Early Maritime Russia and the North Pacific Arc

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Russia has always held an ambiguous position in world geography. Like most other great powers, Russia spread out from a small, original core area of identity. The Russian-Kievan core was located west of the Ural Mountains. Russia’s earlier history (1240-1480) was deeply colored by a Mongol-Tatar invasion in the thirteenth century. By the time Russia cast off Mongol rule, its worldview had developed to reflect two and one-half centuries of Asiatic rather than European dominance, hence the old cliché, *scratch a Russian and you find a Tatar.* This was the beginning of Russia’s long search of identity as neither European nor Asian, but Eurasian. Russia has a longer Pacific coastline than any other Asian country, yet a Pacific identity has been difficult to assume, in spite of over four hundred years of exploration (Map 1).

![Map 1. Geographic atlas of the Russian Empire (1745), digital copy by the Russian State Library.](image)

**Early Pacific Connections**

Ancient peoples from what is now present-day Russia had circum-Pacific connections via the North Pacific arc between North America and Asia. Today this arc is separated by a mere fifty-six miles at the Bering Strait, but centuries earlier it was part of a broad subcontinent more than one-thousand miles long. *Beringia,* as it is now termed, was not fully glaciated during the Pleistocene Ice Age; in fact, there was not any area of land within one hundred miles of the Bering Strait itself that was completely glaciated within the last million years, while for much of that time a broad band of ice to the east covered much of present-day Alaska. Until ten thousand years ago, the landbridge of Beringia was characterized by steppe grasses and dry, cold tundra with very little snow [1]. Anthropologists point out the similarities of “salmon culture” peoples on both the east and west sides of the North Pacific arc, but this culture was a relatively recent development in the course of human history within the North Pacific region as a whole.
The distant human migration routes from Siberia to North America likely had as one of their origins today’s Maritime Provinces of the Russian Far East between the Sikhote Alin and Bureinskiy mountain ranges, which were then an integral part of a prehistoric trade route system from present-day China to Mongolia. The great Amur River, though ice-bound for much of the year, served as the “highway along which the population moved… the major route of communication that bound together the Asiatic interior and the Polar and Pacific shores” [2]. Once the northern hemisphere glaciers melted, the North American and Asian landmasses became completely separated by the Bering Strait, but this was not a barrier to migration, for its greatest width is only fifty-six miles of water. It can be crossed by boat in the summer and overland on ice in the winter [3, 4]. Trans-Pacific migration from present-day Russia has a long history, at least across the North Pacific arc, but these early people were not Russians. The story of the Pacific through Russian eyes begins many years later when a Russia Cossack named Dezhnev in 1648 “reached the Pacific at the northeast tip of Siberia and proved that Eurasia was divided from North America” [5]. At this time, the Russian empire took no interest in facing the Pacific, so Dezhnev’s discovery that Asia and America were separated went relatively unnoticed for the next eighty-eight years [6, 7]. In 1741, that most famous of Russian explorers, the (Danish) Vitus Bering, completed the exploration of Russia’s Pacific extent, then died of scurvy near the famous Strait that now bears his name and which serves as the word root for Beringia.

Crossing to the “New Land”

Although Dezhnev in 1648 was the first Russian who claimed to have made the discovery of North America from the west, Russian fishermen and sea mammal hunters had been extending their field of activities beyond the Okhotsk Sea since the thirteenth century, sailing to what they called Novaya Zemlia (New Land), which lay somewhere beyond where the Chukotsk Peninsula touches the west side of the Bering Strait (Map 2). Testimony in 1710 from Russian Siberians indicated that these fishing trips were a matter of course, and that it was well known that some kind of land existed beyond the Chukotsk Peninsula, though the extent of that land was not known [8]. In the year 1711 an officer in Yakutsk, Peter Popov, gave a full narrative account but provided no map [9]. A variation on the name was Bolshaya Zemlya (Great Land) and this name appeared on maps as well. In 1726, Shestakov, a cossack of Yakutsk, drew a chart of the coastline of America with the name Bolshaya Zemlya written underneath. Four years later, Ivan Federov led an expedition to Bolshaya Zemlya by way of the Bering Strait, drawing a map which was later said to be lost. Since the land was unknown, it took on aspects of myth.

