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Author(s): Hammatt Shideler

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MITIGATION AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN
FOR RUSSIAN FORT ALEXANDER
PRINCEVILLE, HANALEI

by

Hallett H. Hammatt, Ph.D
and
David W. Shideler, M.A.

Prepared for
Princeville Corporation

by
Cultural Surveys Hawaii
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I. Introduction

This plan has been prepared to address a condition placed on Princeville Corporation by the County of Kaua'i Planning Department, relative to the continued preservation and management of the remains of Russian Fort Alexander. The remnant of the original fort defensive berm is presently situated on a bluff above the parking lot of the Mirage Princeville Resort Hotel. Although the southern and southeastern portion of the original berm was destroyed by Hotel construction, approximately two-thirds of the berm is still intact and the 2 structural features remain undisturbed within the enclosure. This plan addresses partial reconstruction of the original extent of the fort berm, improvement and management of the location and development of an interpretive display. The purpose is to transform this now somewhat neglected and impacted historic site into a more intact interpretive site which will be an asset to the community of Hanalei and the surrounding resort complex.

This plan was developed through discussions with the Kaua'i Historic Sites Review Commission, Mr. Robert Burton of Princeville Corporation, Ms. Nancy McMahon of the State Historic Preservation Office (May 18, 1989) and Mr. Mark Schatz of Belt, Collins and Associates. Mr. David Shideler of Cultural Surveys Hawaii prepared the section of display concepts and materials. Information and display material was obtained from the Kaua'i Museum in Lihue and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

This plan is more a management and development plan than a
II. Partial Reconstruction

The original configuration of the Fort Alexander berm was sketched by the Bishop Museum (Rosendahl, 1973) and more accurately mapped again by the Bishop Museum later in the same year (McCoy, 1973). The sketch and map included in these two reports comprise the only known record of the original fort size as recorded in modern time. The McCoy map is thought to be more accurate and was enlarged and overlaid onto the Hotel renovation plan map. It is clear from the overlay that the original berm extended to the south of the present lawn area and was cut by the west wing of the Hotel and the existing parking lot and driveway.

It was thought that the medial strip between the present parking lot and entry road may have preserved a portion of the original Fort Alexander berm. Although the line of the original berm does follow the line of the medial strip in the southeastern portion of the Fort, examination of backhoe trenches showed only geologically ancient laterite deposits, which are not related to the earthen berm of the fort (Hammatt, 1989).

Present Hotel renovation plans call for "reclaiming" a portion of the original fort interior (between 8 and 20 feet) which is to be put back into lawned bluff to the level of the original topography and to match the original contour of the bluff. This additional space allows for reconstruction of a defensive berm line which although not in the original configuration will at least partially recreate the enclosed aspect of the original fort berm (Fig. 1). A break in the berm at the south
Figure 1 Proposed Partial Reconstruction of Fort Alexander Showing Original Berm Location
C. Walking Paths and Signs

Although a walking path around the interior of the Fort berm was originally suggested, it is thought to create a visual distraction to the Fort remains themselves. The visitors to the Fort should be allowed to roam across the Fort interior and berm at will. A walkway may be required at the entrance to the display gazebo from the Hotel porte cochère because of daily pedestrian traffic. This walkway will also pass by the two internal structural features within the Fort.

There will be 3 metal plaque signs. A larger sign on the northern edge of the porte cochère will direct people to Russian Fort Alexander and will read "To Russian Fort Alexander and Historic Display." The walkway to the display gazebo will pass by both internal features, each of which will have a small plaque. The first feature is thought to be a barracks structure and the second a small armory. The plaques will describe the significance of each in a few sentences.

D. Return of Fort Alexander to State and National Registers of Historic Places

Fort Alexander was listed on both the State of Hawaii and the National Register of Historic Places until the late 1970s, when it was removed with hundreds of other archaeological and historic sites because of improper notification of land owners. Since the site is to be permanently preserved and is still relatively intact it is the appropriate time to reominate Fort
Panel 3  Russians in Hawaii: Map and Illustrations

Panel 4  Russians on Kaua‘i and Fort Alexander: Story with Illustrations

Below all of the panels, in continuous sequence, will be a date panel, giving dates and major events related to the upper panel.

Much of the information and illustrations for display have been collected and are presented in the Appendix of this report. As suggested, specific display design is presented in Fig. 2, 3, and more detailed information on the display theme and content is presented below.

