We gave him some Chinese tobacco and a pipe which he took and placed on deck of his boat. A little later the others also approached and we gave them small bells, beads and needles, all of which they received indifferently, apparently being ignorant of what use to put them. We also observed that they did not know that copper and needles sink, because it happened that one of these things fell into the water and they made no attempt to stop it but merely watched the spot where it disappeared. We noticed that several of them held their hands near their mouths and with one of the hands they worked as if they were cutting something, and then all of a sudden they took their hands away. This made us think that they would like to have knives, because the Kamchadels and other nations of that region cut the meat near the mouth as they are eating it. I requested that a knife should be given to them, which they received with gladness and began fighting over it and begged us to give them more knives. After this we asked them to come on board and thus show us that they are really friendly to us, in this manner we hoped to induce several of them to come with us in obedience to the instructions given to the captain-commander. But not only did we fail in this but we could not even persuade them to come on board; it may perhaps be that they suspected our intentions from our too urgent entreaties to them to come on deck. During this procedure we handed to them a small cask suggesting that they go to the shore and bring us fresh water, but they would not take the cask. When we showed them some bladders they consented to fetch us water. At first three small boats left and when they returned one of them held out a bladder and

Batiment, ils nous donnerent une vessie en demandant pour cela un couteau, j'ai ordonné de lui donner un, et apres l'avoir reçu il ne rendi point l'eau mais la donnoit à son camarade en montrant qu'il falloit lui aussi donner un couteau pour la meme vessie de l'eau ce qui nous fit connoitre y ajoutant d'autres actions semblables que s'etoient des gens de mauvaise foix. C'est sont des hommes d'une grande stature, leur visage est semblable à celui des Tartars mais pâles, et ils nous parroissoient qu'ils se portoient bien, ils n'ont presque point de barbe peut être de natur ou qu'ils se les arrachioient, ce que nous ne savons pas positivement, nous n'avons pas remarqué que deux ou trois avec des petites barbes, ils ont aussi des pierres dans leurs nés, qui les font segner du né, ils mangent des racines, dont ils nous en faisoient present en nous priant de les manger, nous avons apporté une petite quantité de ces racines pour pouvoir les connoitre, et nous leurs donnames en echange des biscuits. Ils nous ont aussi apporté quelques mines [?] enveloppées dans des feuilles des plantes maritimes. Il n'y avoit point d'autres choses sur leurs Bateaux si non des fleches dont nous avons pu obtenir quatre d'eux. Ils avoient sur leurs têtes des especes de chapeaux faits des planches de bouleaux bien minces, peintes de differes couleurs et ces chapeaux etoient ornés de plumes, quelques unes parmi eux avoient des statues d'os attachés sur leurs chapeaux, nous avons pu obtenir d'eux un pareil chapeau pour lequel nous leurs donnames une mechante hache, qu'ils recurent avec beaucoup de joie, Nous leur fimes present d'une marmitte de cuivre, mais après qu'ils l'avoient gardé pendant quelque tems, ils nous la rendirent, et etant ainsi resté asses long tems aupres de notre Batiment, ils s'en a aller à terre. L'apres midi ils sont encore venu en 14 Bateaux de même une personne dans chacun, parmi lesquelles il y avoit quelques uns qui etoient venu le matin, en arrivant auprès du Batiment ils faisoient le même crie que precedement, quoi qu'ils sont resté plus de trois ou quatre heures pres du Batiment cependant nous n'avons pu engagé personne de venir sur le bord, ils parlerent beaucoup mais nous pouvions rien comprendre n'ayant point d'intrprete, et je crois qu'ils seroient resté encore plus long tems, si je n'avois pas moi même fais donné de signals pour les faire retirer, parceque le vent commençoit à venir un peu fort, par lequel nous pouvions quoi qu'avec de la peine sortir du golfe dans lequel nous etions entré avec beaucoup de difficulté. De sorte que nous somes sorti de cet endroit avec l'aide de Dieu par le même vent, apres avoir beaucoup souffert et apres avoir perdu un ancre.

Le 10 dans celieu, etc: Nous avons reconu cette côte pour la

asked in return a knife. I ordered that a knife should be given to him, when he had it he passed the water over to his companion desiring that a knife should be given to him also for the same bladder of water. From this and other similar actions on their part we concluded that they could not be trusted. They are men of large stature, their features resemble those of the Tartars with this difference that they are paler. They seem to be in good health. They have almost no beard, perhaps naturally so or it may be that they pluck the hair, we can not say which, since we noticed only two or three with small beards. They wear also stones in their noses which makes the nose bleed. They eat roots, several of which they presented us asking that we eat them, a number of which we brought back with us so that it might be determined what they are. In exchange for the roots we gave them biscuits. They brought us also several [illegible] wrapped in seaweed. All that they had on their boats were arrows of which we secured four. On their heads they wear a kind of a hat made of very fine boards painted in various colors, trimmed with feathers or with small ivory figures. We were able to get one of these hats by giving them in exchange an axe that was of little value and which they were very glad to have. We made them a present of a copper kettle which, after keeping it for a short time, they gave back to us. After remaining a considerable time near our ship they returned to shore. In the afternoon they came again in fourteen boats, one person to a boat, among whom were several whom we had seen in the morning. On coming near our ship they made the same cry as before. Although they remained more than three or four hours close to our boat we could not coax them on board. They talked a great deal but we could not understand what they said because we had no interpreter. I think they would have stayed with us longer if I had not signalled for them to leave, because a strong wind began to blow with which we were able, although with difficulty, to depart from the gulf which we entered with much trouble. So that we went from this place, with the help of God, with the same wind, after having suffered a great deal and with the loss of an anchor.

The tenth in the same: We have identified this coast as America,

veritable Amerique dont la Latitude est re $55^{\circ} 36' 3''$ la longitude de $61^{\circ} 51'$ le Rhombe du vent de Nord-Est $85^{\circ} 42'$ la distance de 2178' a la quelle nous etions arriv  le 15 Juillet   heures du matin. cette c te etoit du nord au sud   30'.

