

# Visit of the Russian Warship *Apollo* to California in 1822-1823

*Translated and edited by Glenn Farris*

## INTRODUCTION

*Recently Professor Thomas Blackburn provided me with a copy of an account of a Russian round-the world voyage which occurred in 1821-1823. The title is Voyage aux Colonies Russes de l'Amérique, fait á bord du sloop de guerre, l'Apollon, pendant les années 1821, 1822, et 1823 (Voyage to the Russian Colonies in America made aboard the sloop of war, Apollo, during the years 1821, 1822, and 1823). It was written by Achille Schabelski and published in 1826 in Saint Petersburg by N. Gretscho. Schabelski was an interpreter assigned to the voyage. The ship was initially commanded by Captain of the first rank Irinarkh Stepanovich Tulub'ev. Captain Tulub'ev died during the passage from Rio de Janeiro to Port Jackson (Sydney, Australia) and was replaced by Lieutenant Stepan Krushchev.<sup>1</sup> Evidently this book escaped the sharp eyes of Adele Ogden since there is no mention of the Apollo in her lengthy compendium of the ships which visited California between 1786 and 1848.<sup>2</sup> In reading Schabelski's account the reader is referred to the fascinating description of California in 1824 by another Russian visitor, Dmitry Zavalishin, translated by James Gibson and published in the Southern California Quarterly in 1973.<sup>3</sup>*

*Schabelski's account opens with the arrival of the sloop Apollo at the port of San Francisco a few days after California had been visited by a deputation from the new emperor of Mexico, Agustín Iturbide. The visiting representative, the Cañonigo Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, had departed Monterey on November 22 aboard the Imperial Mexican Man-of-War San Carlos, taking with him not only ex-governor Pablo Vicente de Solá but apparently the principal Russian-Span-*

ish translator available to the Californians, José Antonio Bolcof (Osip Volkov).<sup>4</sup> Only two weeks before (November 9-10, 1822) Captain Luís Antonio Argüello had been elected the new governor by an extremely narrow margin over José de la Guerra, the anticipated successor. The new governor was clearly a nervous man as is indicated by messages sent by him November 26, 1822, to the comandante of the Presidio of San Francisco, and on December 19, 1822, to the Mexican Minister of War in which he identifies the captain as Don Esteban Krussof.<sup>5</sup> However, in a later letter to Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, dated January 30, 1823, he pours out his relief that the Russians, and particularly the warship Apollo, had proved peaceful.<sup>6</sup>

A key feature of the Schabelski account is its graphic description of the means used by the missions and presidial troops at this time to recover escaped Indian neophytes. Although the story of such fugitive hunts is not new, the fact that Schabelski apparently witnessed such depredations lends weight to his report. On his trip by horseback to Fort Ross, accompanied only by an Indian interpreter from Mission San Rafael, he encountered such an expedition headed by a Christian Indian leader. The fact that they were operating within the area claimed by the Russians at that time provides additional support for the fear expressed by the Kashaya Pomo to the Russians over Mexican depredations.

Schabelski's description of forced augmentation of the missions would appear to fly in the face of Spanish law of the time. However, one must remember the erosion of the power of Spain in California from 1810 to 1822, and thus the authority of the crown. Of course, his observance of the rationale for such forced augmentation of the neophyte community being initiated by the presidio commander is intriguing. Since the presidios had come to be ever-increasingly dependent on the missions to supply them with goods and even funds for their support, it is clear that they would have a vested interest in boosting the production of the missions. With the continual attrition of Indians through introduced diseases, it would be to the benefit of the military to encourage enforced proselytization of the gentiles, particularly if these people were likely to be a military threat to the presidios. With Spanish law and its attendant influences having been increasingly absent in California during the previous decade, Schabelski was observing a practice which had grown increasingly dominant in the