Map 2. The Bering Strait, by Norman Einstein, Creative Commons.

Another, larger mythical land was placed on some maps to the east of Kamchatka and named Juan de Gama Land; it was either part of America or a huge island [10]. Sometimes the same island (or continent) was called Essonis Land, and a 1713 map by one of Russia’s first map publishers, Kiprianov,
showed the landmass of *Essonis Land* to be east of Kamchatka but very close to America (Map 3). The very real Sakhalin Island, off the Pacific coast of Russia, was described before Bering’s more systematic explorations as a land where the indigenous people dress in “sable and fox and skins of animals, and they go about on dog sledges in winter and boats on the water in summer…” [9]. The *Map Book of Siberia*, written between 1697 and 1700 by Semyon Remezov, includes Kamchatka as well as the “Islands of Japonia and Corea” [9].

*Map 3*. Section of Thomas Jeffery’s 1775 *The Russian Discoveries*, Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. Note North American “Land” not far from the peninsula of Kamchatka.

**Peter I (“The Great”) and Pacific Exploration**

Peter I (“The Great”) ruled Russia from 1682 to 1725 at a time when its culture was essentially Byzantine, with values and lifestyles influenced by Eastern Orthodoxy, which had not been forced to shift its gaze outward to follow the European Age of Discoveries. Europe was on a “discoveries high” from ocean enterprise, scientific exploration, and the development of new philosophies. Russia, on the other hand, was still trying to recover its identity after more than two centuries of Mongol control. When Peter returned from a five-month European tour in 1697, he directed the building of a new, European-inspired forward capital city at St. Petersburg, with an Atlantic-facing orientation, albeit through the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Sea, and the North Sea. Never before had Russia established this Atlantic orientation; now, by fiat, Russia became part of the Atlantic-facing community and all that it implied. As is well-known, Peter also spent five months of his European tour studying shipbuilding in Holland and was particularly impressed with European science, as expressed in gadgetry and machinery. He brought a collection of these tools and toys back to Russia, along with several hundred hired craftsmen and engineers [11]. Peter was also an avid student of geography. He knew about the mythical *Strait of Anian*, which most geographers then believed existed, a watery passageway through America to Asia, taken as fact and depicted on maps of the era (Map 4).
Peter the Great, on his European tour, also spent time with the famous Dutch geographer Nicolaes Witsen, author of *Noorden Oost Tartarye*, an authoritative seventeenth century work on the geography of Northeast Asia and Japan [12]. Because of Peter’s known studies of geography, he was continually encouraged by interested parties to solve the problem of whether America and Asia were connected by land or separated by the sea. When told in 1722 by the naval officer Fedor I. Soimonov (later to become Governor General of Siberia) that Kamchatka might, in fact, be very near to America, not far from the “island” of California, Peter enthusiastically agreed to the possibility [10]. The philosopher Leibnitz prodded Peter for years to send an expedition to discover where Russia ended and America began. Leibnitz would not let the problem rest for twenty more years until Peter, on his deathbed in 1725, wrote the famous memorandum in his own hand that set Vitus Bering on his exploratory course of action:

1. Build in Kamchatka or some other place thereabouts one or two decked boats.
2. [Sail] in these boats along the land which trends to the north in the expectation (since its limit is unknown) that this land is America.
3. And to find out where it joins with America, go to some town under European control, or if you see a European ship, learn from it what they call this coast, and write it down and go on shore yourself and get reliable information, and, having put it on a map, return here [7].

Leibnitz had pressed the idea upon Peter for twenty years, Peter mulled it over until his deathbed, and then Captain Vitus Bering the Dane spent the final sixteen years of his life (1725-1743) carrying out Peter’s request.