NAVIGATION ET DECOUVERTE DANS LA ROUTE DE
KAMTCHATKA   L'AMERIQUE FAITE EN JUIN,
JUILLET, AOUST ET SEPTEMBRE 1741 PAR LE
CAPITAINE ALEXIS TCHIRIKOF ET
MON FRERE ⁵⁸⁴

(Suite du 15 Juillet)   la distance de 4 min. du bord vis   vis cet endroit le bord montagneux ou la profondeur de l'eau n'a pas  t  moindre que 60 sagens, on a vu la terre   2 h. apres minuit et   3 heures on l'a apercu encore mieux, on la prise pour l'Amerique latitude etoit de $55^{\circ} 21'$ sept. la long. du port d'Avacha $61^{\circ} 55'$.

Vers le midi le coin de la terre finissoit au sud-est $36^{\circ} 19'$   la distance de 30' la plus proche distance a al terre etoit du nord vers l'est $72^{\circ} 41'$ (dep 20 triotpria dira) la point nord etoit Nord Est $19^{\circ} 41'$ arrivant par le nord depuis 3 h.

Apr s $5h\frac{1}{2}$ triotpriadiria [or diva?] au font meridional $34^{\circ} 41'$, auquel tems on a apercu une nouvelle terre plus basse au Nord Est $39^{\circ} 22'$   $8h\frac{1}{2}$ du matin vers le nord on ne voioit plus le bord depuis le nord $33^{\circ} 0'$.

Le 16. lat $56^{\circ} 15'$ Long $60^{\circ} 57' 2''$ Rh. Nord Est $84^{\circ} 48'$ distance 2140 on a envoi  le bosman Mama avec 8 hommes qui a dit qu'il etoit pas possible de rester dans ce port n'etant pas   couvert du vent du nord.

Le 17 latit $57^{\circ} 39'$ long $58^{\circ} 54' 2''$ nord est $82^{\circ} 43'$ dist 2059 a la distance de bord de 3 ou 4 min.

Le 18 Juillet (1741) le maitre de la flotte nomm  Dementiev a  t  envoi    terre avec 10 personnes   $4h\frac{1}{2}$ apres midi. le golfe dans lequel ce maitre a  t  envoi  est suivant le calcul   la latitude de $57^{\circ} 23'$ la longitude depuis le port d'Avatcha $59^{\circ} 36'$ la distance 2059 (miles dont 60 un degr ) sous le Rhombe N. E. $82^{\circ} 28'$ mais la latitude corrig e de ce golfe est $57^{\circ} 50'$ et la longitude $58^{\circ} 54'$.

⁵⁸⁴ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 20, C.

in latitude fifty-five degrees, thirty-six minutes, three seconds, longitude sixty-one degrees, fifty-one minutes, rhumb of the wind of northeast eighty-five degrees, forty-two minutes, the distance two thousand, one hundred seventy-eight minutes. We arrived at this spot at two o'clock of the morning of July 15. This coast was from north to south at thirty minutes.

NAVIGATION AND DISCOVERY ON THE VOYAGE
FROM KAMCHATKA TO AMERICA MADE IN JUNE,
JULY, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1741 BY CAP-
TAIN ALEXIS CHIRIKOF AND MY
BROTHER ⁵⁸⁵

(Continuation from the fifteenth [of] July) At the distance of four miles off the shore, opposite this place, the coast being mountainous, the depth of the water not being less than sixty fathoms, one could see land at two o'clock in the morning, and at three o'clock it was much more distinct. We took this land for America, north latitude $55^{\circ} 21'$, and longitude from Avacha $61^{\circ} 55'$.

Towards noon the point of land came to an end at south $36^{\circ} 19'$; east at the distance of 30'. The nearest land bore north $72^{\circ} 41'$; east (dep. 20 . . . *triotpriadira* [?]). The northerly point bore north $19^{\circ} 41'$; east, ship coming from the north since three o'clock.

After half past five o'clock *triotpriadira* [?] on the meridian $34^{\circ} 41'$, a new lower land came in view at north $39^{\circ} 22'$ east. At half after eight in the morning the shore disappeared from sight towards north $33^{\circ} 0'$ east.

July 16, latitude $56^{\circ} 15'$, longitude $60^{\circ} 57' 2''$, course north $84^{\circ} 48'$ east, distance 2,140, the Boatswain Mama with eight men was sent ashore. On his return he reported that the port was not safe because it was exposed to the north wind.

July 17, latitude $57^{\circ} 39'$, longitude $58^{\circ} 54' 2''$, course made good, north $82^{\circ} 43'$ east, distance 2,059; distance from shore from three to four minutes.

July 18 (1741) at half after four o'clock in the afternoon the officer Dementief was sent ashore. The gulf into which he steered was according to observation in latitude $57^{\circ} 23'$, longitude from Avacha $59^{\circ} 36'$, the distance 2,059 (miles, sixty to a degree) on a course north $82^{\circ} 28'$ east. But the corrected latitude of this gulf is $57^{\circ} 50'$ and the longitude $58^{\circ} 54'$. On the homeward passage the

⁵⁸⁵ The Hydrographic Office of the United States Navy has rendered assistance in the translation of these two documents, xxv, 20, C and D.

Par le retour la difference de longitude a été trouvée plus grande de $11^{\circ} 39' 4''$.