Finally, the center of the gazebo will have a scale model of the Russian Fort Alexander, showing its original (pre-hotel) topography and surrounding terrain. This model will also include the Kamo‘omai‘ka‘i fishpond and the mouth of the Hanalei River as they appeared in the early 19th Century.
Fig. 3 Proposed Exhibit, Panel 3 and 4
Cross Sect
Figure 6 Possibke design for Exhibit Gazebo.
Floor Plan
suggest other possibilities. What the following overview does is to show that there is potential for a great display which would augment the hotel and draw visitors.

Overview of Proposed Display

We propose a presentation of a number of related displays, including visual and textual presentations that would be constructed on or within view of the Fort Alexander sites. As envisioned these would be encountered in a self guided clockwise circumambulation through a structure that would exploit the view. The number of individual displays could vary between 8 and 40 exhibits. The size of individual exhibits could be tailored to the size and configuration of the structure. In the center of the display area models of Fort Elizabeth and Fort Alexander could be displayed partly surrounded by comfortable beaches. As the presentation would utilize only reproductions it would not be necessary to secure the structure with normal security being sufficient. As envisaged no curatorial or docent staff would be required. Exhibit technology can now make displays virtually weather and vandal proof.

As presently envisaged the display would start with a presentation on the five players in the story. These would include portraits and brief biographical essays on Tsar Alexander, Governor Baranov, Dr. Schäffer, Kamehameha I, and Kaumuali'i. In Appendix A are given portraits of the first four and example biographical essays on Tsar Alexander and Dr. Schäffer.
Tsar Alexander I

Alexander I (1777-1825) Emperor of Russia, the Tsar of war and peace, was born in St. Petersburg and raised in the liberal tradition of the eighteenth century. Married at age 16 to Princess (Louise-Marie) Elizabeth after whom the Russian fort at Waimea Kauai was named. He ascended the throne after the murder of his father in 1801 and ruled Russia till his death at age 48.

Alexander carried out several liberal reforms, including liberating serfs and providing them with land, abolishing torture in the Russian courts, and allowing the establishment of private printing presses. Stopping Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, he carried the war to french soil. In forming the Holy Alliance of 1815 he hoped to create a world order based on Christian principles of charity and justice.

Towards the end of his life, Alexander immersed himself in mysticism. While he is believed to have died in 1825, there were claims that he lived as a hermit in Siberia under the name of Fëdor Kuzmich, dying there in 1864.

With the end of Schäffer's adventurism in the Hawaiian Islands in 1817 "ended the Russian Tsar Alexander's sovereignty over the Island of Kauai, in a fort named after him, in a place called Hanalei, that he had not yet heard of" (Silverman, KHS Mss).
Georg Anton Scheffer's ambition was to establish a kingdom of his own in the Hawaiian Islands. Employed by the Russian American Company, his alliance with Kaumualii caused anxiety to Kamehameha I, but Scheffer's authority abruptly ended and he was forced to leave the Islands.
Baranov admonished Schäffer "not to miss the opportunity to advance the interests of the company and the fatherland." This Schäffer took to heart.

Arriving on the island of Hawai'i in 1815, Schäffer was able to gain the confidence of Kamehameha I by treating his heart trouble and curing his favorite wife, Queen Ka'ahumanu of yellow fever. Schäffer was granted lands at Veikarua (Waikalua) in windward O'ahu and at Kooiai (Hoasaee?) on the SW portion of O'ahu and permission for the establishment of a Russian-American Company emporium at Honolulu. As the King's advisors continued to speak out against Schäffer his provisions began to be supplied irregularly and there were death threats. He petitioned Kamehameha to move to O'ahu and was assigned one of the King's warehouses at Honolulu. At this site the Russians began construction of a small blockhouse which gave modern Honolulu's "Fort Street" its name.

