

*George Kennan*

AND THE AMERICAN-RUSSIAN

RELATIONSHIP

1865 - 1924



*Frederick F. Travis*

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*Frontispiece:* George Kennan in the clothing of a Siberian exile,  
around 1890.

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Forming only a small part of a much longer lecture, Kennan's description of the exile system was both incomplete and misleading. A basic distinction existed between the treatment of political exiles and criminal exiles, but Kennan simply spoke about the exile system in general terms, or at least left the distinction so hazy that reporters failed to grasp it.<sup>18</sup> In such a manner he could briefly describe the system, defending the position of the Russian government without going into detail. The impression he intended to project is obvious from the assertion that he would have preferred exile for life in Siberia to five years' confinement in the Ohio State Penitentiary.<sup>19</sup> He later studied the exile system in more detail and made it the focus of a separate lecture, but in 1870 he was content to "set the record straight" by means of a brief summary. He was more interested in the people and social customs of the vast land that had captured his imagination so entirely; besides, such things were more entertaining for his listeners than a description of the Siberian exile system stripped of horror stories.

Meanwhile, having published a series of articles in *Putnam's* about his Siberian adventures, Kennan now planned a second trip to Russia, this time to the Caucasus, which had enticed him since 1868, when he had first heard tales about it from soldiers returning to European Russia.<sup>20</sup> He had hoped to finance the journey from his lecture tour, but it yielded only a disappointing \$600. Still caught in the buoyant mood of the period, and encouraged by Bayard Taylor's tale of wandering all over Europe on just \$500, he decided to go anyway.<sup>21</sup>

#### ' ' T E N T L I F E I N S I B E R I A ' '

While sojourning in St. Petersburg before going on to the Caucasus, Kennan completed the book about his first journey to the Russian Empire, *Tent Life in Siberia: And Adventures among the Koraks and Other Tribes in Kamchatka and Northern Asia*. Published by G. P. Putnam and Sons in September 1870, it would prove to be the most popular and enduring of all of Kennan's writings. As an adventure story written to entertain its readers, *Tent Life in Siberia* was neither a complete history of the Russian-American Telegraph Company nor a detailed scientific treatise. Rather, Kennan had wished "to convey as clear and accurate an idea as possible of the inhabitants, scenery, customs and general external features of a new and comparatively unknown country," all of which was

other hand, Kennan recorded the harshness of the journey, but mentioned nothing about Dodd nearly freezing to death; in fact, the journal account states that Dodd actually found the buried cabin containing the lost party of men. He also recorded that just before Dodd found the cabin he had decided to make camp although it was "a hard alternative."<sup>34</sup> The added flourishes of a freezing Dodd and the implication that having to camp would have meant almost certain death served to heighten the drama of the episode, thus rendering it more interesting to American readers of that era. The authors of travelogues must have frequently engaged in factual distortion for dramatic effects, but the method indicates something about Kennan's writing style that we must bear in mind when analyzing his later work.

Also puzzling is the absence in *Tent Life in Siberia* of any comment on the exile system or on political affairs generally. Since Kennan aimed primarily at entertaining his audience, we might assume that he did not consider exile an exotic enough subject to capture the attention of American readers, though we must recall that he sometimes included remarks on the exile system in his lectures. A simple answer seems most likely: Kennan himself emphasized that *Tent Life in Siberia* was a personal narrative of adventure, and since there is no evidence that he had any interesting adventures connected with exiles, he probably was convinced that there was no place in the story for comments on the exile system.<sup>35</sup> The preference for adventure also is the best explanation for his general lack of political awareness. During his early travels he was far less interested in political affairs than in exotic people and customs, or in unusual and beautiful landscapes. Exiles, the general problem posed by the exile system, and most other political questions were peripheral to his central concerns, so he naturally paid scant attention to such matters, an attitude that we also see manifestly in evidence during his trip to the Caucasus.

#### THE CAUCASUS

Kennan entered the Russian Empire for the second time on July 6, 1870. He spent several weeks in St. Petersburg, then steamed down the Volga River and across the Caspian Sea to the Caucasian port of Petrosk. For two months he roamed aimlessly about the Caucasian Mountains, after which he spent several weeks making his way back to

England through Europe, arriving penniless in London on December 20.

In a later lecture Kennan described his state of mind on that trip as that of a vagabond, one “who rambles from country to country with no other object than the gratification of his own curiosity.” He explained further:

A vagabond then is primarily a man who travels without any definite utilitarian aim. He does not go abroad expecting to bring about the Millenium by impressing upon the world his own opinion and prejudices neither does he ramble from Country to Country colleting statistics and accumulating information as a pure matter of mental discipline. He is content to be a simple observer in the great world of God—studying those things which interest him for no other reason than because they do interest him. But the interest of a true vagabond takes a wide range, and embraces the whole field of human society. . . . The vagabond is never a specialist. . . . In short a vagabond seeks to know the world and its people as they are, and in order to acquire that knowledge he is ready to become all things with all men and to make himself equally at home in all places.<sup>36</sup>

He went on to defend this approach, asserting that it was as likely to increase one’s store of knowledge as the more deliberate methods of those fancying themselves “philosophers.”<sup>37</sup> Thus armed, Kennan began his second Russian adventure.

A brief sojourn in European Russia before going on to the Caucasus confirmed his benevolent opinion of Russia and Russians. He spent much time in St. Petersburg enjoying the pleasures of the city, wandering through its streets and parks, and renewing his acquaintance with Sergei Abaza and other Russian officials. He also spent some time in language study, in order to acquire a Russian more suited to polite society than that which he had learned earlier from Koriak dog drivers in northeastern Siberia.<sup>38</sup> His great love for St. Petersburg and Moscow and his fascination for the Volga River and for the great fair at Nizhnii Novgorod (present-day Gorky) are revealed in later lectures and articles about this trip. What interested him was still not politics, but the

people and their vast, beautiful land. He recalled that "the social or political state of Russia" and "governmental questions" held "no particular interest" for him; dissident opinions of the government or its policies apparently never reached his ears; and his good relationship with Russian governmental officials gave him "a very favorable opinion of the Government and its methods."<sup>39</sup>

His journals kept on the trip through the Caucasus similarly are filled with detailed descriptions of people, dress, customs, spectacular scenery, and travel adventures. There is little material of a political nature and what there is suggests that Kennan was not concerned with the details of such matters.<sup>40</sup> As he recalled later, he seems to have wandered aimlessly, as a vagabond, "a lighthearted tourist, in search of amusement and adventure," rather than a serious observer of social and economic problems.<sup>41</sup>

Of especial interest in this regard are the accounts of Kennan's several encounters with Jews, whom he seemed surprised to find intelligent, educated, and interesting personalities. His opinion previous to this had apparently been unfavorable or, at best, indifferent; but true to his vagabond point of view Kennan quickly made friends with those he met, and as he roamed the mountain villages, he even looked up other friends whom they had recommended to him.<sup>42</sup> With the exception of an experience on the journey from Tiflis to Constantinople, the conversations as recorded were not political in nature. On that exceptional occasion he met and befriended a young, well-educated, and cultivated Jew who had lost a teaching position as a result of a governmental decree forbidding Jews from teaching. The man obviously impressed Kennan, yet even of that encounter he recorded nothing more than sympathy for the individual tragedy.<sup>43</sup>

It is true that if Kennan had visited Russia a few years later, in the early 1880s, conversations with Jews probably would have been more political; the pogroms of those years sharply focused attention on the situation of Jews as a political issue. In 1870, however, Jews were not being actively persecuted on a wide scale, which would explain why Kennan's discussions with them in the Caucasus were relatively lacking in bitterness toward the government. Furthermore, Jews in the Caucasus were probably less subject either to the unpredictable whims of the bureaucracy in European Russia, or to the suspicions of Russian peasants

in areas where, with official encouragement, the peasants used the Jewish population as scapegoats for their own misery.