ROUTE DU KAMTCHATKA A L'AMERIQUE ⁵⁸⁶

(Suivant un premier rapport abrégé que l'on m'en a fait)

Route du Kamtchatka a l'Amérique le Capitaine Alexis Tchirikov sur le vaisseau duquel étoit mon frere est parti le 4 Juin 1741 anc st du port de St Pierre et St Paul autrement appelé le port d'Avacha situé sur la côte orientale du Kamchatka sous la latitude d'environ 53° (il est sur ma carte sous la longitude depuis de 175° à compter du meridien qui passe par l'Isle de fer) la route — l'on peut voir sur la carte cyjointe — de ce port jusqu'a l'a vue d'un port de l'Amérique situé sous la latitude de $57^{\circ} 50'$ l'ou on a expédié dans ce port le 18 Juillet 1741 un maitre de flotte avec dix hommes dans une chaloupe mais ils ne sont pas revenus. Par la route calculée ce nouveau port a été trouvé [illegible] oriental au port d'Avatcha de 57° [illegible] (et par consequent la longitude absolue de ce nouveau port serait d'environ 232°) l'on a aussi calcule que le Rhombe en ligne droite entre le 2 ports susdits declinoit de $82^{\circ} 35'$ du nord à l'est dans la distance de 2007 miles d'Angleterre (un min d'un grand cercle c'est à dire $33^{\circ} 27'$ parceque les miles anglois sont supposes de 60 au degré) la declinaison de l'aiguille aimantée a été trouvée dans ce port de l'Amérique du nord à l'est d'un rhombe $\frac{3}{4}$ ($19^{\circ} 41'$). dans le retour l'on a fait bien des detours pour rechercher si l'on ne pourroit point revoir la chaloupe sus dit mais inutilement; aiant calculé tous ces detours pour le retour jusqu'au port d'Avatcha la difference de longitude s'est trouvée de $11^{\circ} 28'$ plus grande que pour la premiere route.

Dans le retour on a decouvert une isle sur la latitude de $51^{\circ} 40'$ distance par le calcul en ligne droite du port d'Avatcha de 429' min ou miles anglois ($7^{\circ} 9'$) le rombe mené d'Avatch à cette Isle declinant du sud à l'est de $79^{\circ} 39'$, de declinaison de l'aiguille aimantée étoit vers cette isle d'un Rhombe ($11^{\circ} 15'$) nord-est.

dans le retour mon frere est tombé malade le 27 Sept. 1741 et est mort le 10 Oct. à 10 h. du matin.

⁵⁸⁶ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 20, D.

accumulated error in longitude was found to be more than $11^{\circ} 39' 04''$.

ROUTE FROM KAMCHATKA TO AMERICA

(Based on a first brief report which was made for me)

Route from Kamchatka to America. Captain Alexis Chirikof with my brother on board departed June 4, 1741 [old style] from the port of St. Paul and St. Peter, also known as the port of Avacha, situated on the eastern coast of Kamchatka in latitude about fifty-three degrees (on my map the longitude is given at 175° , counting from the meridian which passes through the island of Fer. The course—this one may follow on the chart here attached—from this port to the American port which was observed in latitude $57^{\circ} 50'$. Into this port were sent on July 18, 1741, an officer with ten men in a small boat but they did not come back. According to the calculations of the course, the newly found port is east of Avatcha 57 [illegible] (and therefore the absolute longitude of this new port would be about 232°). It has also been worked out that the rhumb in straight line between the two ports mentioned above declines from $82^{\circ} 35'$ from the north to the east, in the distance of 2007 English miles (one minute of a large circle, or $33^{\circ} 27'$, because the English miles are sixty to a degree). The declination of the magnetic needle has been found in this American port from the north to the east of a rhumb $\frac{3}{4}$ ($19^{\circ} 41'$). On the return voyage the boat sailed here and there in the hopes of finding a trace of the lost small boat just mentioned, but all in vain. Taking into calculation all these side voyages until Avacha was reached, there was found to be a difference of $11^{\circ} 28'$ longitude between the going and coming.

Returning an island was discovered in lat. $51^{\circ} 40'$; calculated distance from Avacha on a straight line, 429 minutes or English miles ($7^{\circ} 09'$). A rhumb line from Avacha to this island runs south $73^{\circ} 39'$ East, with the compass needle deflected 1 point ($11^{\circ} 15'$) to eastward.

On the return voyage my brother fell ill, September 27, 1741, and died October 10 at 10 o'clock in the morning.

APPENDIX H

DECOUVERTE DE L'AMERIQUE PAR LA MOSCOVIE ⁵⁸⁷

Le Capitaine Behring qui étoit allé pour tâcher de découvrir si l'on ne pourroit pas se rendre en Amérique par la mer du Nord, ayant échoué contre la cote d'une isle deserte, et son vaisseau s'étant brisé, ce capitaine est mort dans cette Isle avec la plus part des personnes qui avoient fait le voyage avec luy. Le Sr. Stoller adjoint Botaniste de l'academie de cette ville, lequel avoit accompagné ce Capitaine, a été assés heureux, ainsi que quelques matelots de l'équipage pour résister à la fatigue et à la misere, ayant fait construire par ses compagnons un nouveau bâtiment des debris du premier, il est arrivé avec eux à Kamtchatka, apres avoir essuyé un grand nombre de dangers dans sa route. Il a rapporté qu'il avoit rencontré le Capitaine Tscherikov, lequel assuroit qu'il avoit touché la cote d'un pais inconnu dont les habitans ressembloient aux sauvages de l'Amérique. Mais quelorsqu'il avoit voulu mettre pied à terre, il avoit été repoussé par les habitans, et qu'apres avoir perdu plusieurs soldats et quelque Matelots, il avoit été obligé de renoncer à son entreprise.

Mr George Guillaume Steller de Windsheim en franconie fameux Botaniste et Professeur de l'Academie Imperiale est mort depuis peu entre Tobolskoi et Cathrinesbourg. Ce savant est Generalement Regretté. Il revenoit de Kamtschatka après y avoir Decouvert une des Isles de l'Amérique Septentrionale et Demontré qu'on pouvoit y aller de Terres de l'Empire de Russie par un petit Trajet. Il entreprit cette decouverte en 1738 par ordre de la cour avec un vaisseau que commandoit le Capitaine Behring. Ils eurent le malheur d'échouer sur une Isle inconnue ou le Plus grand nombre de ses compagnons de Voiage et meme Le Capitaine Du Vaisseau perirent de Misere et de Chagrin. Quant à Mr Stoller il eut l'adresse avec le

⁵⁸⁷ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 19, E.