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*Spanish-Indian relationship. After all, he himself expresses the view that the Spanish crown would be shocked if it was aware of these excesses he goes on to describe, thus giving the impression that Spanish law was not being closely adhered to in California. (My own view is that it was more the presidio commanders than the missionary fathers pressing for such forced dragooning of the Indians.)*

*Schabelski comments on the lack of trained physicians in California at the time and of the decrepit nature of the defenses in the presidios of Monterey and San Francisco. He attributes the poor morale of the common soldiers and the Indians in the missions to the avaricious nature of the priests and officers at that time who busied themselves dividing the payments received for the products grown at the missions. Just before he is to depart California he mentions his frustration at not being able to investigate what seems to him to be a dramatic volcanic eruption off to the east northeast at a time of year when the period of Indian burning had passed.*

*The initiation of the voyage is described by Schabelski in his introduction to the book.*

In response to a *ukase* promulgated in the month of September of the year 1821 relative to the commerce of Russian colonies of the Northwest coast of America, there were equipped two ships to go to these places.<sup>7</sup> They were the sloop *Apollo* of 32 cannon, and the brig *Ajax* of 16 cannon. Employed in this voyage and foreseeing that I would derive some interesting observations, I undertook to prepare this journal to which I have consigned my observations as much to report on phenomena of nature as that concerning the customs of peoples and the state of developing societies. On the 10th of October, 1821, the sloop *Apollo*, followed by the brig *Ajax* left the port of Cronstadt.

*The ships ran into difficult winds in the course of their voyage and the brig Ajax was driven ashore in the North Sea. It was eventually refloated and returned to Cronstadt.<sup>8</sup> The Apollo then continued on alone and sailed to Rio de Janeiro and then east around the Cape of Good Hope and on to Australia before continuing up to the Siberian coast.<sup>9</sup> From there it crossed over to New Archangel (Sitka) and then down to San Francisco Bay. It stayed in California from November 25, 1822 until March 26, 1823.*

*After leaving California the Apollo sailed north to New Archangel (Sitka). Schabelski transferred to another Russian ship, the Chirikov, for the return voyage to Russia. The Apollo subsequently made another visit to California from December 12, 1823 to January 23, 1824.<sup>10</sup>*

*Following is the section of the journal which details the ship's visit to California.*

#### IN CALIFORNIA

The night of November 26 [1822] with a following wind, we entered the port of San Francisco.<sup>11</sup>

The next day at daybreak after having hoisted our colors, we came to anchor in the middle of the Spanish settlement. [It was flying] a very new flag to us; Iturbide now reigned in Mexico, and California which in its political state is dependent on the Mexican government, had taken an oath of fidelity to this so-called emperor.<sup>12</sup>

During a stay of four months in this country, having occasion to travel over the land situated between San Francisco and Monterey, passing a month at the mission of Santa Clara and making an excursion from San Francisco to Port Bodega, I could learn through my own observations the state of things.<sup>13</sup> The Spanish are careful what they will show to strangers, and it is in an abridged state that I will present my observations.

The changes which removed California from Spain, apparently did not alter the old order of things. As before, it is divided into presidios or military establishments, and missions. The former are inhabited only by soldiers commanded by military officers, and the missions are peopled by Indians under the direction of Franciscan friars.

A governor resident in Monterey has jurisdiction over New California.<sup>14</sup> By the new rules, a governing body [junta] is established at Monterey. The deputies are chosen from among the inhabitants of California and recognize the Governor as their president.

When this land was part of the Spanish empire, the king sent it considerable sums.<sup>15</sup> The conversion of the Indians of California

which he proposed as the object was laudable, but did the Spanish government know how this project was being executed?

The manner of converting the Indians being the same today as it was before [independence from Spain], and having had previous occasion of seeing it put into practice with my own eyes, you may judge from this description that it did not at all conform to the principles of Christianity.

The commander of the presidio sends a detachment of soldiers to the mission in order to augment the number of inhabitants. The missionaries give them the converted Indians who having embraced Christianity for a long time, speak Spanish well and serve as guides and interpreters for the soldiers.