Besides discovering the strait separating Russia and America, the Bering expedition made surveys of the Okhotsk Sea, Kamchatka, the Kurile Islands, the northwest coast of America to 55°30’ north latitude, and the Aleutian Islands (where the Aleuts took them for gods and gave them staffs decorated with colorful feathers and bird wings). Like almost all voyages of exploration, this was regarded by the voyagers as a “heroic enterprise of greater importance” [9]. Of its importance there is no question, even if its main geographical objective – the delimitation of Asia from America – was known by
Dezhnev eighty years before, albeit forgotten. Concerning its heroic quality, the greatest challenge of the Bering Expeditions was actually the transport of the complete exploration outfit all the way from European Russia (St. Petersburg) to Pacific Russia and the Okhotsk Sea. Once recovered from the trials of months of travel through frozen Siberia (best time for travel is winter when the mud is frozen), the expedition crew and workers then had to recover their energies to build ocean-worthy ships in makeshift shipyards, buffeted by the relentless winds of the Okhotsk Sea (Image 1). Only when the ships were built could they begin to gather stores of food for the expedition itself, hunting for local game to supplement whatever supplies came in sporadically from the overland route. Bering and many of his crew died of scurvy, and some may have died of it before they even left shore.

Image 1. Vitus Bering’s expedition is wrecked on the Aleutian Islands in 1741. In public domain, 19th c. illustrator unknown.

Russia and Japan Make Acquaintance

The Bering Expeditions were multi-purpose and not all of its designs were fulfilled. One goal was to enter into friendly relations with Japan, although very little was actually known about the Japanese. Maps of Japan which existed, like Witsen’s Noorden Oost Tartarye, provided very sketchy information about the precise outlines of the coast of Japan, how many islands existed and their sizes. The clearest knowledge was of the island of Yezo (Hokkaido), but some maps drew it as a peninsula attached to Asia while others placed it as an appendage to North America. Alternately, Yezo/Hokkaido was an extremely large island occupying a large space in the Pacific Ocean between Russia and America. The question of the day for enquiring minds: where and what was Japan in relation to Russia? (Map 5)
The Russian navy had already become more prominent as a result of Peter the Great’s months of studying shipbuilding enterprises while on his European tour. In 1721, eight years before the Bering Expeditions began, Peter sent topographers Evreinov and Luzhin on a mapping mission to the Pacific, which they carried as far as the mostly uninhabited Kurile Islands, using Witsen’s updated map of Japan which had been presented to Peter during his visit with Witsen in Amsterdam back in 1697 [12, 13]. These islands, which remain much-disputed today between Japan and Russia, have early claims on both sides. As early as 1712 an individual cossack named Kosirewski traveled to the Kurile Islands, though not as an official of the Tsar [14]. At the time of the discovery of the Kurile Islands by the Russians and Japanese, the territory was that of the indigenous Ainu, who were subsequently divested of their lands and cultural heritage by the Japanese upon the perceived threat of a Russian encroachment.

The territorial waters of Japan itself were not entered until 1739 when a Russian ship on no official mission anchored off a place noted as Amatsumara Awa [15]. There they took on supplies such as water and vegetables and left behind strings of beads and silver coins. This encounter was apparently the first time the Japanese Shogunate became aware that the northern frontier of Japan was Russia’s frontier as well. This led to another of Japan’s isolationist edicts on June 8, 1739, with orders given for a stepped up defense of the seas. Russia’s encroachment also had the effect of stimulating new efforts on Japan’s part to map (and thus claim) the islands of the Ainu, including Sakhalin Island. It was through this relative flurry of cartographic clarification that Yezo/Hokkaido was determined to be an island, not a peninsula attached to Asia or some other large land mass in the middle of the Pacific [14]. When one small Russian party landed on the island of Karafuto in the Kurile chain, the Japanese recorded that the Russians “made prisoners of four guards, seized 300 bales of rice, sake, and other commodities, burned the offices, warehouses and ships”. They left without killing anyone, but set up a copper plate and a
written document proclaiming Russian sovereignty. Takekoshi adds that the news was received by the Shogun “like a bolt from the blue” [15].

**Russian Oceanic Science in the 18th and 19th Centuries**

Russian exploration of the Pacific was invigorated by a growing role for scientific geography when, in 1739, a Geography Department became part of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. A Russian Atlas was published in 1745 with the help of the great polymath and geographer, Mikhail Lomonosov (1711-1765) who was also composing odes to Bering while completing circumpolar maps of the Arctic (purely conjectural since no ships had yet to break through the ice). As a rhyme to a future mariner, he wrote:

Severe Nature is trying in vain
To conceal the passage
From our shores to the East
I can see in my mind in the future
A Russian Columbus through the ice
Rushing and scorning bad luck [16].