While the trip failed to disturb Kennan's apolitical attitude, it did serve to strengthen his conception of ideal manhood and his favorable impression of the Russian Empire. In keeping with his long-held belief in the manly virtues, the bravery, physical hardiness, and fierce independence of the mountaineers evoked his deep respect.<sup>44</sup> The mountaineers also almost invariably greeted him with great hospitality, a circumstance that surely increased his enthusiasm for the empire and its inhabitants.<sup>45</sup>

At the same time he occasionally displayed a degree of condescension toward the mountain dwellers of which he hardly was aware himself, and which seems to violate the spirit of vagabondage as Kennan himself had defined it. Once, while reflecting on the different customs of the region and its general barbarousness, he observed a small boy at play, noting in his journal that the lad "had a very bright intelligent face," and that if he could have the benefit of an American education, "he would make an able useful man." Furthermore, he went on:

The more I see of wild people the more I am inclined to believe that it is education which makes the man. There is no reason to doubt that the innate capability of these wild Lesghian mountaineers is equal to that of the average Englishman or American & the only difference between them arises out of the circumstances in which they are respectively placed. One has advantages, education, culture, & the other has not. One grows up an intelligent thinking reasoning human being & the other a mere wild animal.<sup>46</sup>

His attitude in this instance makes it easier to understand Kennan's ready acceptance of the Russian conquest of the area, an acceptance which otherwise might be confusing, given his stated admiration for the mountaineers, who had yielded to the superior force of the expanding Russian Empire only after a fierce struggle lasting over half a century. The final major battle took place in 1859. A heroic struggle of Shamil and 300 Lesghians to hold the peak of Gounib in Central Daghestan against 28,000 Russian troops led by Prince Alexander Bariatinsky, the battle was enshrined in legend in the folklore of the mountains. When



Kennan roamed the area in 1870, the extent of Russian control over the countless stone villages perched among the innumerable peaks and crags of the Caucasus Mountains was still little more than nominal; yet it was an accepted fact and would prove to be lasting.

At that time Kennan generally regarded the spread of Russian governmental authority and institutions as a civilizing influence, even though the native tribes of northeastern Siberia whom he most admired were those who had not yet been corrupted by contact with Russians, and the qualities he most admired in the Caucasian highlanders were at least partially endangered by civilization.<sup>47</sup> Kennan's support for the Russian conquest of such areas thus appears paradoxical, but the apparent paradox is easily resolved. He believed that in the first stage of contact with civilization the more primitive societies encountered the cruder or more exploitative elements of the civilized society—traders, whalers, adventurers of the worst sort, etc.—and were corrupted by them. In time, however, the fruits of civilization would spread to the more primitive peoples who, because they were essentially savage by comparison with Western societies, would experience moral and material advancement. That was a typical attitude of paternalistic Westerners in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and Kennan was not exceptional in this regard. His second visit to the Russian Empire thus not only provided Kennan with additional lecture and literary material; it also reinforced his preconceptions of the Russian Empire derived from the earlier journey.

#### MEDINA: MELANCHOLY AND SPIRITUAL CRISIS

Kennan returned to Norwalk from his second visit to the Russian Empire in January 1871, in time for several speaking engagements during the latter part of that winter's lecture season. His repertoire now consisted of two lectures on Siberia and one on "The Mountains and Mountaineers of the Caucasus," and he again won critical acclaim.<sup>48</sup> In Cincinnati, where his fortunes had been mixed during the season of 1869–70, one reviewer now felt that he had lost "some of the freshness of style and expression" that had made him so "charming," but added that the loss was "more than compensated" by the acquisition of a less personal and more informative style.<sup>49</sup> Kennan's lecture career thus

apparently received a boost from the fresh material acquired on his recent visit to Russia; yet during the summer of 1871 he went to Medina, New York, and became cashier of the Union Bank of Medina.

The move to Medina is puzzling, for the position of cashier was hardly conducive to the development of an oratorical and literary career, nor could it have seemed particularly attractive to a young adventurer just returned from the wilds of the Caucasus; yet financial necessity required it. Since 1864 his older brother John had occasionally urged George to join him in various banking enterprises, and in 1871 John was president of the Union Bank. Kennan would have preferred to devote his energies to literary and lecture activity, but as that pursuit was not profitable enough to support his own needs and allow him to assist his father, he at length gave in to his brother's urging and tried banking as a career.<sup>50</sup>

In characteristic fashion, he entered into the work enthusiastically enough, though it soon bored him. Early in the fall of 1871, he informed his mother that "working at a desk" just did not agree with him "as well as knocking around in the mountains of the Caucasus"; a few months later he told his older sister Jennie that he knew "very well" that his "true vocation [was] that of an explorer."<sup>51</sup> Soon he was formulating plans that would furnish both new adventures and material for lectures and articles or books. During five years residence in Medina, Kennan devised at least five schemes designed to take him abroad on some exotic enterprise—such as exploring the area east of the Dead Sea for the Palestine Exploration Society, or serving as a special correspondent with the Russian expedition to Khiva in Central Asia for any one of the major New York newspapers. All of his schemes failed because he was unable to secure the necessary financial backing and he had no means of his own to draw on, especially after the financial crisis of 1873 and the ensuing depression.<sup>52</sup>

THE DISSATISFACTION with banking as a profession, his brother's morose disposition after 1873, brought on by the severe business depression of the mid-1870s, and a thwarted desire to pursue a literary career based on exploration: all worked against Kennan's happiness.<sup>53</sup> An added source of misery was the dearth of intellectual stimulation in a small town; early in 1872 he stated flatly: "If it were not for books I dont believe I could live in a town like this a week."<sup>54</sup> Books became

Kennan's relationship with the society had begun in December 1873, when he had delivered a lecture on the Caucasus before its members. Subsequently, he became friends with Charles P. Daly, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas of the City of New York, and president of the American Geographical Society. Judge Daly was instrumental in introducing Kennan to the kind of society that provided the intellectual stimulation that he had found so scarce in Medina. Principally through Daly, Kennan became acquainted with many outstanding scientists, government officials, literary men, publishers, and journalists, and he spent many pleasant evenings in the company of the chief justice, both in his home and at the staid old Century Club where the judge was a prominent member. He had entered the domain of the "educated, well-bred, old-American upper class."<sup>67</sup>

Among the literary figures Kennan met in New York was Bayard Taylor, who lived there for two years before leaving for Berlin in the spring of 1878 to serve out his life as United States minister to Germany. Enjoying his role as a savant who often befriended and encouraged aspiring young writers during his stay in New York, Taylor found Kennan an eager neophyte. He told the young man much about Russia and the American diplomatic corps in St. Petersburg during his tenure there as secretary of legation in 1862–63, and introduced him to Prof. H. H. Boyesen, professor of German at Cornell University and translator of Turgenev.<sup>68</sup> The combination of such acquaintances, the renewal of his literary ambitions, and the moderation of his religious torment served to focus Kennan's energies once again on Russian topics.