Gazette de France, no. 47, 545 [?], du 16 Nov., 1743. De Petersbourg le 20 Octob., 1743. — ORIG.

APPENDIX H

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY WAY OF MOSCOVY

Captain Behring who went to discover whether one could go to America by way of the North Pacific, wrecked and lost his boat on the coast of a desert island on which he and the greater part of his crew that accompanied him died. With the captain was Mr. Steller, botanist of the Academy of that city, and he as well as a number of the sailors, being fortunate enough to survive the hardships and sufferings, built from the wreck of the first boat a smaller one and on it they arrived at Kamchatka, after having experienced many dangers on the way. He reports that he met Captain Chirkof who assured him that he had been on the coast of some unknown country, the inhabitants of which resemble the savages of America. But when he attempted to land he was driven back by them, and after losing several soldiers and sailors he was compelled to give up the attempt.

Mr. George William Steller of Windsheim, Franconia, famous botanist and Professor of the Imperial Academy, died recently between Tobolsk and Catherinesburg. The loss of this scholar is generally regretted. He was on his way from Kamchatka after having discovered one of the islands of North America and proved that it was only a short distance thither from the Russian Empire. He undertook this voyage of discovery by the order of the court, with Captain Behring in command of the ship. They had the misfortune to be wrecked on an unknown island where the Captain and a large number of those who were on board died of misery and grief. Steller,

secours de sept personnes qui étoient demeurées en vie de faire une Chaloupe des debris du Vaisseau et il revint hereusement à Kamtschatka. Comme il avoit Etudié en Theologie, il fit pendant cette course L'office D'Aumonier et son Zele porta a engager Le Synode Russien à Etablir pour ces provinces une Mission de Propoganda fide. On a trouvé parmi ses Papiers Plusieurs Relations très Interesantes qui ont été envoyées à l'Academie Conformement aux Dispositions du Defunt et l'on croit qu'elles seront dans peu rendues Publiques.

La Stora Sibirica du célèbre Gmelin qui par ordre de l'Imperatrice Anne a parcouru la Siberie, Province si vaste et si peu connue, pendant Le cours de sept années est sous presse. On a lieu de se promettre une foule de découvertes nouvelles, et importantes après les soins Infatigables de cet habile Botaniste.

L'imprimerie De L'academie vient de publier un Atlas de Russie qui consiste en dix neuf cartes particulieres de toutes ces provinces de ce vaste Empire avec les Pais Limitrophes et une Carte générale ou on les trouve rassemblées. Elles ont été dressées Conformement aux Derniers Observations.⁵²⁸

On a reçu avis que Mr. Stoller fameux Botaniste et Membre de l'Academie des Sciences est mort depuis entre Tobolski et Caterinesburg. La perte de ce scavans est generalment regrettée, il revenoit de Kamchatka après y avoir decouvert une des Isles del'Amérique Septentrionale, et démontré qu'on peut y aller des Terres del'Empire de Russie par un petit trajet.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 19, F. Copie de la nouvelle *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tome iii, part i, 199.

⁵²⁹ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 19, G. Extract de la *Gazette d'Amsterdam* du 25 Jan., 1747.

with the help of seven others who survived, made a small boat from the remains of the wreck of the ship and returned to Kamchatka. As he was a student of theology he acted as chaplain on the voyage and he was instrumental in persuading the Russian Synod to establish for these provinces a mission for the spreading of the faith. Among his papers there are a number of very valuable reports which, at the request of the deceased, were forwarded to the Academy, and there is reason to believe that these documents will soon be made public. The *Stora Sibirica* by the celebrated Gmelin, who at the order of the Empress Anne spent seven years in Siberia, a vast and unknown country, is now in press. One may hope for a number of important discoveries considering the ability and scholarship of this botanist. The press of the Academy has just published an atlas of Russia which has nineteen special maps of all the provinces of the empire and neighboring countries and one general map which includes them all. They are based on the latest observations.

Word has just been received that Mr. Steller, famous botanist and member of the Academy of Sciences died recently between Tobolsk and Catherinesburg. The loss of this scholar is generally regretted. He was coming from Kamchatka after having discovered one of the islands of North America and proved that it is only a short distance from there to the Russian Empire.

APPENDIX I

MEMOIRES SUR LA ROUTE DU CAPITAINE SPANBERG DU KAMCHATKA AU JAPON EN JUIN, JUILLET, ET AOUST, 1739

*Decouverte de 34 Isles dans la mer du Nord*⁵⁴⁰

Le bruit court que le Capitaine Spanberg, en navigant dans la Mer du Nord, a decouvert trente quatre isles tant grandes que petites, dont les habitans aussitot qu'ils l'ont appercu, l'ont envoy  reconnoitre par six chaloupes: qu'ayant abord  a une de ces Isles, il est descendu a terre sans trouver la moindre opposition, et que les Insulaires, quoyque fort surpris l'ont recu avec plusieurs demonstrations d'amiti ; que ces peuples ressemblent fort a ceux du Japon, et qu'ils lui ont montr  une grande quantit  de monnoye d'or et de cuivre. On dit que le Capitaine Spanberg a donn  avis de sa decouverte   la Czarine et yu'il lui a envoy  quelques unes des monnoyes dont ces peuples se servent.^{540a}

A Amsterdam on vend une Nouvelle Mapemonde en deux grandes feuilles contenant les poles Artique et Antartique.