Having left the mission, they travel over the country and as soon as they notice indications of some habitations, they stop to await the night, and send out the cleverest Indians to reconnoiter the area. Having assured themselves that it is a village, they swoop down on it during the night making loud cries. The natives, the most timid of indigenous Americans, who have only a bow as a weapon, rush out of their houses and are greeted with a fusillade of musket fire. This they hear for the first time and, seized by panic, they seek safety in flight. The Spaniards, profiting from the disorder, throw themselves on them and throw lassos [*lascets*] around their bodies. As soon as an Indian is caught, he is dragged to the ground and the soldier rides at a great gallop [dragging him] so that the Indian is weakened by the loss of blood from his wounds. He is then bound and turned over to the Indian allies.

If the soldiers, after having trapped several dozen miserable Indians, perceive that their holy zeal will not produce any more captives, they return to the mission. The reverend Franciscan fathers receive their new infants and make them embrace Christianity. Such is the manner employed in California to make new proselytes for the Catholic religion.

The natives thus drawn into the Spanish establishment, by dint of punishment accustom themselves more and more to the new way of life and become trained in all kinds of labor.

The missions of California are built quite uniformly with the

only difference that those found south of Monterey are richer. The church occupies the best place. Next to it is found the house of the priests, which always has nearby a barracks for the soldiers and a sort of convent in which, at nightfall, the fathers lock up the unmarried Indian women.

The village consists of several rectangular houses made of adobe [*terre cuite*], in which each room is occupied by a family. In the space which is found between these lodgings and the Indian village is always placed a huge cross.

Such a mission, containing sometimes more than 1,000 Indians, is overseen most often by two friars, which only have as guards a squad of soldiers consisting of three or four men. This number is more than enough to maintain order among the timid Indians.

The type of life which the natives lead in the mission is very monotonous. When they get up they go to church. After having heard Mass, of which they understand not a single word, they assemble in a public place where they are given a light breakfast which is followed by hard labor until noon. At that hour the church bell beckons them and the Indians are obliged to quit work, throw themselves on their knees and enter into prayer. This, you understand, [occurs] when they are in the presence of priests. After this act of devotion, each one of them, a basket (*corbeille*) in hand, comes to the common kitchen where he receives his dinner consisting of cooked wheat grains which have been boiled in water [*atole*]. These baskets are made of tree roots with such craftsmanship that they hold water. [Mussel] shells (*coquille*) take the place of spoons. Having finished the noon meal, they work until sunset. Then they go to the church, from there to the kitchen to receive their supper and then they disperse to the houses.

The Indians, continuously subjected to wearisome work, do not have any possessions. Once in a while I found in the homes of a few of them a little salt and a few seeds. A shirt and a wool blanket, which they wrap around their bodies, are the only items which they receive from the fathers. Even these are made in the mission by the Indians themselves.

Some time ago, only the priests enjoyed the fruits of their [the Indians'] labor. But during the past 12 years the troubles in Spain

no longer allowed the king to send money to support California.<sup>16</sup> The Governor and commandants of the Presidios were obliged to exact from the missions the supplies and equipment which were indispensable to the support of the soldiers. In vain the priests argued [that they should be exempted] by all divine and human laws. Their avarice was forced to give way to necessity and now the soldiers are outfitted and fed by the missions. The money which comes from the sale of commercial goods is divided between the priests and the officers.<sup>17</sup>

Such an administration of California produced the most terrible results for the country. The Indian, deprived of all property and having no motive to encourage him to work harder, leads an extremely miserable life. The soldiers, inclined to indolence, see work as the worst evil. Only the priests and the officers possess things, so that the soldiers do not wish to do any work.

The Presidio is a large square structure of adobe bricks divided into several chambers and having more the appearance of a stable than of a European fort.