The resurgence of that interest received further impetus from the friendships that Kennan made in the Russian community in New York. Even though before the 1880s the number of Russians in America was small, he sought out those who were in New York, becoming a regular visitor at the receptions of Father Bjerring of the Russian Orthodox Church near Second Avenue and Fiftieth Street. When war threatened between England and Russia in 1877, Russian naval squadrons began sailing for neutral ports as they had done in 1863, with one squadron eventually anchoring in New York harbor. Its officers sometimes attended Father Bjerring's receptions, and on one such occasion Kennan made the acquaintance of some of them, including Prince Bariatinsky, nephew of General Prince Bariatinsky, famous for his capture of Shamil in the aforementioned last great battle of the Russian conquest of the

Caucasus in 1859.<sup>69</sup> Kennan was impressed with the Russian officers, enjoying several pleasant visits with them aboard the *Svetlana*, flagship of the squadron. Once, he even met Grand Duke Constantine, nephew of Tsar Alexander II.<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately, there is very little evidence concerning those meetings; Kennan's mention of them in his correspondence leaves the impression that they were brief and inconsequential even if pleasant. Yet such acquaintances must surely have strengthened his already friendly disposition to Russia.

STILL AT least partly true to his vagabond instinct, Kennan also enjoyed the society of less fortunate inhabitants of the city, among them John Metcalf, an artist from Sandusky, Ohio, who suffered from schizophrenia. Metcalf had boarded with the Kennans years before while working in Norwalk, and he and the young Kennan had become fast friends. Kennan's generosity now supported the penniless Metcalf for over a year in New York, although Kennan himself sometimes earned barely enough to support himself. In return, Metcalf provided stimulating conversation during his lengthy periods of stability.<sup>71</sup> He also introduced Kennan to Jerry McAuley's mission house where Kennan became a frequent visitor.

Jerry McAuley's mission was located in the worst slum on the Lower East Side of New York, on Water Street, near the Fulton Street Ferry. McAuley was a reformed thief and river pirate who conducted a nightly prayer meeting where many of the miserable inhabitants of the area sought salvation. Kennan at first was reluctant to join Metcalf on a visit to the mission, but after once consenting he became a regular visitor himself.

The spectacle of thoroughly degraded human beings baring their souls at the meetings usually moved Kennan to tears, a condition he afterwards declared to be unusual for him.<sup>72</sup> In a later analysis of the meetings, he pointed out that he first went out of curiosity, "in the capacity of an interested but wholly dispassionate observer of human life."<sup>73</sup> What especially had impressed him about the meetings was the absolute sincerity of the participants and the absence of revivalist tactics designed to stir the emotions. It seemed to Kennan that the emotion of the confessed "sinners" emanated from the depths of their souls without being prompted by an atmosphere of religious zeal or excessive emotionalism. He recalled that listening to the cries for help of those

friends and family back home, so the added drama in it is not surprising. See above, p. 19. What is surprising is that he followed the account in this letter rather than his journal when he wrote the book. If it does not indicate deliberate alteration of the facts, it certainly indicates carelessness.

35. Kennan, *Tent Life*. pp. v–vii.

36. MS packet entitled “Two very torn Ms of old lectures,” GK MSS, LC, Box 73. The lecture containing this quotation is obviously the one he entitled “Vagabond Life in Eastern Europe” (hereafter cited as GK, MS Lecture, “Vagabond Life”).

37. *Ibid.* For more on his defense of this method see GK to his mother, November 19, 1872, GK MSS, LC, Box 13.

38. GK, MS Lecture, “Vagabond Life”; GK, MS Autobiography; fragment of a letter probably written to his family [July 1870; dated later by someone as “1870”], GK MSS, LC, Box 13.

39. GK, MS Lecture, “Vagabond Life”; George Kennan, “A Journey Through Southeastern Russia,” *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 15 (1883):291–95 (hereafter cited as Kennan, “Journey Through Southeastern Russia”). This lecture, delivered before the Geographical Society and later published in its journal, is very similar to the MS lecture and probably used the latter as a basis.

40. GK, MS Journals of the Caucasus Trip, 1870, 2 vols., GK MSS, LC, Box 19 (hereafter cited as GK, MS Caucasus Journals).

41. GK, MS Autobiography. Other than Abaza, Kennan only mentioned among his official friends Gen. Konstantin Nikolaevich Shelashnikov, and his aide, a General Kukel. Shelashnikov was the military and civil governor of Irkutsk, 1865–80, and Kukel was his chief of staff. They had befriended Kennan on his first visit to Irkutsk in 1868. See Kennan, *Tent Life*, pp. 465–70. No evidence was found to indicate the exact extent of his contacts with Russian officials in this period, although he frequently alludes to the cordial nature of the relationships and certainly he was more than a slight acquaintance of the Abaza family.

42. Entries, September 14, October 10 (O.S.), 12 (O.S.), 1870, GK, MS Caucasus Journals.

43. GK, MS Lecture, “Vagabond Life.” The fact that this discussion was not recorded in a journal or letter as a more immediate impression raises the question of its value as a measure of Kennan’s attitude on that trip. Although he was delivering this lecture as early as the lecture season of 1872–73, this manuscript was very obviously not all written at the same time, indicating that he may have revised it, which seems very likely as he delivered it as late as 1900. “Address Book and Schedule of GK Lecture Tours,” GK MSS, NYPL. Given Kennan’s later views, it seems probable that the manuscript was written

early in the 1870s and is a fair indication of the type of impression the episode made on him. It is also possible that it was taken from a journal or letter no longer extant. This would, of course, increase its value. In either case, it is credible evidence.

44. This can be inferred from remarks in his *Caucasian Journals*, but Kennan crystallized his admiration in articles published a few years later. See especially George Kennan, "The Mountains and Mountaineers of the Eastern Caucasus," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 5 (1874):169–93 (hereafter cited as Kennan, "Mountains and Mountaineers"); and "Unwritten Literature of the Caucasian Mountaineers," *Lippincott's* 22 (October 1878):437–46; (November 1878):571–81 (hereafter cited as Kennan "Unwritten Literature"). See also Kennan's articles on the Caucasus published years later: "An Island in the Sea of History: The Highlands of Daghestan," *National Geographic* 24 (October 1913):1087–1140; "A Tenth-Century Barbarian," *Outlook* 113 (May 24, 1916):201–7; and "Murder by Adat," *Outlook* 113 (June 23, 1916):477–82.