Part of Lomonosov’s optimism about finding a route through the Arctic Ocean was based on his 1763 theory of underwater Arctic volcanoes which would make the sea at about 80° north latitude ice-free, so that a wooden ship could pass through – if only the way to this zone could be discovered! A century after he died, Soviet polar explorers did indeed discover an underwater mountain range (not volcanic) at the location that Lomonosov had predicted [16]. Lomonosov was appointed head of the Geography Department at the Academy of Sciences in 1758, but his original thinking was often disregarded and his volumes of scientific and literary work “collected dust on archive shelves” [16] for almost two centuries after his death.

One of Russia’s most renowned nineteenth century maritime geographers was Theodore Lütke (1797-1882) who became president of both the Russian Geographical Society and the Russian Academy of Sciences. Lütke was Captain on a scientific voyage around the world from 1826-1829. A series of twenty-eight such voyages were conducted by Russian scientists between 1803 and 1866, with all vessels fully equipped for research to provide new information on ocean currents, temperature, salinity, and ice regimes. Stepan Osipovich Makarov (1849-1904) also contributed important early oceanographic understandings about the relationship between temperature, density, and circulation and developed an early model for vertical water circulation. He also proposed the construction of the world’s first icebreaker ship and was commander on its first voyage [17]. Russian scientific expeditions went on voyages to Polynesia, Hawaii, and other South Sea islands between 1804-1809 [5]. Oceanography’s methods and programs of investigation developed through Russian exploration as a first purpose, in contrast to European Pacific exploration which had as its first purpose, political domination.

**Pacific Siberia**

Although Russia retreated from North America with the sale of Alaska to the United States for $7.2 million in 1867 (Map 6 and Image 2), it did not retreat from the Pacific Ocean. If anything, its presence became stronger, based on the expansion of its Pacific Siberian frontier through a combination of mobilization of Russian population and territorial acquisition from China.
Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the Russian government began sending convicts, political prisoners, and other involuntary colonists to Eastern Siberia, giving it a reputation as a place of exile. By 1843, the Russian government began to sponsor peasant emigration to the East, especially from designated villages that were deemed overpopulated. There was an abundance of land to the east, and some parts of it were quite good for raising crops or domestic animals such as cattle and sheep. Much of the credit for the expansion into Pacific Russia must go to Nikolai Muraviev (or Muravyov), a young governor-general of Eastern Siberia whose great-grandfather had been part of the Bering Expeditions (Image 3).
Muraviev was a progressive expansionist who promoted “liberation and land for serfs, a public judiciary and jury system, and freedom of the press” [18]. Through his aggressive demographic tactics, he strategically turned Russian diplomacy toward the Pacific Ocean. Russian aspirations had previously viewed Pacific Siberia by way of a generally northeasterly trajectory, through the Sea of Okhotsk to the North Pacific arc and North America. Muraviev refocused the eastward gaze south toward the Amur River (or Heilong Jiang, “Black Dragon River” in China), which cut through Manchuria in China. He viewed colonization of the river valley as an end in itself, not just a staging point for North American exploration and colonization, but as part of a grand vision which included steamships on Siberia’s rivers, a transcontinental railroad and telegraph system, and a chain of self-supporting settlements along the southern periphery of Siberia all the way to the Pacific coast [19, 20].