Reinforced by the propitious arrival of three Russian ships, the Otkaytie, Il'mena, and Kad'jak in the spring of 1816, Schäffer moved his base of operations to Kaua'i. Schäffer reported that he cured the King of Kaua'i, Kaumuali'i of dropsy and his queen of fever. Kaumuali'i was grateful and saw the Russians as potential allies in breaking his vassalage to Kamehameha and exerting his hereditary claims to the islands of O'ahu, Molokai, Lana'i, and Maui. Kamehameha was older now, his allies - the English were far away and the Russians were there with ships, guns, and men. Kaumuali'i signed an act of allegiance to the Russian Emperor, Alexander I. Kaumuali'i granted Schäffer lands
nobleman by Emperor Dom Pedro I under the title Count von Frankenthal. He spent much time in Germany gathering colonists for his estates, wrote a book about Brazil and died there in 1836.
Chieftain, at Oahu, 1818 (Tikhanov).
Nova-Arkhangelsk (Sitka), capital of Russian America, 1809
Russian possessions, the sites of forts, and the Russian names Schäffer gave to various locales (River Don, Schäfferthal, etc.). Various historical documents, such as excerpts from the Log of the Atahualpa, the Deed of Hanalei Province to Schäffer, the Act of Allegiance of King Kaumuali'i to Emperor Alexander, etc. (Appendix C) can be exhibited here. The originals of almost all the historical documents were lost in Russia by WWI, but duplications of hand-written copies in Cyrillic Russian and French dating to 1874 could be utilized to give a feeling of authenticity. Depictions of important Russian ships, such as the Bering, Lydia, Il'mena or Kad'jak might be obtainable or depictions of similar three-masted ships, brigs, and sloops could suffice. Diagrams of Forts Alexander and Elizabeth and photos and figures of archaeological investigations at Fort Alexander could augment this portion of the display. The chronology of Russians in Hawai'i could conclude here and a short synopsis of Fort Alexander could also be part of the display. If room permits, the Russian artists Choris and Tikhavov did many depictions of Hawaiian life which would give a more Hawaiian flavor and a more relaxed ambiance to the display.

In the center of the display area could be a model of Fort Alexander showing the topography down to the sea. A good deal of artistic license would be necessary, but why not? Dramatic themes which could be exploited might be the winery raid with its arson and murder and/or the livestock raid with its firing of cannon.
V. Summary of Management Recommendations

The following is a summary list of recommendations made as a part of this plan.

1. Fencing of the Russian Fort during Hotel renovation (this has already been done).

2. Partial reconstruction of the Fort Alexander berm to recreate the impression of a defensive enclosure.

3. Monitoring of grading and filling form berm reconstruction and of other demolition and construction activities to take place at the south side of the fort.

4. Keeping all areas of the fort in lawn without trees or ornamental plantings.

5. Keeping underground utilities including irrigation pipes away from the fort area.

6. Cutting the guava trees which surround the cliff face to improve the view plane.

7. Making a walkway or path from the porte cochère to the display gazebo through the opening in the berm.

8. Setting of a sign or plaque directing visitors from the Port Cochère to the walkway of the fort.

9. Setting of a small plaque at each of the internal features of the fort - the barracks (?) and the armory (?).


11. Construction of a display gazebo containing four (4)
VI. Bibliography*

Alexander, W.D.

Hammatt, H. H.

Joesting, E.

Kikuchi, William K.

McCoy, Patrick

Pierce, Richard A.

Rosendahl, Paul H.

* Excellent bibliographies can be found in Stauder's Appendix to McCoy 1973 and in Kikuchi 1969.
Appendix C  Panel 3  Russians in Hawaii
1808 Baranov sends the *Neva* to the islands for a cargo of salt and it visits O'ahu, Maui and Kaua'i. Scottish passenger Archibald Campbell wrote "It would appear that the Russians had determined to form a settlement upon these islands; at least preparations were made for the purpose ... the ship had a house in frame on board, a intimation was given that volunteers would be received; none were offered, and I never observed that any other steps were taken in the affair." After the *Neva*’s Captain Hagemeister learned that Campbell had been talking freely ashore "he gave me a severe reprimand for having, as he expressed it, betrayed their secrets." Kaumuali'i again sought Russian aid against Kamehameha.

1809 Commander Hagemeister wrote of Hawai'i to the Russian-American Company directors:

One of these islands can produce foods in quantities sufficient to supply a large part of Asiatic Russia.... The Bostonians spread rumors on these islands that the Russians wanted to come an settle there. At first, King Kamehameha was afraid of us, but now he says: "Let the Russians come; we have lived without them, we can also live with them."

If we were to undertake a settlement, we should start it on the island of Molokai, which is more fertile than the others. In the southern part, there is a port for small boats, and near this island are the best fisheries. The king would be willing to sell us either this or some other island.... If we cannot occupy the whole island now, it is possible to buy part of the land from the king....

For defence in this locality, it would be sufficient to maintain one or two towers with one or more cannon each. To occupy this territory would require only about 10 Russians for defence and about the same number for agriculture. The writer is sure that these islands can be occupied by friendly methods; but if force is necessary, then two ships would be sufficient" (Hagemeister).

1814 King Kaumuali'i wrote to Baranov acknowledging the
fort in the port of Honolulu."

September 1816 In trade for the ship Lydia Schaffer receives the deed to the province of Hanalei which he renames Schäffer Valley (Schäfferthal). Work begins on Forts Alexander and Barclay at Hanalei and on Fort Elizabeth at Waimea.