On trouve dans le pole Artique   l'Extremit  de la Tartarie le pays de Camschatka qui s'etend quarante degrez plus a l'orient qu'on ne la scu jusqu'icy d'ou le Capitaine Spanberg a fait dans l'Espace de seize jours un voyage a de nouvelles Isles, qu'on croit appartenir au Japon selon la Relation que Mr. Swartz resident d'Hollande   Petersbourg en a envoy es aux Etats Generaux dans ses lettres du vingt-quatre Janvier 1740.⁵⁴¹

Le courier parti d'Yakutsk le 6 Septembre 1739 a employ  justement 4 mois a venir   Petersbourg y etant arriv  le 6 Janvier 1740.

⁵⁴⁰ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 18, B. 1740.

^{540a} No. 9. *Gazette de France* du 27 Fevrier, 1740. Article de St. Petersbourg du 16 Janv. de la meme ann e.

⁵⁴¹ *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 18, C. 1740.

APPENDIX I

DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN SPANBERG FROM KAMCHATKA TO JAPAN IN JUNE, JULY, AND AUGUST, 1739

Discovery of thirty-four islands in the North Pacific Ocean

There is a report about that Captain Spanberg while navigating in the North Pacific has discovered thirty-four islands, large and small, the inhabitants of which as soon as they saw him sent six small boats to meet him. Although surprised, the natives received Captain Spanberg, when he landed on one of these islands, without opposition and with friendship. These islanders resemble the Japanese very much. They possess large quantities of gold and copper money. It is said that Captain Spanberg has notified the empress of his discovery and has sent her several pieces of money used on the island.

At Amsterdam there is being sold a world map in two sheets containing the Arctic and Antarctic poles.

On the Arctic pole one sees on the confines of Tartary the territory of Kamchatka which extends forty degrees farther east than it was known until now and where Captain Spanberg has made in the period of sixteen days a voyage to some new islands which are generally believed to belong to Japan. All this information comes through Mr. Swartz, a representative of Holland at Petersburg, who sent it to the States General in his letters of January 24, 1740.

The courier who left Jakutsk September 6, 1739, was just four months in coming to St. Petersburg, arriving January 6, 1740. He

Il a apporté à l'amiral Golovin une relation en 6 feuilles de l'expédition du Capitaine Spanberg, dont j'ay appris les particularités suivantes, à sçavoir que ce capitaine s'est mis en mer au mois de Juin, Juillet, et Aoust 1739 pour la recherche de la route du Camchat au Japon; qu'il est parti du Camchat sous la latitude de 56 (c'est apparemment l'embouchure de Camtchatka que le Capitaine Beerings dans son premier voyage mit à 56 3) que de là il est allé vers le Sud par un bon vent par lequel il a pu faire en 16 jours la traversée du 20 degré en latitude jusqu'à la latitude 36 environ (l'amiral Golovin m'a dit 37) qu'il avoit dans cette traversée reconstré plusieurs isles dans quelquesunes desquelles il estoit descendu etc., qu'il avoit abordé aussi au Japon (apparemment à la cote orientale) ou il avoit été bien reçu et entamé [?] le commerce, etc.

Mr. l'Amiral Golovin me n'a pas dit positivement la route que Mr Spanberg avoit tenu vers l'est ou vers l'ouest; mais il m'a dit qu'il avoit bien observé cette route en marquant les latitudes, la déclinaison de l'aiguille aimantée, etc. au reste qu'il devoit bientôt venir lui mesme apporter une relation plus ample de cette découverte avec la carte de sa route, etc.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴² *Delisle Mss.*, no. xxv, 18, F.

brought to Admiral Golovin a report in six sheets of the expedition of Captain Spanberg of which I have learned the following particulars. Captain Spanberg was out at sea during June, July, and August, 1739, trying to find a route from Kamchatka to Japan. He left Kamchatka in latitude fifty-six degrees (this is probably the mouth of the Kamchatka which Captain Bering on his first voyage charted as fifty-six degrees, three minutes) and from there he sailed south with a good wind so that in sixteen days he passed over twenty degrees of latitude to about latitude thirty-six degrees (Admiral Golovin said thirty-seven), and that in the course of his navigation he came across many islands on several of which he made a landing, etc., and that he made a landing in Japan (probably on the eastern side) where he was well received and began commercial relations, etc.

Admiral Golovin did not tell me positively what course Captain Spanberg sailed towards the east or west, but he said that the course was carefully charted with the latitudes and declinations of the needle, etc. He also said that Captain Spanberg would soon appear in person with a full account and chart of his course, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF AUTHORITIES

BIBLIOGRAPHIES: Mejoy's *Bibliographia Sibirica* (1891-1892) is the only satisfactory work covering Siberia, Alaska, and the Amur. It is complete, reliable, but not critical. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* is valuable for Russo-Chinese relations. The general list of books given in Bancroft's *History of Alaska* is confusing, having many titles which do not relate to the subject, but scattered among the footnotes are many bibliographical helps. Dall's bibliography is too general to be of great service. There are other bibliographies of minor importance but these have all been superseded by Mejoy's.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES: there is a great deal of unpublished source material for this period in the Russian archives. In the Archive of the Ministry of the Marine at St. Petersburg there are classified under the heading "Captain-commander Bering" one hundred eleven bundles of documents, some of which contain between two and three thousand pages. In addition there are many other papers in the archives relating to this subject catalogued under different heads, such as Admiralty College, Count Apraxin, and under various other names. These are by no means all the documents. The Hydrographic Department of the Ministry of the Marine, the Academy of Sciences, the Archives of the State, the Ministry of War, and most of the other archives, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow have manuscript material on this field. More recently (1914) a report based on good authority has reached the Russian capital to the effect that at Okhotsk there are still many papers relating to the Kamchatka Expeditions. It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty as to how much material there really is and where it is because no attempt has ever been made to determine these points.