45. GK, MS *Caucasian Journals*, passim; Kennan, "Mountains and Mountaineers," p. 178; GK to Richard J. Bush, November 19, 1870, in *San Francisco Daily Alta California*. January 24, 1871, p. 2. In this letter to his old Siberian comrade, Kennan exuberantly exclaimed that he had "never been in a country that interested me as much as this," and that only "deep snow has driven me out of these glorious mountains."

46. Entry, October 2, 1870, GK, MS *Caucasian Journals*, vol. 1.

47. Kennan's acceptance of the Russian presence as a civilizing, positive influence may be inferred from remarks in GK, MS *Caucasian Journals*, but his view on this is clearer in Kennan, "Unwritten Literature," pp. 438–39, 443; and "Mountains and Mountaineers," pp. 176–77, 181–83, 189–92. In both these articles one senses a deep admiration for conquerors and conquered alike, but on balance Kennan clearly believed Russia the superior civilization. For further evidence, written later, see below, pp. 73–78. On Kennan's admiration of the natives of northeastern Siberia see above, pp. 22–23.

48. MS Chronology of GK; *Toledo (Ohio) Blade*. January 23, 1871, in GK MSS, LC, Box 52; *Louisville (Kentucky) Democrat*. February 14, 1871, in Scrapbook of Early Lecture Notices; *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 10, 1871, in *ibid.*

49. *Cincinnati Gazette*. February 10, 1871, in Scrapbook of Early Lecture Notices.

50. GK to Hattie Kennan, October 23, 1864, GK MSS, LC, Box 10; GK to his father, August 26, 1869, *ibid.*, Box 13; GK to his mother, August 7, 1871, *ibid.* See also notes on envelope containing GK to his mother, October 1, 1871, *ibid.*

51. GK to his mother, October 1, 1871, GK MSS, LC, Box 13. For similar feelings later, see draft of a letter from GK to Mary Hinman, October 13, 1873; and draft of a letter from GK to Grover C. Hinman, [1873], *ibid.*, Box 6. The letter to Jennie quoted above was undated, unsigned, and bore no salutation. Someone had dated it later as "1873." Internal evidence shows that it was written sometime before June 1872, either to his mother or to Jennie. The style is more like that used in his letters to Jennie. The handwriting is unmistakably Kennan's. The letter is in *ibid.*, Box 13.

52. GK to his mother, May 12, 1872, GK MSS, LC, Box 59; GK to Lena, February 16, 1877, *ibid.*, Box 56; GK to Alvan S. Southworth, November 23, 1873, George Kennan Correspondence, Archives of the American Geographical Society, New York; Charles P. Daly, President of the American Geographical Society, "Annual Address," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 5 (1874):77.

53. GK to his father, August 12, 1875, GK MSS, LC, Box 56; November 22, 1875, *ibid.*, Box 13; GK to Lena, February 5, 1876; February 16, 1877, *ibid.*, Box 56; February 13, 1875, *ibid.*, Box 15; GK to his mother, [August 2, 1877], *ibid.*, Box 56.

54. [GK to Jennie Kennan, early 1872], *ibid.*, Box 13. See also GK to his mother, March 29, 1873, *ibid.*

55. The following analysis is based on three lists of books read in Medina, 1871-76, in GK MSS, LC, Box 56. The lists are not dated and no reason is given for their existence.

56. Even if the lists referred to in n. 55 are incomplete, it is highly doubtful that Kennan had the time to read much more than the lists include; after all, he was working full-time at the bank and lecturing whenever possible.

57. Paul F. Boller, Jr., *American Thought in Transition: The Impact of Evolutionary Naturalism, 1865-1900* (Chicago, 1969; reprint ed., Lanham, Md., 1981).

58. GK to his mother, May 12, 1872, GK MSS, LC, Box 59; copy of GK to his cousin Kossuth Kent Kennan, Christmas 1916, in possession of Jeanette Kennan [Mrs. Eugene] Hotchkiss, Highland Park, Illinois.

59. GK to Mary Hinman, draft fragment of a letter, June 2, 1873, GK MSS, LC, Box 6. Because this draft was incomplete, it may never have been sent, but it indicates much about Kennan's state of mind during his first two years in Medina. There are several draft fragments to Mary Hinman (in *ibid.*) which are useful in this regard. For a good retrospective view of his preoccupation with religious questions while in Medina see GK to his mother, [written sometime after his return from Russia in 1886], *ibid.*, Box 60. For another retrospective view written nearly half a century later, see copy of GK to his cousin, Kossuth Kent Kennan, Christmas 1916, in possession of Jeanette

described in this letter. See typed copy, GK to Lena [May 1878; incorrectly dated later "1877"], *ibid.*, Box 15. The quotation concerning the kind of society that Kennan began to enjoy in New York is from the work of his distinguished cousin, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Frost Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920*. 2 vols. (Princeton, 1956-58), 2:329 (hereafter cited as G. F. Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations*). The reference was a general one regarding the kind of opinion that the elder Kennan reflected; it did not specifically refer to New York in this period.

68. Journal fragment, August 3, 1876, GK MSS, LC, Box 89; typed copy of a letter from GK to Lena [May 1877], *ibid.*, Box 15; GK to Lena, [1878], *ibid.*, Box 60. It is possible that Kennan knew Taylor before he went to New York. In a letter to Lena, written very soon after his arrival, he described a recent visit to the Century Club with Judge Daly and he mentioned seeing Bayard Taylor among others whom he already knew. The available evidence is not further enlightening on this point. See GK to Lena, typed copy, June 5, 1876, *ibid.*, Box 15.

69. GK to Lena, [two letters dated later "1877"], GK MSS, LC, Box 15. Incomplete typed copies of these are also in *ibid.*

70. GK to Lena, [April-May 1877; incorrectly dated later as "1878"], GK MSS, LC, Box 15, GK to his mother, May 17, 1877, *ibid.*, Box 56.

71. George Kennan, "John Henderson, Artist: A Psychological Study from Life," *Century* 47 (November 1893):57-71. Kennan altered more than Metcalf's name in preparing this sketch. The basic facts of Metcalf's origins as well as his condition and Kennan's assistance may be found in GK to Jennie Kennan, March 27, 1877, GK MSS, LC, Box 56; GK to his mother, [August 2, 1877], *ibid.*; GK to his mother, October 30, 1877, *ibid.*, Box 13. Also, this story in the sketch of Metcalf in Washington later on is not fully corroborated in GK to Jennie Kennan, April 5, 1885, *ibid.*, Box 56.