October 1816 Schäffer is given land at Waimea Kaua‘i and renames the Hanapepe River the "Don" and the village "Platov."

November 1816 Schäffer develops plantations with the planting cotton, tobacco, maize, orange, lemon, olive and grape vines.

December 1816 Natives loot the Russian winery by the lake just to the SE at Hanalei, burn buildings and murder an Aleut watchman. "Even the chief Hanalei himself, with tears in his eyes, requested us to conquer the savages, so that the latter would feel the might of the Russian people."

January 1817 Word arrives from Baramov that he repudiated transactions arranged by Schäffer, forbid further speculation and demanding the return of the Kad'iax, Il'mena, their crews, and capital.

February 1817 Schäffer learns that Capt. Kotzebue, from whom he expected supplies and reinforcement, had left Hawai‘i without contacting Schäffer and furthermore had made it clear to Kamehameha that he had nothing to do with Schäffer's machinations and "that everything done by Schäffer had been contrary to the will of our Emperor." Capt. Kotzebue produced the first known plan of Honolulu.

March 1817 The Yankee brig Ka'ahumanu bound for Canton had
Russians, wounding an Aleut, and were only repulsed by six pounder cannon fire. "The whole crew refused to stay here any longer." Schaffer left Kaua'i commanding the Kad'jak and after a short stay on O'ahu sailed for Macao and on to further adventure.
Appendix D  Panel 4  Russians on Kaua'i and Fort Alexander
22. Deed of Hanalei Province to Schäffer by King Kaumualii, September 21, 1816.

By the grace of God and by the protection of the Great Russian Emperor Alexander Pavlovich, we, Kaumualii, king of Kauai and Nihoa, prince of Oahu, Lanai, Maui, etc., etc. [declare the following]:

According to the contract which I concluded with the commissioner of the Russian-American Company, Mr. Egor Sheffer, on May 21 of this year, on the ship Otkrytie, I, King Kaumualii, ordered my Toion [chief] * Ovana to proceed instead of myself and hand over to the commissioner, Mr. Sheffer, our province [gubernia] which is located on the northern side of the island of Kauai, in the place called Hanalei where Sheffer acquired the rights I granted to him as representative of the Russian-American Company, including my [sovereign] rights, my property, my land, and my peasants. I renounce the above-mentioned part of the island in his [Sheffer's] favor or [of] whoever will rule there [his successors] so they [may] do whatever they please there. I renounce it also in the name of my successors who will not have any right to claim as their own this land, the rivers, ports, seas, peasants, or any other former possessions [of mine].

This, my order and act in regard to this province, was made public through my Toion Ovana and through the commissioner and witnessed by the chiefs of this province and handed to the commissioner, Mr. Sheffer, and his secretary Charles [Fox-] Bannick.

The witnesses present: The chiefs of this province—Kallavatti Hanalei, Toion Vorontsov; the names of the other chiefs are:

5. Magui 15. Veota 27. Tapech
8. Tomataori 18. Agurusuru 30. Tanaguna
10. Tupigea 20. Paraori 32. Lapochitu
11. Uvaru 33. Bogitirova
12. Tavuiri

For the sake of greater security, this act was made in two copies with my name and sign [cross]: One copy is given to the Commissioner, Mr. Sheffer, and another is to be placed in our archives.

[On the original]

Kaumualii X

September 24, 1816
Island Kauai

* Toion or Toim was a Siberian term for chief, carried to Alaska and later, as we see, applied to Hawaii.
Oct. 2, 3, 4, and 5. "I established the borders of the province and looked over the harbor, rivers, countryside, etc., etc. I ordered a fortress placed on three hillocks, designated the spot for it, and set about preparing for its construction." (Ibid.)

"Sheffer accepted the province of Hanalei and started to build two fortresses there, one on the right side of the river Hanalei at the mouth of the harbor and another on the same side of the river but much higher, at the harbor itself. Both fortresses were built of earth; however, both remained unfinished. The work was being done by the promyshlenniki with the aid of the inhabitants of the province, without any aid from the king." (Pierce, Hawaiian Adventure, Report, Filip Osipov to Main Office, about September, 1818, Reviewing Operations in the Islands, p. 128)

"The vessels were ordered to the bay of Hanalei, on the north side of the island, where they remained during the winter. On a cliff, commanding them, the doctor built a slight fort, and had a few cannons mounted.