In his regular series of reports back to St. Petersburg in the 1850s, Muraviev continued to press the idea of access to the Pacific as the primary objective of Siberian settlement, but most of his enthusiasm was met with cynicism. Muraviev, waxing eloquent about joining hands with American across the Pacific, was viewed as overly idealist, with little sense of the hard requirements of geopolitics. In response, Muraviev changed his tactics by rephrasing his goals in terms of providing protection from potential geopolitical threats [6]. It was when his continued exhortations for developing Pacific Siberia fell on deaf ears that Muraviev turned to a demographic tactic to quickly populate the most desirable regions along the Amur River. He believed (correctly, it turned out) that this demographic pressure would initiate some response from China, which would in turn need to be dealt with by Russia. Once a strong position along the Amur River and (China’s) Pacific coast were taken, it would be an “accomplished fact” [19]. He arranged permission to release some freed serfs who were laboring in the imperial mines (mostly ex-convicts) and organized them into a Cossack division, the Transbaikálian Cossacks (Trans-Baikal, “beyond Lake Baikal”) [21]. Since these men could not form permanent settler colonies without women, Muraviev also arranged for the release of around one hundred hard-labor female prisoners, giving them their choice of men. Kropotkin describes their marriage ceremonies: “[Muraviev]… asking the people to stand in pairs on the beach, blessed them, saying: ‘I marry you, children. Be kind to each other; you men,
don’t ill-treat your wives, - and be happy”’. Kropotkin notes that the hasty Muraviev marriages were “not less happy than marriages are on the average” [19].

These bands of peasants and ex-convicts, newly designated as Cossacks, went out to settle and defend the Amur River Valley, much of which was nominally Chinese territory, although very little populated. Muraviev was instructed by the home government to pull back if any Chinese defended against his advances. The Manchus of the Qing Dynasty had for centuries opted to let this region remain an underpopulated buffer zone between itself and Russia. Muraviev was not authorized to use any force against the Chinese but due to a unique configuration of political events which were happening simultaneously, open conflict was not actually required to seize and control China’s access to the Pacific between the Ussuri and Amur Rivers in present-day Maritime Pacific Russia. In 1854, England and France had declared war on Russia and sent their joint naval squadrons to the waters near Kamchatka and Sakhalin. Muraviev used this pretext to extend even further into Chinese territory, organizing geographical surveys along the Pacific coastline to the north and south of the mouth of the Amur River (Heilongjiang) as well as Sakhalin Island, which lay directly across the Tatar Strait. As Muraviev’s surveyors advanced, “Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans in these areas learned that they were on Russian territory…” [18] (Map 7).

![Map 7: China’s territorial extent in 1820, prior to the Treaties of Aigun and Peking. Note the city of Haishenwei on the Manchurian coast, which is now named Vladivostok.](image)

Only a few years later, England and France were at China’s door, absorbing all of the Qing dynasty’s diplomatic energies and defensive strategies. Under those pressures, China chose appeasement with Russia, and in the 1858 Treaty of Aigun, gave the left bank of the Amur (Heilongjiang) to Russia and the right bank of the Amur as far as the Ussuri River to China. Two years later, under the 1860 Treaty of Peking, Russia was also granted the territory to the east of the Ussuri River, which presented it with a new frontier with Korea. As Lattimore describes it, “the great Muraviev, on his own initiative, and using the men and resources of Siberia alone and deceiving the government into the belief that he was only
organizing a defense, undertook to reach the Pacific – and succeeded” [22]. Russia had taken advantage of China’s weakness to acquire an area almost one-third the size of the United States, with a long Pacific coastline, including what was to become the port of Vladivostok [23]. This Russian extension of its coastline “seemed to bring the entire Pacific rim within easy reach” [24]. For Alexander Herzen it was “the Mediterranean of the Future” and for Dostoevsky, it was Russia’s “undiscovered America” [25].

Vladivostok was still called by its Chinese name, Haishenwei, when it passed to Russia with the 1860 Treaty of Peking and, although the city entered the Russian-European-Atlantic cultural realm, it remained an essentially Pacific city. This hybrid identity produced a unique Vladivostok culture, distinctly cosmopolitan in its outlook, until the Stalin purges of the 1930s. In its early years, Vladivostok’s Russian population was well outnumbered by foreigners. The 1875 mayoral elections listed 107 Russian residents and 125 foreign residents, though only the Russians could vote. Imports and exports were controlled by just five merchants: three Germans, one Russian, and one American. In fact, the main street of Vladivostok was named Amerikanka (American) until 1873 [26].