72. GK to his mother, [1877; incorrectly dated later as "1876"], GK MSS, LC, Box 13. See also GK, MS Autobiography.

73. GK, MS Autobiography.

74. *Ibid.* There is a lengthy section in this devoted to "Jerry McAuley's Prayer-Meeting." Although it is retrospective, the basic feelings expressed in it are corroborated by two lengthy letters which probably formed the basis for this section of his autobiography. See GK to Lena, [1877; incorrectly dated later as 1876], GK MSS, LC, Box 56; fragment of a letter from GK to his mother, [1877; incorrectly dated later as 1876], *ibid.*, Box 13. In the MS Autobiography, Kennan dates the first trip to the mission in the summer of 1876, but he did not encounter Metcalf in New York until March 1877, so it must have been the summer of 1877. For the first meeting with Metcalf in New York, see GK to Jennie Kennan, March 27, 1877, GK MSS, LC, Box 56. The account in



mained limited. He simply was not able in this period to earn a living from writing, and was forced to rely on other means, including lecturing. During the 1870s his repertoire consisted of four lectures based on his two trips to the Russian Empire, all of which were basically travelogues, relating personal adventures and descriptions of people, customs and geography.<sup>1</sup> They contained information that even scientists could find interesting, but as in the past, his primary purpose continued to be entertainment. The lectures rarely included any discussion of political matters, although his respect for the Russian government as well as his great admiration for the Russian people were obvious. He now often omitted even the brief commentary on the exile system that he had usually included in the second Siberian lecture during the season of 1869–70.<sup>2</sup> After all, it had been only a digression, easily dispensed with.

As earlier, Kennan's lectures continued to receive consistently favorable reviews, but the size of his audiences rarely matched the measure of the reviewers' generosity. At least once, in the small town of Canandaigua, New York, the local lecture manager cancelled his appearance because so few people had assembled to hear his lecture.<sup>3</sup> Yet he did continue to develop his reputation among scientists, delivering two lectures before the American Geographical Society, in 1873 and 1876.<sup>4</sup> Kennan was not one of the stars of the circuit, but he was respected by men of intelligence and accomplishment and he was patiently confident that success would follow if only he persevered.<sup>5</sup> Besides, lecturing was not his chief ambition; he was using the lecture circuit to support literary ambitions.<sup>6</sup>

After moving to New York, Kennan had hoped to increase his literary production. G. P. Putnam, who had published *Tent Life in Siberia*, had shown an interest in publishing the book he was planning to write on the Caucasus, and Kennan intended the connection with Putnam to lead to the publication of a series of his books, as well as serving to introduce him in New York society.<sup>7</sup> Putnam's death in 1872 had dealt a serious blow to his hopes, and whatever its effect generally on his career, Kennan never published a book based on his travels in the Caucasus.

Characteristically, he persevered, finally publishing an article in two parts in *Lippincott's Magazine* in the fall of 1878.<sup>8</sup> In that article, "Unwritten Literature of the Caucasus," he examined the popular litera-

ture unique to the Caucasus, including "the stories, songs, anecdotes, and burlesques which bear the peculiar impress of their [the mountaineers] own character."<sup>9</sup> It was a study of both the oral and written expression of the Caucasian mountaineers, and it evinced a profound admiration for the highlanders and their "fierce, indomitable, spirit of heroism." Kennan's admiration was expressed in a richly metaphorical, yet straightforward narrative style. Beginning with a depiction of the region that emphasized its remoteness and exoticism, he proceeded to evoke sympathy and respect for the primitive mountain dwellers by describing and excerpting a judicious choice of their shorter literary forms.

In this article we again encounter the paradoxical fact that Kennan's regard for the mountaineers was based partially on their unsuccessful struggle against Russian expansion, while at the same time he remained convinced that the Russian advance was a positive factor in the spread of civilization. After relating what he termed "the really noble proverb, 'Heroism is patience for one moment more,'" he declared:

No words could better express the steady courage, the unconquerable fortitude, the proud, silent endurance of a true Caucasian highlander. At all times and under all circumstances, in pain, in peril and in the hour of death, he holds with unshakeable courage to his manhood and his purpose. Die he will, but yield never. The desperate fifty years' struggle of the Caucasian mountaineers with the bravest armies and ablest commanders of Russia is only a long blood-illuminated commentary upon this one proverb.<sup>10</sup>

That is quintessential Kennan commentary; yet at the same time he also believed that "the rude and archaic systems of customary law which prevailed everywhere [in the Caucasus] previous to 1860" were being slowly supplanted by the "less summary but juster processes of European jurisprudence."<sup>11</sup> In other words the "fierce, indomitable, spirit of heroism" of the highlander had its negative aspects, and the spread of the civilizing influence of Russian authority was necessary to check those more brutal aspects of the mountaineer's society.

THE BACKGROUND to Kennan's defense of tsarist foreign policy was the steady Russian advance into both Central Asia and East Asia,

which was a vital part of the process of European expansion, as was the aggrandizing potential of Russia in the Balkans. The British possession of India made it an imperative of British policy that the Romanov double eagle be kept out of those portions of the deteriorating Ottoman Empire that could threaten the British "lifeline" to India. Anglo-Russian rivalry was thus a central feature of the Eastern Question in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Russian expansion into Central Asia could pose an even more direct threat to the heart of the British Empire.<sup>12</sup> It is thus scarcely surprising that in Britain "there developed early in the nineteenth century an antipathy toward Russia which soon became the most pronounced and enduring element in the national outlook on the world abroad."<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, relations between the governments of the United States and Great Britain were strained periodically until at least the confederation of Canada in 1867, or the settlement of the *Alabama* claims in 1872, and even after that time a residue of distrust and conflicting interests remained until the turn of the century. The strain in relations was not entirely the result of imperialist rivalry; it also had much to do with the interplay of tensions resulting from the former colonial relationship. Yet most of the serious conflicts between the two before the American Civil War were the result of the consolidation and expansion of their respective positions in North America, and the British position during that conflict was surely determined in the light of the competition posed by an economically developing and consistently expansionist United States. Only when splendid isolation had placed an intolerable strain on Great Britain's security system could a concentration of strength against enemies and the requisite concomitant search for friends be undertaken, a situation that did not occur until the end of the century.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, although there were no serious conflicts of interest between the United States and Russia until the closing years of the nineteenth century, after mid-century several factors were working to undermine the rather flimsy foundation of the Russo-American friendship. As we have seen, Americans had regarded the Alexandrine reforms of the 1860s as a sign of the growth of liberalism and the beginnings of democracy in Russia. They were therefore somewhat shocked at the excesses of Russification as practiced in Poland after the rebellion of 1863; such a policy seemed inconsistent with the spirit of

the reforms. Then the increased revolutionary terrorism of the 1870s turned the shock and horror into speculation that only intolerable tyranny could provoke such activity. The status of the friendship thus was less certain in the last quarter of the century, although it was preserved at the governmental level until the Anglo-American rapprochement.<sup>15</sup>