This vast amount of material is, however, out of proportion to its importance. Many of the one hundred eleven bundles associated with the name of Bering have nothing whatever to do with him, his work, or his period, but deal nearly altogether with purely Siberian

affairs of a much later time. Of the remaining bundles which do concern the Kamchatka Expeditions, much of the material they contain is worthless because of duplication. Each affair went through the hands of several administrative and legislative bodies and bureaus, each made copies and comments and by the time that a decision was reached the number of papers that had accumulated made one or more bundles, the great number of the documents being merely repetitions of the same subject. To give a concrete illustration: the trouble between Spanberg and one of his lieutenants fill many bundles with documents, the same charge (a very petty one) being repeated again and again. The petition of Bering's family, after his death, that the pay due him should be handed over to them makes two or more bundles of affidavits, copies of certificates, comments of various bureaus et cetera. Good and worthless material is all tied together.

Although so rich in good documents the Archives of the Ministry of the Marine does not possess the journal of the voyage made by Bering to America in 1741. Where that journal is no one knows. The same ignorance prevails relative to a number of the earlier maps. Some of these and other documents have been missing a long time. When the papers of the Second Kamchatka Expedition reached the capital they were handed over to the Academy of Sciences where they remained from 1750 to 1758. At the end of that time they were returned to the Admiralty College. It was noised about at the time that a number of the papers had disappeared in the interval. This may or may not have been true. Documents have disappeared from the archives in other ways. In one well known case (of a much later period) the Minister of the Marine was in the habit of taking the more important documents home with him; when he died his heirs sold the papers to an antiquarian who sold them back to the same ministry from which they had originally come. The Academy of Sciences has a copy of the missing Bering journal. This copy was made by Chytref, the same man who kept the original on board the *St. Peter*. This document has been made use of by the writer and is here referred to as the *Journal of the St. Peter*. Another copy of this journal by the same man finds a home, together with other valuable papers on the Bering Voyage, in the Archives of the State.

Chirikof's journal and his reports, Waxel's report, the journals and papers of Spanberg, and of the officers who explored in the Arctic are all housed in fireproof vaults in the Archives of the Ministry of

the Marine. The so-called Muller Portfolio, documents collected in Siberia by the scholar whose name it bears, is now in the archives at Moscow.

The difficulty of reading the Russian manuscripts of the eighteenth century has been exaggerated. Those who have a reading knowledge of modern Russian can with a little practice and perseverance learn to read the documents of the time of Peter and Catherine.

At Paris there is a collection of valuable papers as yet unpublished. While studying in that city Professor Gaulois called the writer's attention to the Delisle manuscripts in the Archives de la Marine. These are letters, copies of journals, charts, reports of conversation, newspaper clippings and other such material collected by the members of the Delisle family — all of which throw interesting side-lights on the period and the men. The papers which are of special importance for this study are those gathered by Joseph-Nicholas Delisle during his twenty-one years' (1726-1747) residence at the Russian capital as an officer of the Academy. In the "Appendix" may be found many of the documents which relate to the subject treated in this book. So far as it is known to the writer these papers have never before been used.

PUBLISHED SOURCES: many important documents have been brought to light in the publications of the Archaeographical Society, especially the Muller *Portfolio*, in those of the Departments of War, Marine, Hydrography, and Justice, in periodicals and books privately printed. The *Akti Istoricheskie*, five volumes, and the *Dopolnenis K Aktam Istoricheskim*, twelve volumes, are the principal sources for the sixteenth and seventeenth century Siberia. For the two first decades of the eighteenth century the printed material is found chiefly in the *Pamyatniki Sibirskoi Istorii*, two volumes, and in the government publications noted above. The *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonof Rossiskoi Imperii* covers the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and contains instructions to officers in Siberia and treaties with China. The Jesuit letters are very helpful. Bering's brief report to the empress on his first voyage is printed without comment in *Zapiski Woenno-Topograficheskavo Depo* (part x). Dall's attempt to translate this into English was not successful. Berch in his *Pervoe Morskoe Puteshestvie Rossiyan* prints a log book of the first voyage which was kept by Midshipman Peter Chaplin. V. Bachtin in *Russkie Truzheniki Morja* printed additional documents on this voyage. Gwos-

def's report and other material bearing on the discovery of the American coast in 1732 may be found in the *Zapiski Hydrograficheskavo Departamenta*. Steller's *Reise von Kamchatka nach America* is the only original document of importance dealing with the second sea voyage which has up to this time appeared in print. Muller, Gmelin, Krasheninnikof were members of Bering's second expedition, although they did not go to sea with him. Their writings may be classed partly as original and partly as contemporary documents, depending altogether on the topics which they discuss.

About the middle of the nineteenth century a friendly controversy arose between Karl E. von Baer, a German scholar residing at St. Petersburg, and Lieutenant Sokolof of the Russian Navy. In 1848 and 1849 Baer wrote a series of articles on Peter the Great's contribution to the advancement of geographical knowledge. These papers were translated into Russian and published in the Proceedings (*Zapiski*) of the Geographical Society in 1849 and 1850. As soon as they appeared Sokolof replied to them, heading his papers, "Bering and Chirikof." His contention was that Chirikof did not receive all the credit he merited for the part he took in the Bering expeditions. Baer took notice of the attack and defended his position in the *St. Petersburger Zeitung* (numbers 114, 115, 116). The controversy had this good in it, that it stimulated a study of the original documents, and the results of these researches appeared in the *Zapiski Hydrograficheskavo Departamenta* and they brought out many points unknown before. In 1872 Baer, then an old man of eighty years, completed his monograph and summarized the points of the controversy in an admirable way. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Lauridsen, a Dane, took up the cudgels in behalf of Bering, without, however, contributing anything of value.