The location of Vladivostok makes it a natural crossroads between Korea, Japan, and China, and this was noted by Russian scholars who decided to create in the city an Oriental Institute, the Vostochny Institute, which would train students in the languages, histories, and cultures of Russia’s near neighbors on the Pacific littoral. By 1899 the Institute had a library of over 16,000 volumes, a team of sixteen professors, and sixty students in language immersion programs followed by one-year residencies in the Asian country of their choice [18]. This education was designed to prepare Russians as “interpreters, diplomats, teachers, academics, journalists, and military intelligence officers throughout Northeast Asia”, producing a “Northeast Asian Russian Ecumene” [18] which would extend from the Russian maritime Provinces to embrace its neighbors in China, Korea, and Japan. It sounds as though the region was set to usher in the dawn of a New Age in Pacific-Asia relations. However, this was not the New Russian Pacific Age, but instead a false dawn that was interrupted by the Russian Revolution, a Siberian intervention by Europe and Japan, and then the xenophobic Stalin purges of the 1930s which sent intellectuals (including well-trained Asian scholars from the Vostochny Oriental Institute) to their deaths. Stalin also purged the region of Chinese people and then relocated the entire Russian-Korean population to Central Asia, setting everyone else who remained in Vladivostok on a witch hunt to identify enemies in their midst to fill the quota system that was imposed, before it included them. For almost the next sixty years, Pacific Russia was closed to the world and even to most Russians themselves. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Vladivostok began to again face its neighbors in Northeast Asia, though not without mutual suspicion. Vladivostok’s heritage is cosmopolitan but also xenophobic, reinforced by a sense of demographic insecurity in Northeast Asia, with a declining Russian population facing China’s millions in population directly across the border [27]. For China there is a not-so-dormant historical memory of how Russia “stole” part of Chinese territory through the two unfair treaties which were signed in 1858 and 1860 [28].

A Pacific Russia Identity?

In its eastward expansion, Russia is said to have incorporated one-third of the Asian landmass, but where Europe ends and Asia begins has never been clearly understood. In the nineteenth century a myth of the relatively low-elevation Ural Mountains as a physical division between Europe and Asia was popularized in geography textbooks after Russian historian-geographer, Vasily Tatishchev (1686-1750) depicted the Urals as providing a definitive separation [29]. However, Russia’s expansion to the Pacific was never based on a cultural preference to become Asian rather than European [30]. Nor has Russia ever been either fully Atlantic or Pacific in its orientation, preferring instead the term Eurasian to describe its huge longitudinal destiny. The concept of Eurasia originated with Austrian geologist, Eduard Suess [31] and later, the geographer Alexander von Humboldt introduced it in his writings as a proxy for the “Old World”, or Asia and Europe combined [32]. Neither of these scientists intended it to provide a cultural identity for Russians.
In 1941, Stalin lifted his glass of vodka to a visiting Japanese official, saying, “You are an Asiatic, so am I” [33]. He might have expressed better foresight (and cultural sensitivity) had he said, “You face the Pacific, so do I”. Continental and maritime metaphors each express different twists on outcome as well as on identities. While culturally European, Russia has never been Atlantic in the same sense as Europe. While Atlantic Europe was navigating and exploring the wider world, Russia was recovering from a long period of Mongol conquest and suppression. When Russia did join Europe in oceanic research, it was toward the Pacific, not the Atlantic. Muraviev’s vision was neither to join Asia nor to re-formulate a mixed identity as Eurasian. He actually looked toward a rosy future Pacific Era, with Russia (and the United States) as its vanguard.

Works Cited:


List of Maps & Images (all in public domain)


Map 4. Ortelius, 1598, Tartariae Sive Magni Chami Regni showing the legendary Strait of Anian, very incomplete knowledge of the extent of Japan, and one of the first cartographic mentions of Californio. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/83690086/

Map 5. 1772 Vaugondy and Diderot Map of the Pacific Northwest and the Northwest Passage. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1772_Vaugondy_and_Diderot_Map_of_the_Pacific_Northwest_and_the_Northwest_Passage_-_Geographicus_-_DeFonteAutres-vaugondy-1772.jpg


Map 7: China's territorial extent in 1820, prior to the Treaties of Aigun and Peking. Note city of Haishenwei on the Manchurian coast, which is now Vladivostok. Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Qing_Dynasty_1820.png