KENNAN FIRST expressed his opinion of Russian expansion in a series of letters to the editor of the *New York Tribune*, at the same time that other serious challenges to the Russian-American friendship were beginning to appear in American newspapers and periodicals. His initial letter appeared in February 1873, after the Russians had opened a campaign in Central Asia against Khiva, an action that increased British apprehensions. Kennan came to the defense of Russian policy partly because he believed that British propagandists were responsible for the press campaign to weaken American feelings of friendship toward Russia, a concern that was a constant factor in his efforts to defend the Russian position during the 1870s. He sought to make clear to Americans that British antagonism toward Russia had no higher motives than British concern for India, and as a defense of Russian policy he briefly recounted the history of the expansion of Russia into Central Asia, pointing out that the Russian administration of the area was spreading civilization through education and economic development. A protest against such expansion was thus a protest "against the advance of civilization."<sup>16</sup> The *Tribune* highlighted Kennan's "notable letter" in an editorial note, which declared that there was "scarcely a better authority in the United States on this particular subject."<sup>17</sup>

In the letter Kennan had also declared that Russian policy in Central Asia reflected the same kind of "enlightened and far-sighted policy which marked her [earlier] conquest of the Caucasus," a statement that he reiterated in January 1877, when war threatened between Russia and Turkey. Earlier, Serbia and Montenegro had unsuccessfully risen in revolt against the Ottoman Empire, which had raised tensions among the European Powers. Their representatives subsequently met in conference at Constantinople ostensibly to seek a resolution of the conflicting interests, though none were prepared to give much ground. Kennan argued that Russia was acting merely as the defender of oppressed Christians in the Balkans, just as they had entered the Caucasus

only because mountaineers on plundering raids occasionally slaughtered Christians in Georgia. Such a view of Russian policy might as easily have come from St. Petersburg, and Kennan definitely intended it as a counterweight to British statements about Russian policy, which he consistently denounced as misleading propaganda.<sup>18</sup>

In July, after the war between Russia and Turkey had begun, in a letter to the *Tribune* he argued against the publicized possibility of a general insurrection against Russia by the mountaineers in the Caucasus, a secondary but vital theatre of the war. A small-scale rebellion had already begun in Chechenia and Daghestan, but Kennan's letter was written on June 18, before it was clear exactly how serious the uprising would become. He believed that the "enlightened and far-sighted policy" of the Russians in the Eastern Caucasus had made their "moral power" in the area "strong enough to hold in check even the fiery prompting of religious enthusiasm."<sup>19</sup>

Kennan's view of the situation was essentially correct, for the sporadic revolts in Chechenia and Daghestan never developed into a general uprising.<sup>20</sup> For our purposes, however, the significance of his consistent support of Russian policy lies not only in its accuracy, but also in the fact that in certain circles Kennan already was regarded as an authority on the subject, a rarity in the United States. In fact, he had even made an agreement with the *New York Tribune* to furnish them with war news translated from Russian papers, although that arrangement ultimately failed to materialize.<sup>21</sup>

#### KENNAN AS TRANSLATOR

Another of Kennan's concerns during the 1870s and 1880s was the American ignorance of Russian literature. At the time there were few English language translations of Russian authors available to American readers, and Kennan believed that such a dearth not only resulted in an ignorance of Russian literature in the United States, but bred a contempt for it as well.<sup>22</sup> Turgenev was the first Russian author to be translated into English on a large scale, although in the late 1870s only a few of his works were available in English translations. Kennan's concern over the dearth of translations was compounded by the poor quality of many of those which did exist; he even described Eugene Schuyler's translation of *Fathers and Sons* as "perfectly barbarous."<sup>23</sup> That state of

affairs upset Kennan because he wanted the great Russian authors to command the respect among American readers that he felt they so richly deserved.

One way to remedy the situation was to provide more and better translations; so he began to translate Russian authors himself, starting with a piece by Turgenev that he called *Ill-fated*, which he completed in May 1877. Shortly before finishing it, Kennan told his mother that he thought he could do better but, even as it stood, his work was better than Schuyler's translation of *Fathers and Sons*.<sup>24</sup> Publishers apparently did not share Kennan's self-evaluation; at least three refused the translation, which was never published.<sup>25</sup>

Shortly afterward, Kennan unleashed part of the pent-up frustration caused by that rebuke in a review of Schuyler's translation of Tolstoy's *The Cossacks*. Privately, he was deeply disturbed; he told his father that he believed Schuyler's work was an injustice to a great writer and a misrepresentation of Russian literature to American readers. It was "worse than worthless"; indeed, as a Russian scholar Schuyler was "a fraud," who "mangled and mistranslated" Russian authors.<sup>26</sup>

It is likely that some of his vehemence was owing to the fact that Kennan was striving for recognition while Schuyler was already an established authority. Schuyler's work, including that translation of Tolstoy, nearly always received high praise from American reviewers, a fact that caused Kennan to emphasize in private correspondence that he had no personal grudge against Schuyler; he even gave that as the reason for not being more damaging in the review.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, he hoped that Schuyler would answer the review so he could "give him one more shot."<sup>28</sup> Kennan's driving ambition and competitive spirit surely influenced his feelings, but he seems also to have been moved by a genuinely deepseated concern over the effect of Schuyler's work.

The disparagement of Schuyler's translation appeared as a letter to the editor in the *New York Tribune* on July 27, 1878. After reviewing the introduction of Turgenev to American readers, Kennan pointed out that in Russia, Goncharov, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky generally were considered at least the equal of Turgenev. For that reason he regretted that Schuyler had chosen *The Cossacks* to introduce Tolstoy to American readers. He believed that it was "antecedently impossible" for any translator to do justice to such a work because of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of rendering the Cossack idiom into English. He pointed

out that it was not a novel or even a story, "but a beautiful and artistic study of Cossack life," and its admirable features were the most difficult to preserve in translation: "its naturalness and fidelity, its perfect reproduction of Cossack idioms and slang, and its delineation of Cossack character." Furthermore, Schuyler had not done "even such scanty justice as might be done" to the sketch; indeed, said Kennan, it was "impossible to read a page of Mr. Schuyler's translation without disappointment and regret." He then presented a number of examples and finally concluded with a disclaimer of any intent to do Schuyler "injustice or to throw undeserved discredit upon his work." Nevertheless, it seemed "unfair" for "one of the first novelists of Russia" to be "so carelessly treated" in a way that so completely misrepresented his work to the American public.<sup>29</sup> To Kennan's great disappointment Schuyler's reply was mild and conciliatory, which in effect prohibited any retort on his part.<sup>30</sup>

Soon afterward Kennan failed in his second attempt to publish a translation of his own, a selection from Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, which he had first discovered during the summer of 1877.<sup>31</sup> By the following summer he had completed the translation of a portion of the novel that he entitled "Titular Counsellor Marmaladof."<sup>32</sup> Although it was never published, in April 1884 he used it as the central subject in a lecture on Russian literature. Delivered before the Washington Literary Society, the lecture was a success, and so Kennan promoted Russian literature among a restricted but important audience, even though he was unable to find a publisher for his translations.<sup>33</sup>

#### ARCTIC EXPLORATION

After he moved to Washington in November 1878 Kennan's published output for attribution ceased for a while. He wrote a great deal as an anonymous reporter for the Associated Press, but it was not until public interest in Arctic exploration was aroused that he began to write over his signature again. Beginning in November 1880, he wrote a series of letters on Arctic matters to the *New York Herald*, the newspaper most interested in Arctic expeditions because of its involvement in backing such projects. Prominently displayed in the *Herald*, the letters did much to publicize Kennan's expertise on Siberian matters.