It's difficult to fully present the miserable state in which the Spaniards in California live. An observer among them believes himself transported into the 16th century. The construction of the dwellings, their dress and that of their wives, the weapons, the furniture, and their opinions and prejudices make them appear to be contemporaries of Cortez or Pizarro. Possessing a land which enjoys a delightful temperature and extreme fertility, they make not the least effort to profit by their wonderful situation.

The forts, built both at San Francisco and at Monterey, fallen into disrepair, are supplied with cannons on decrepit, old gun carriages which break at the first discharge of the cannon. I noticed in San Francisco such a one which dated from the year 1740. In visiting Monterey, I found only one soldier, asleep. Although it is true that to put this presidio (Monterey) in shape to defend itself would require a great deal of fortification, San Francisco, because of its position, presents a locale which one could very successfully defend against a superior enemy force because at the entrance of the port, which is extremely narrow, one could construct batteries on the two opposing sides.

One notices a similar lack of things which could better the condition of the inhabitants of this land. There does not exist any school, neither at Monterey nor at San Francisco, and a so-called doctor, a true student of Sangrado, comforts all the sick of California.<sup>18</sup>

Passing through the village, situated on the road from Santa Clara to San Juan [Bautista], I was surrounded by a large number of sick people, who, with tears in their eyes, begged me to come visit them and to give them some remedies. These very people do not know that only six leagues from their village, near the mission of San José, are found hot sulphur springs which would be of great help to them. It was the Indians of this latter mission who showed them to me. Returning to San Jose, I did not fail to explain to the priests the necessity of building near these waters some house to obtain for the sick the means of curing them.<sup>19</sup> But I strongly doubt that this counsel could produce any effect.

Vancouver was wrong in describing the Indians as savages entirely deprived of intelligence and more resembling overgrown infants.<sup>20</sup> This strong judgment was probably suggested to him by the priests, who hoped to hold them under an absolute guardianship as formerly the Jesuits had done in Paraguay. A more impartial observation showed us that these Indians are capable not only of all the aspects of agricultural work, but in time would even become artisans and it is to them that California is indebted for what little is produced.

It is agreeable and even consoling to find in the works of such as Châteaubriand sublime descriptions which paint the sacrifices made by the missionaries of the New World to propagate Christianity.<sup>21</sup> But in examining that which has actually occurred, one is forced to see them as brilliant illusions and to admit the opinion of La Rochefoucauld and of Pope that self-love rules also the actions of men.<sup>22</sup>

These verses of the English Poet [Pope]:

Two Principles in human nature reign;  
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain;  
Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;  
Reason's comparing balance, rules the whole.  
Reason rules the whole, not self-love alone.

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are only too applicable to the missionaries of California who, only speaking of eternity and of their contempt for passion, think only to satisfy their cupidity.

The [political] changes which have come over Mexico must influence California. The first act of power that one ought to exercise would be to abolish the military government which, in ruling this country, is completely contrary to its interests. Its commerce, far too limited by the existence of the missions, requires reforms needed to improve the state of the Indians and to provide them the means to acquire goods. They also ought to encourage agriculture among the inhabitants of California.

Wishing to see the Russian establishment near Port Bodega, I crossed the Bay of San Francisco and arrived at the mission of San Rafael. After having declared my intention to the missionary, I received from him some horses and an Indian boy who, moreover knowing Spanish, could serve as an interpreter.<sup>23</sup>

As I had to travel more than thirty-five leagues across a land entirely uninhabited by Europeans, prudence required me to take with me some weapons and it was with only two pistols and a saber, with no soldier for a guard, that I resolved to set out.<sup>24</sup> The extreme timidity of the Indians assured me of my security.

The first day I traversed country which had a wonderful appearance, but the lack of trees rendered it not very appropriate for habitation. During this time I only saw several tents of unhappy fugitives from Mission San Rafael who, taking me for a Spaniard, fled to the mountains.