"Kaumualii being anxious to secure his services, insuperintending the building of a stone fort at Wainee, gave him the fertile valley of Hanalei, and other valuable tracts." (Jarves, History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, pp. 201-202)

"On the night after Kahanamoku's arrival at Honolulu, the 'Myrtle' and 'Ilmen' both sailed for Kauai, and remained some time at Hanalei, where a fortification was thrown up, and a few cannon mounted." (Alexander, "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai," p. 5)

"This brig and a Russian ship the Myrtle, Capt. Young, which had been sent on by the Governor to be placed under the Doctor's direction, were both anchored for a season at Hanalei on the north side of Kauai, where, by the Doctor's order, a slight breastwork had been thrown up, and a few cannon mounted." (Whitney, "Account of an Alleged Attempt on the part of the Russians to take Possession of the Island of Kauai," p. 50)

Oct. 6. Schiffer renamed the harbor, the valley, rivers, and several people:

"The main fort received the name Alexander; to the main chief, Kallavatti, I gave the old name of the valley of Hanalei... I appointed the chief Hanalei captain of the valley and Petr Kicherev the manager." (Pierce, Hawaiian Adventure, Schiffer Journal, p. 164)
Bingham went to Hanalei and found the river 60-80 yards (180-240 feet) wide. (Bingham, Twenty-one Years, p. 143)

"After dining one day with the late English Consul Mr. Charlton, I walked out with a gentleman to see the ruins of an old embankment thrown up by the Russians in the winter of --- to protect some of their vessels which were then wintering in the bay of Hanalei. It stands on a pleasant commanding situation overlooking the bay. Its form must have been nearer round than any other forms, and measured about 350 feet the longest way and 250 the width. Its walls were made up of Earth, and a few guns mounted, but the walls have fallen and a slight ridge is all that remains." (Gilman, Rustications on Kauai and Nihoa in the Summer of 1843)

April 3

"About 10 A.M. we started on horseback with Messrs. Johnson & Jilcox to visit the ruins of the "Russian Fort" on the point at the S. side of the harbor - not more than 2 miles distant in a straight line from the Mission station - but making a ride of 4 or 5 miles, by way of the common route.

"We ascended from Hanalei valley by the same path by which we reached it, & proceeding towards the harbor, called at Mr. Kallitt's - the pilot of the port. He kindly volunteered to accompany us to the fort, which we reached after a circuitous route of some two miles. The remains of the fort are simply a breastwork of earth - now not more than three or four feet high, of an irregular oval or oblong form, and encircling perhaps an acre and a half. Some loose stones near the center mark the place of the magazine. It is on a point or bluff some 200 feet above the water, and commands the entrance to the harbor, which is about two miles in width.

"This fort is the work of the ambitious Dr. Schoot, familiarly known as the Russian Doctor. There is no evidence that the Russian Government or the Governor of Sitka ever had any design upon the island. It was probably the private project of a short-sighted, ambitious man, clothed with a 'little brief authority.' The fort is nearly due North from the Mission houses, which are in plain sight." (Chester Smith Lyman, The Hawaiian Journals of Chester Smith Lyman, May 15, 1846 to June 3, 1847, ma, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, pp. 172-173)
waited on the King & requested his immediate assistance in
saving the cargo, to which he would comply, provided Capt. H
would give him the Ship, as she lay & not otherwise, which
was thought most expedient as it was evident that she could
not be got off. During the morning about 300 of the
natives employed discharging the cargo, & pilfering almost
everything that came to hand. Situated as we were, we
were obliged to put up with every insult which these Savages
thought proper to offer; & they even had the audacity to
leave every man overboard from the ship, however I am in hopes
at some future time to have ample satisfaction.

Wednesday 1, heavy surf on the beach. The natives employed
Feb, discharging cargo which we find to be much damaged.

The King ordered all the chests to be put into his house.

Saturday 4th, This day the King requested all the crews to
Feb, assemble at his house for the purpose of obtaining
their chests. The King proposed to retain one half of each
man's cloaths for to satisfy him for his taking them under
his charge. We one & all replied that if he retained one
piece, we would not receive any of them but get satisfaction
at some future day.

Sunday 5th, the natives made an attempt to haul the ship up
Feb, but did not succeed parted the cables

Monday 6, natives employed as yesterday & met with the
Feb, same success.
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View of Structure 1 from South showing wall
B.M. Neg. No. KA(a)8-2

View of Structure 1
Excavations in Progress
B.M. Neg. No. KA(a)7-15
Structure 2, post excavation showing walls, view to SW
(B.K. Neg. No. KA(a) 7-9)