The first major American involvement in Arctic exploration came

Arctic held for the explorer, he briefly recounted much of the information about the trip and then went into a lecture centering on the close of the expedition and his adventures while returning to European Russia. A more detailed version of this is in GK MSS, LC, Box 68, and is untitled. It closely resembles the sections added to the 1910 edition of *Tent Life in Siberia*, chaps. 36–41.

- III. For the Caucasus lecture, see Kennan, "Mountains and Mountaineers." A completely different version of this lecture given during this period is GK, MS Lecture, "Lecture on Caucasus," GK MSS, LC, Box 63. Regardless of which one is consulted, the basic conclusions one must draw are the same.
- IV. For the "Vagabond Life" lecture see Kennan, "Journey Through Southeastern Russia." For evidence that this is essentially the same as GK, MS Lecture, "Vagabond Life," see the various MSS of these lectures in GK, MSS, LC, Boxes 67 and 73. As late as May 1882 Kennan was still referring to this lecture as "Vagabond Life." On this see GK to Anna L. Dawes, May 19, 1882, Dawes MSS. It is likely that he changed the title and the contents to some extent when he presented this lecture to the American Geographical Society in November 1883, which is the published form cited above, but the substance remained the same.

2. Certainty in this matter could be realized only if absolutely reliable summaries of Kennan's second Siberian lecture were available for every occasion on which he delivered it. The clipping from this period in the Kennan Papers specifically referring to his remarks on the exile system is from the [no location] *Journal and Herald*, March 21, 1874, in Scrapbook of Early Lecture Notices. The many other clippings in the GK MSS, LC, do not refer to any remarks on the exile system, thus strongly suggesting that he frequently omitted the remarks in the lecture from the time of his return from the Caucasus in 1871 until the lecture before the American Geographical Society on February 24, 1882.

3. GK to his mother, December 8, 1876, GK MSS, LC, Box 13. On that occasion, Kennan remembered that he had suffered the same fate in 1869 in Lancaster, Ohio.

4. The lectures were Kennan, "Mountains and Mountaineers," on December 16, 1873, and "Dog-Sledge Journey" on June 1, 1876. For more on his success before the society in this period, see Alvan Southworth, secretary of the American Geographical Society, to GK, May 26, 1875, GK MSS, LC, Box 1; GK to Lena, [1876], *ibid.*, Box 15.

5. Certain evidence that Kennan was still relatively unknown is the fact that as late as the lecture season of 1883–84 he was receiving only between \$40



and \$100 per lecture, a sum usually paid to "lesser lights" rather than "stars." See the heading "GK. Lecture Dates," in the Card Index, a partial index to Kennan's papers prepared by him and now in the reading room of the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

6. GK to his mother, January 13, 1873; July 31, 1876; and July 23, 1877; GK MSS, LC, Box 13; GK to his father, August 12, 1875, *ibid.*, Box 56.

7. GK to his mother, January 10, 1872, *ibid.*, Box 56; January 13, 1873, *ibid.*, Box 13.

8. Why Putnam's Sons did not publish the book is not clear. Kennan had told G. H. Putnam in July 1877 that he would have a finished manuscript that fall. GK to his mother, [August 2, 1877], *ibid.*, Box 56. The next news of his Caucasus work is a letter to Lena explaining that Dr. Holland of *Scribner's* had turned down his article on the Caucasus and that he would next try the Harpers. GK to Lena, [fall of 1877; dated by someone later only as "1877"], *ibid.* The article finally appeared in two parts in *Lippincott's*, in October and November 1878. See Kennan, "Unwritten Literature." Kennan probably intended to write a full account and have it published by Putnam's Sons, because he continued to write about working on such a book throughout this period. See GK to Clara Barton, December 29, 1882, GK MSS, LC, Box 56. The most likely explanation is that he just never completed the book; after all, it never was published and no extant MS was found. Much later, however, he did publish several more articles. See above, chap. 2, n. 44.

9. Kennan, "Unwritten Literature," p. 440.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 439. See also above, pp. 46-47.

12. On the Anglo-Russian rivalry in the 1870s and its impact on relations between the great powers see William Habberton, *Anglo-Russian Relations Concerning Afghanistan, 1837-1907* (Urbana, Ill., 1937), pp. 9-48, 82-86; William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments, 1871-1890*, 2d ed. (New York, 1950), pp. 3-318; Robert William Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (London, 1935), *passim*; Mihailo D. Stojanovich, *The Great Powers and the Balkans, 1875-1878* (Cambridge, England, 1939); B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (Oxford, England, 1937).

13. John Howes Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain: A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 1 (hereafter cited as Gleason, *Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain*). Because he is quoted here it should be pointed out that Gleason is concerned with the period between 1815 and 1841, a time in which he believes the foreign policies of the two governments were essentially harmonious. According to this view, the

roots of Russophobia in Britain are not necessarily found in imperialist rivalry even if that rivalry exacerbated the feeling later on.

14. A straightforward survey of Anglo-American relations during the nineteenth century is Harry Cranbrook Allen, *Great Britain and the United States: A History of Anglo-American Relations (1783-1952)* (New York, 1955). See also the perceptive study of the effect on Anglo-American relations of the problems posed by British strategic war planning in the nineteenth century, Kenneth Bourne, *Britain and the Balance of Power in North America, 1815-1908* (London, 1967). A brief, but perceptive survey, is Charles S. Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement: The United States and Great Britain, 1783-1900* (New York, 1974).

15. There is a dearth of serious scholarship devoted to Russian-American relations between the sale of Alaska in 1867 and the breakdown of friendly relations at the turn of the century. In fact, except for Edward J. Carroll, "The Foreign Relations of the United States with Tsarist Russia, 1867-90," (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1953), one is dependent upon the brief account in John Lewis Gaddis, *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1978), pp. 27-32 (hereafter cited as Gaddis, *Russia*); outdated surveys of Russian-American relations such as those of Bailey, *America Faces Russia*, pp. 108-60; Foster Rhea Dulles, *Road to Teberan: The Story of Russia and America, 1781-1943* (Princeton, 1944), pp. 78-93; and William Appleman Williams, *American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947* (New York, 1952), pp. 24-47 (hereafter cited as Williams, *American-Russian Relations*); and on studies of the impact of one nation on another, such as the highly biased Max M. Laserson, *The American Impact on Russia—Diplomatic and Ideological—1784-1917* (New York, 1950), pp. 293-319 (hereafter cited as Laserson, *American Impact*).

16. *New York Tribune*, February 22, 1873, in GK MSS, LC, Box 79.