The next day, toward noon, I was stopped by a river, which I was obliged to ford.<sup>25</sup> Resolved to await the ebb tide, I was happily surprised toward nightfall to see coming toward me about thirty Indians from the Mission San Rafael, having at their head a chief of their tribe who was sent out about a week earlier to capture fugitives. Immediately they cut down a large tree of which the trunk provided me with a launch and the branches for paddles. As they accompanied me to the establishment [Fort Ross], I had the occasion of seeing how they hunted the native peoples from whom they differ only by their cruelty and the knowledge of some superficial ceremonies of the Catholic religion.<sup>26</sup>

The morning of the third day I perceived the Russian flag flying in the middle of the establishment of New Albion [Fort Ross]. The fort, which contained within it the house of the commandant and the storehouses, formed a square fortified with four bastions, provided with 24 cannon.<sup>27</sup> All that I observed was in excellent order. Their forethought went so far that, despite there being a stream flowing very close to the enclosure, they had dug a well near the commandant's house so as not to lack water in case of a siege.

This establishment, lying nine leagues from Port Bodega, does not possess a bay adequate to receive ships and it had only been formed by the Russians with the sole intention of facilitating their relations with the Spaniards of California.<sup>28</sup> These latter did not realize this plan, being previously very unhappy with their new neighbor, and not failing to claim their rights on all the [west] coast of America from Tierra del Fuego to the Bering Strait. But an uninterrupted possession of a number of years [at least ten by this time] had legitimized the rights of the Russians to occupy Bodega and though still resenting all the implications of such an occupation, [the Spanish] had become faithful allies and good friends.

About a cannon shot from the fort, the natives of New Albion had built a village. They lived there peaceably. The smallest services which they rendered to the Russians were generously recompensed and the latter showed not the least inclination to dominate them. The huts of these natives, constructed of reeds, are set out in an orderly fashion and have a conical form. Having little passion and lacking courage, they wish only to be able to peacefully live their lives. The seeds which they grind into flour are the basis for their subsistence.<sup>29</sup> Rarely do they occupy themselves with the hunt or catching fish. They wear almost no clothing and very few among them are tattooed.

With the intention of returning by water to San Francisco, I took from the establishment three baidarkas with seven Aleuts and after six hours I entered the port of Bodega to allow the paddlers to rest.<sup>30</sup> It is open to winds from the south quarter and is only appropriate for small ships (*petits bâtimens*). The Russians have built here a house and a bath. This latter is indispensable for a Russian establishment.<sup>31</sup> After having easily doubled the cape of Point Reyes, I visited the bay of Sir Francis Drake. It is not very good for

an anchorage and it is only the name that it carries which makes it remarkable. The third day I arrived in San Francisco.

In taking the three baidarkas, I had hoped to use them to travel up the river of San Francisco which flows into the bay of the same name, and to investigate the cause for the light which we had noticed to the east northeast from our anchorage in the port.<sup>32</sup> We could not attribute it to fire since the time had already passed in which the Indians burned the grasses to better the [growth of the] seeds.<sup>33</sup> I assumed that this light came from the combustion of naphtha, or that it was due to some volcano of the Sierra Nevada in action.<sup>34</sup> But my desire to satisfy my curiosity found great obstacles in the suspicions of the Spaniards who did everything they could to deter me from my project and I was forced to abandon it.

March 27, 1823, aided by a strong current, in spite of contrary winds, we left the bay of San Francisco and directed our course toward the straits of the Northwest coasts of America to seek foreign ships [*bâtiments étrangers*] but, required to spend some time at Sitka, we only visited Puerto Cordova of the Archipelago of the Prince de Galles, named Caigane by the indigenous people.<sup>35</sup> This port which holds the first rank among the places where United States citizens trade with the natives is vast and little peopled.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>N.A. Ivaninstsov, *Russian Round-the-World Voyages, 1803-1849, with a summary of later voyages to 1867*, Materials for the Study of Alaska History No. 14, translated by Glynn R. Barratt, edited by Richard A. Pierce (Kingston, Ontario, 1980), p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>Adele Ogden, "Trading Vessels on the California Coast, 1786-1848," Ms., Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>3</sup>James R. Gibson, trans. and ed., "California in 1824 by Dmitry Zavalishin," *Southern California Quarterly*, 55 (1973): 369-412.