The documents of the eighteenth century, being numerous and varied, check each other to a satisfactory degree. For the seventeenth century there is less material and that is chiefly of a one-sided character: the case of the Chinese, the native of Siberia, and of the Amur is seldom directly presented. Many of the documents are complaints and petitions and, as one might suppose, the writers exaggerated their injuries and their merits. There is another kind of a document in the form of orders and reports to and from Moscow to the woevods and from these officers to their subordinates. These papers give the plans of those in authority, but these plans miscarried

so often that one must be careful not to accept the will for the deed. Being ignorant, superstitious, and at times morbid, the officers made much out of every rumor, and they often reported thousands of the enemy where there were hundreds. One can, however, by following up the instructions, reports, complaints, and lawsuits during a long period of time obtain a fairly accurate idea of the true state of affairs.

SECONDARY MATERIALS: This class of literature is not altogether satisfactory. It is almost two hundred years since Bering received his commission to undertake his first voyage and during that long period only six men have been sufficiently interested in the subject to give it careful consideration, either in whole or in part. These men are Muller, Coxe, Sokolof, Baer, Bancroft, and Lauridsen. One of these is a Russian and the two Germans were in the service of Russia at the time of their writing. The best book on the early Russo-Chinese relations was written by an Englishman – Ravenstein. Russian scholars have not done all that the world has a right to expect from them. The most important book on this field is, after all, volume three of Muller's *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, published in 1758. Soon after its appearance this work was translated into Russian, English, and French. Although since that time much paper and ink have been used up in telling this story, yet very little that is new has been added to our knowledge of the subject. Both Russian and non-Russian scholars have preferred to follow Muller's version than to consult the originals. Muller's work, although very valuable, should not be used as a source but along with the sources. Muller was constantly on the lookout for the picturesque and heroic and, by a skillful use of his material, succeeded in producing a very readable story but in giving a rather erroneous point of view. Whether from conviction, temperament, or because it was good policy for a German to pursue in the Russian capital, Muller exerted all his energy, lavished all his talent in clothing the Cossack of the seventeenth century Siberia in heroic garments. This is especially true when the Russian is contrasted with his enemy: whatever the former does is brave and patriotic while the deeds of the latter are cowardly and treasonable. The part of his book dealing with the Bering voyages has defects of another sort. Muller was too much a part of the period to see it in its true proportions. His judgment of the men of his time is not critical, their deeds he usually values higher than they are worth. His lenient attitude may be partly explained by the fact that many of the men of whom he was writing, or their

friends, were yet alive, and it was wise not to say anything which might offend.

Coxe's *An Account of the Russian Discoveries* is an important book. The author lived in Russia during the second half of the eighteenth century, the time when Europe was greatly interested in voyages of discovery. Coxe follows Muller very closely in his account of the Russian voyages up to and including the Bering period. That part of his work which deals with the Russian activities after Bering's time is much better, since the writer makes use of the documents and of information obtained at first hand.

Peter's des Grossen Verdienste um die Erweiterung der Geographischen Kenntnisse by Karl E. von Baer, gives an excellent summary of the Bering voyages. It is scholarly, readable and fair in its judgments. Lauridsen's *Vitus Bering* is based almost entirely on Baer's work and therein lies its chief merit. There is not enough evidence to prove that Lauridsen has done much original investigation. Bancroft's *Alaska* is of much value and may be used with profit in connection with the sources. Dall's *Critical Review of Bering's First Expedition* contains a learned discussion of the nautical and astronomical instruments of the early eighteenth century. A very scholarly monograph which just touches the edges of this field is Butsinski's *Zaselenie Sibiri*. There are many helpful papers in the *Morskoi Sbornik*. The Library of Congress has an incomplete set of this publication and the United States Navy Department has a number of odd volumes which it keeps in its dusty garret where they are deteriorating. If the two collections were combined it would be possible to have one complete set. Fischer's *Sibirische Geschichte*, Slotvsof's *Istoricheskie Obozrenie Sibiri*, and Pallas' *Neue Nördische Beyträge* have much important material. The journals of Cook, Laperouse, Kruzenstern, and other navigators in the North Pacific Ocean help in understanding the difficulties and problems which confronted the Russian sailors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In conclusion it should be said that so far as printed material on this field is concerned the Library of Congress with its recently acquired Yudin Collection is probably better equipped for the study of this subject than any other library. Certain Russian scholars do not even except the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg. Harvard and Yale also have good working libraries.