<sup>4</sup>*The Russian-American Company: Correspondence of the Governors Communications Sent: 1818*, translated, with an introduction by Richard A. Pierce (Kingston, Ontario, 1984); Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890), II: 274.

<sup>5</sup>Letter from Governor Argüello to the Commandant of the Presidio of San Francisco. Arrival of a ship. No date or place was given, but the context would suggest that it was written on November 26, 1822 at Monterey. Archives of California, Departmental Records, Tomo I-III, Vol. C-A 46: 60, Bancroft Library. Also letter from Governor Argüello to the Mexican Minister of War dated December 19, 1822, Monterey. Arrival of Ship. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup>Letter from Governor Argüello to Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, dated January 30, 1823, Monterey. Hostilities of the Russians. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup>The Ukase of 1821 of Tsar Alexander I "forbade foreign ships to approach within 100 miles of the coast of Russian America north of 51° North latitude. This measure had been urged by the Russian-American Company to prevent poaching and smuggling by foreign

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(mainly American) traders." James R. Gibson, *Imperial Russian in Frontier America: The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian America, 1784-1867* (New York, 1976), p. 21. The *Apollo* had clearly been sent for such patrol duty.

<sup>9</sup>Ivansintsov, *Russian Round-the World Voyages*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>9</sup>A translation and annotation of the North Pacific portion of the trip (to Kamchatka and Sitka) is being published separately. Glenn Farris, "The Russian Sloop *Apollo* in the North Pacific in 1822," *Siberica*, forthcoming 1992.

<sup>10</sup>Ivansintsov, *Russian Round-the World Voyages*, 67, 72; Archives of California, Departmental Records, Tomo I-III, 1822-1825, Vol. C-A 46: 215-216.

<sup>11</sup>Since Schabelski seems to be addressing a western audience, the dates given use the modern (Gregorian) calendar. However, at this time the Russians were using the Julian calendar which was twelve days behind in Europe and eleven days behind in the eastern Pacific (due to the International Date Line). Since Schabelski gives the date based on twelve days, he is one day over for local time. The Mexican documents state that the arrival of the *Apollo* occurred on November 25, 1822. In other descriptions of the trip the Julian dates are shown. Ivansintsov, *Russian Round-the World Voyages*, pp. 65-67.

<sup>12</sup>Agustin Iturbide proclaimed himself emperor of Mexico, which had declared itself an independent monarchy based on the Plan of Iguala of 1821. He was eventually captured and deposed on April 8, 1823. He was executed by a firing squad in 1824.

<sup>13</sup>The Russian-American Company port in California was also referred to as Port Rumiantsov.

<sup>14</sup>The governor at the time was the newly-elected Luis Antonio Argüello.

<sup>15</sup>The Pious Fund supported the mission establishments.

<sup>16</sup>Refers to the Napoleonic Wars and the ensuing turmoil in Spain.

<sup>17</sup>Primarily hides and tallow, not specie.

<sup>18</sup>William Hartnell and Father Patrick Short, S.J., are credited with establishing the first school in California in 1834. Bancroft, *History of California*, 111: 371, 670, 677-678.

Sangrado was a character in the novel *Gil Blas de Santillane* by Alain-René Lesage (1668-1747) who had only two medical remedies: hot water and blood-letting. This doctor was almost certainly Manuel Quijano, the post surgeon at the Presidio of Monterey who served from 1807 until his death in August 1823. Robert J. Moes, "Manuel Quijano and Waning Spanish California," *California History*, 67 (1988): 78-93.

<sup>19</sup>The priests at Mission San José at this time were Fr. Narciso Durán and Fr. Buenaventura Fortuny. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1849: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, CA, 1969), pp. 68-69, 89-90.