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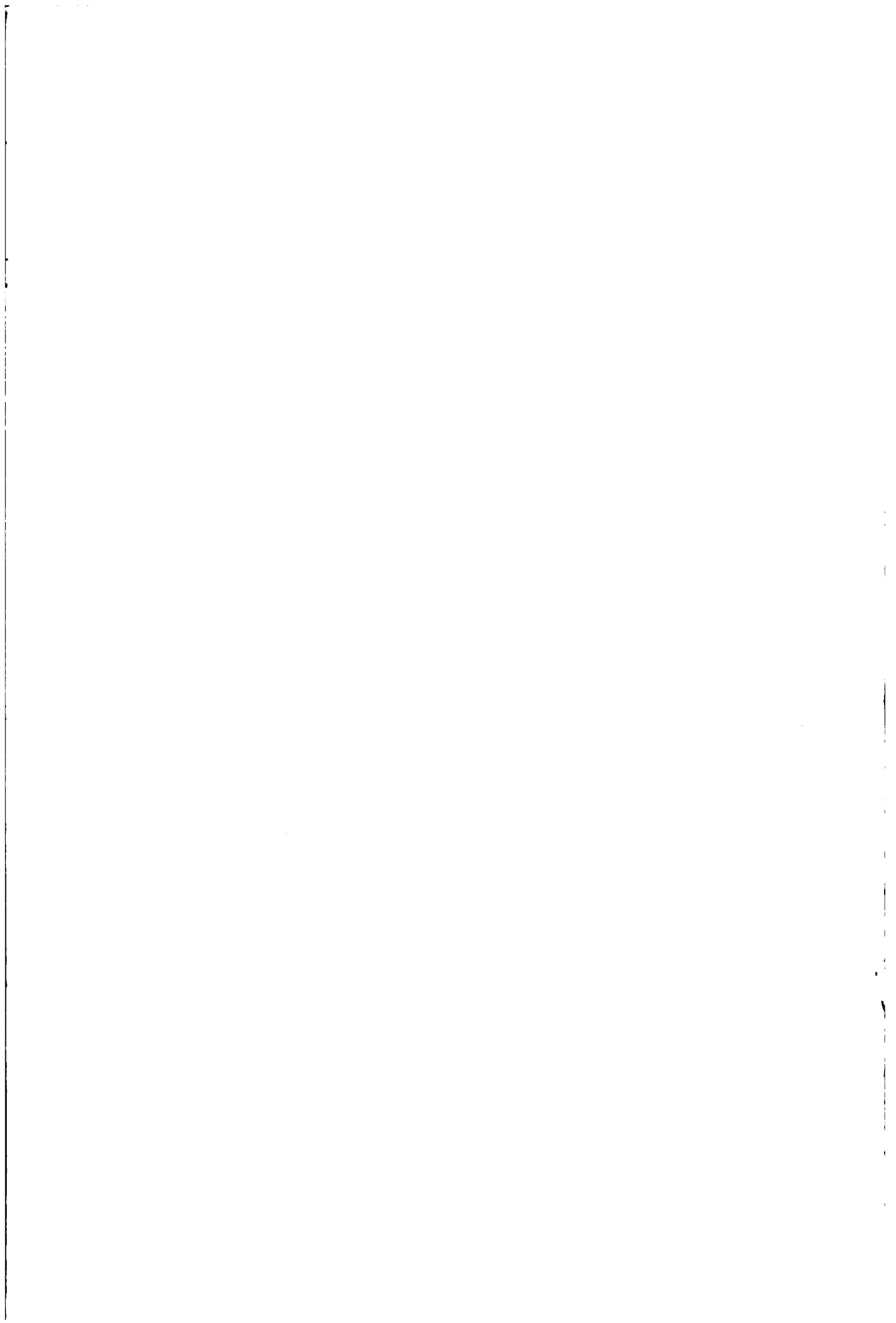
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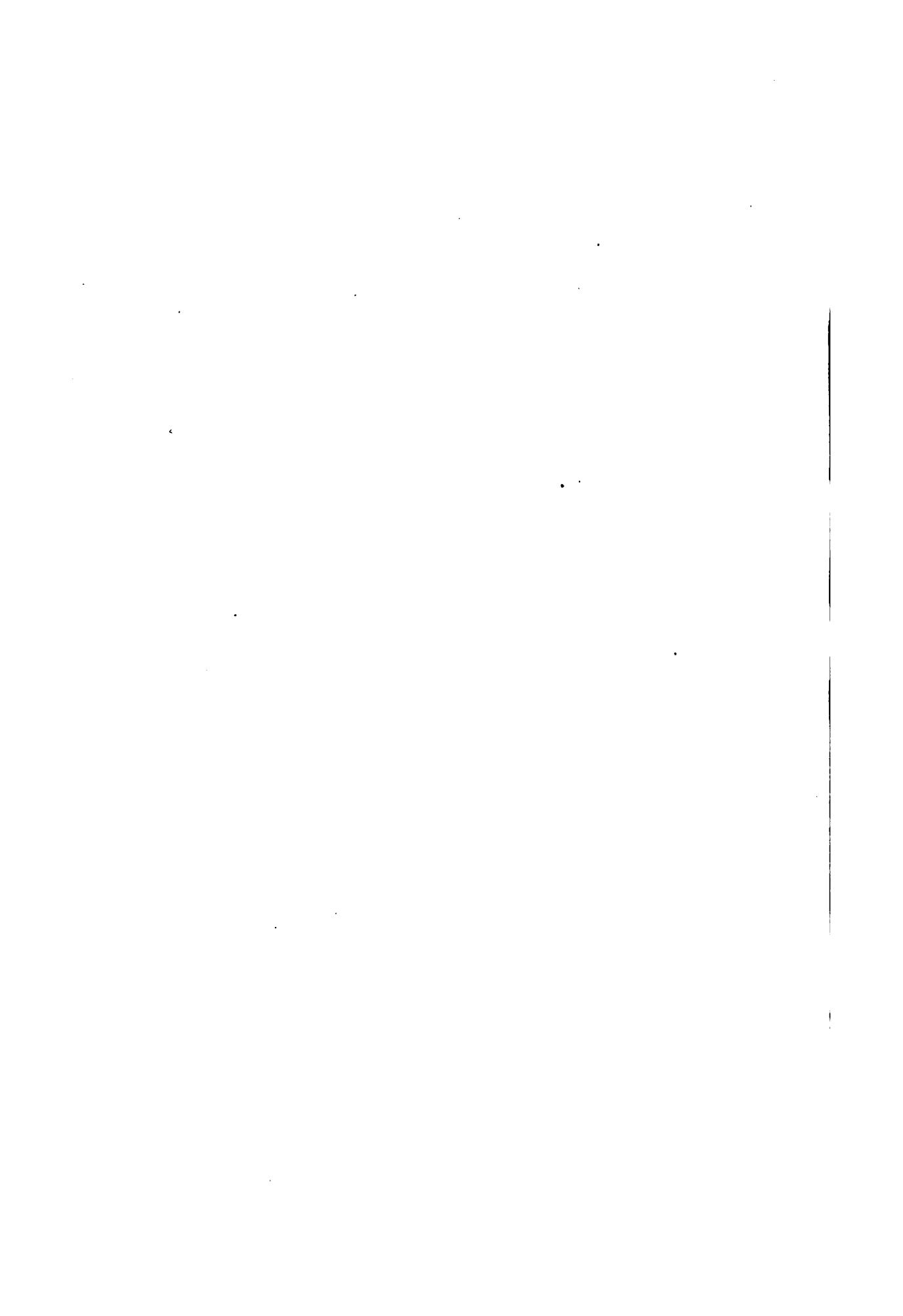
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