<sup>20</sup>British explorer George Vancouver who visited California in 1792-1793.

<sup>21</sup>François-René de Châteaubriand, a French writer (1768-1848) who had visited America in the late 18th century and in the 19th century was seen to have a considerable influence on the Romantic Movement.

<sup>22</sup>Francois, duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680). His *Maxims* (1665) expressed his disgust of a world wherein the best sentiments are, in spite of appearances, dictated by self-interest. Alexander Pope, English poet and philosopher (1688-1744).

<sup>23</sup>The missionary at San Rafael at this time was Fray Juan Amorós. Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, pp. 11-13. It is interesting to note that Amorós had written a letter dated March 8, 1823, in which he stated "he had entertained some Russian officers at San Rafael but had prevented them from going to a place called Ros-Kosoff [sic] by enlarging upon the difficult terrain and other difficulties to be encountered in reaching it." *Ibid.*, p. 12. This seems to conflict with Schabelski's statement of the cooperative nature of the priest at San Rafael.

<sup>24</sup>Officially, the equivalence was about 2.6 miles to the league, but overland distances worked out to about two miles to a league. Therefore, this would have been about seventy miles.

<sup>25</sup>The Russian River.

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<sup>27</sup>This comment is confirmed by Russian accounts of the Indians' fear of mission parties raiding for new proselytes and the presence of numerous groups of runaway neophytes in the Russian River Valley. James R. Gibson, "Russia in California, 1833: Report of Governor Wrangel," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, (1969): 212.

<sup>28</sup>This reference to four bastions is an echo of Fr. Mariano Payeras who had visited Fort Ross only a few months earlier in October 1822. At the time the chapel had not been built and there was a belltower in its place on the eastern corner. Another small watchtower stood at the western corner. Only two proper bastions stood in the fort, at the north and south corners. Mariano Payeras, "Diario de su Caminata con el Comisario del Imperio. Viaje del Cañonigo Fernandez de San Vicente á Ross, 11 Octubre-2 Noviembre, 1822," pp. 411-428, Ms., Bancroft Library.

On Payeras' visit a few months before, he had reported seeing five cannon on each floor of the northern blockhouse (ten) and seven cannon on each floor of the southern blockhouse (fourteen) plus four other small howitzer-like pieces in the yard. Perhaps it was only the twenty-four fixed cannon which Schabelski counted. *Ibid*.

<sup>29</sup>About eighteen miles; clearly he was calculating two miles to the league.

<sup>30</sup>The seeds were possibly acorns or grass seeds.

<sup>31</sup>Presumably three three-hatch baidarkas (kayaks) were used to carry the seven Aleuts, Schabelski and the Indian interpreter. Fr. Payeras had made the same trip but in a fifteen-oared skin boat (baidara) which took about six and one-half hours to cover the distance.

<sup>32</sup>Fr. Payeras has a wonderful description of his experience with the Russian bathhouse at Bodega Bay.

<sup>33</sup>The San Francisco was actually the Sacramento River.

<sup>34</sup>This is another confirmation of the oft-mentioned practice of Native Californian seasonal burning.

<sup>35</sup>It's hard to determine what was occurring. Perhaps it was some lightning fire in the Sierra Nevada or perhaps even on Mt. Diablo, given the direction provided. There are no reported instances of volcanic eruption in the area indicated by Schabelski.

<sup>36</sup>The *Apollo* was finally assuming its sentinel duty (see note 7 above).

Puerto Cordova, Archipelago of the Prince of Wales Island which was called by the natives Kaigany (Kaigan). It was located immediately north of the Queen Charlotte Islands in extreme south Alaska. It had been used as a major trading station for many years and was mentioned by Rezanov on his visit in 1806. Basil Dmytryshyn, E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, and Thomas Vaughan, trans. and eds., *The Russian-American Colonies, 1798-1867, A Documentary Record* (3 vols., Portland, OR, 1989, pp. 142-144.