17. Editorial, *ibid.*

18. GK to editor, January 22, 1877, *New York Tribune*, January 31, 1877, in GK MSS, LC, Box 40.

19. GK to editor, June 18, 1877, *New York Tribune*, July 7, 1877, p. 3. There is also a copy of this in GK MSS, LC Box 63, although Kennan incorrectly indicates the date of publication as June 18, which was actually the date the letter was written.

20. The words "essentially correct" are used here because Kennan did not seem to be aware of the fact that even though no general rebellion took place, the fear of rebellion was strong enough to tie up enough troops to weaken the Russian position on the main front. On this, see W. E. D. Allen and Paul Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields: A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828-1921* (Cambridge, England, 1953), pp. 131-57.

21. GK to his father, July 9, 1877, GK MSS, LC, Box 56; GK to his mother, [August 2, 1877], *ibid.* The difficulty of obtaining Russian material and his new job with Mutual Life probably completely torpedoed the scheme, which was one of a series of attempts by Kennan to get on with the *Tribune* or the *Times*. GK to Lena, [June 11, 1877], *ibid.*, Box 15. That the job with Mutual Life subsequently required more of his time than he anticipated is obvious in GK to Lena, [1877], *ibid.*

22. This is obvious from a variety of sources, but the one which sums it all up is a typed MS of a lecture on "Theodore Dostoyefski," which Kennan delivered before the Washington Literary Society on April 5, 1884, GK MSS, LC, Box 66 (hereafter cited as GK, MS Lecture, "Theodore Dostoyefski"). The lecture also included a general description of late nineteenth century Russian literature. For the date of its delivery see GK to his mother, April 6, 1884, GK MSS, LC, Box 60.

23. GK to John Foster Kirk, editor of *Lippincott's*, as quoted in GK to his mother, [late July or early August 1878; incorrectly dated by someone later as "ca. 1877"], GK MSS, LC, Box 13.

24. GK to his mother, May 17, 1877, *ibid.*, Box 56.

25. Although no letter of refusal was found, there is ample evidence that he sent it first to *Appleton's*. *Ibid.*; GK to Lena, typed copy of letter, [May 1877], *ibid.*, Box 15; GK to Lena, [May 19, 1877], *ibid.*; GK to Lena, [June 11, 1877], *ibid.* In July or very early August the translation was turned down by the Harpers and he indicated he would next try Holt and Company. At this point Kennan told his mother that if they rejected it he would send it to her, although she might not care for its somberness and dreariness. GK to his mother, [August 2, 1877], *ibid.*, Box 56.

26. GK to his father, July 23, 1878, *ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*; GK to John Foster Kirk, editor of *Lippincott's*, as quoted in GK to his mother, [late July or early August 1878; incorrectly dated by someone later as "ca. 1877"], *ibid.*, Box 13. Kennan's ambition has been explored previously, but in this connection see also GK to Lena, [June 11, 1877], *ibid.*, Box 15.

28. GK to Lena, [late July 1878], GK MSS, LC, Box 15.

29. *New York Tribune*, July 27, 1878, p. 6. The review was probably printed as a letter to the editor so that it would appear over Kennan's name, not the normal practice for reviews at that time. Because of the importance of Schuyler's work, especially his biography of Peter I (The Great) published in 1884, it should be emphasized that Kennan was not alone in his opinion. While in St. Petersburg in May 1885, just before leaving for Siberia, Kennan's negative assessment was strengthened by what the American secretary of legation and others in St. Petersburg told him:

Mr. Wurts [secretary of legation] does not like him [Schuyler] at all and says he is untrustworthy and unprincipled. He does not think that he [Schuyler] would be received by the Russian government in any diplomatic capacity. His book on Turkestan is regarded by the Russians as unfair and misleading and his reputation here is generally bad. Mr. Wurts says furthermore that Schuyler was recalled from the position of Consul General at Constantinople at the request of the Turkish Government, and that the question was seriously discussed there whether he should not be expelled at 24 hours notice. He says he *knows* this positively from the Turkish minister at Rome who was present at the council of Turkish Ministers when the subject was discussed. Mr. Wurts also says that he believes Schuyler has worn in Europe one or two foreign decorations, among them the cross of the Legion of Honor, to which he had no title and that he has intrigued in a discreditable way to get decorations both in Greece & in Roumania. (GK to Lena, May 24, 1885, GK MSS, LC, Box 13.)

The year before, while Kennan was making his preliminary investigation, Wurts had told him much gossip about various former members of the United States legation, including Schuyler, and this discussion in 1885 was a continuation of that gossip. For the former information, see GK to Lena, August 26, 1884, GK MSS, LC, Box 15. Leaving aside the fact that Wurts seems to have been an incredible gossip, it should be noted that Schuyler probably was disliked by the Russians and Turks in large measure because he was candid in his appraisals of conditions, and one has to wonder whether Kennan's opinion of Schuyler altered somewhat after his own journey through Siberia in 1885–1886, although there is no evidence in this regard.

30. For Schuyler's reply, see *New York Tribune*, August 2, 1878, p. 5. For Kennan's attitude, see GK to his father, July 23, 1878, GK MSS, LC Box 56; and GK to John Foster Kirk, as quoted in GK to his mother, [late July or early August 1878; incorrectly dated by someone later as "ca. 1877"], *ibid.*, Box 13.

31. GK to Lena, [late May or June 1877; the letter bears only the date "1877" penciled in by someone later], *ibid.*, Box 56.

32. GK to his father, July 23, 1878, *ibid.*; GK to his mother, [late July or early August 1878; incorrectly dated by someone later as "ca. 1877"], *ibid.*, Box 13.

33. GK, MS Lecture, "Theodore Dostoyefski"; GK to his mother, April 6, 1884, GK MSS, LC, Box 60. Since Kennan was not given to too much exaggeration regarding his receptions, this account is probably essentially accurate and indicates that in an important literary circle he was an early, successful promoter of Russian literature.

methods of the Russian government, barbarous by any ideal standard of American democracy. As long as the vital interests of the two nations did not conflict, the problem of what moral responsibility a "free" people might have for an "oppressed" people could be evaded, confronted only periodically when the papers were filled with news of a pogrom against Jews or a purported massacre of exiles.<sup>12</sup> After 1903, when Russian policies in Manchuria were perceived as a threat to vital American interests at the same time that violent pogroms were occurring in southwestern Russia, the moral issue and the question of interests converged. The residual effects were enough to ensure that American sympathy was decidedly anti-Russian when war began the following year between Russia and Japan. The thinking of men like Kennan had prevailed.

Nor had Kennan rested his case against the Russian government. In spite of his rather limited publicly expressed interest during these years, Russian affairs were never far from his thoughts. In 1901 he returned to the empire in order to meet with opposition leaders and obtain fresh material for new articles and lectures. Under contract with the S. S. McClure Company on this occasion, it was Kennan's fifth journey to the tsarist empire; it also proved to be his last. Interestingly, although he had been persona non grata in Russia since the publication of the *Century* series, when his plans first took shape he had not anticipated any trouble, and had even planned to take Lena along in order to show her the Caucasus.<sup>13</sup> Later he thought better of it, which was just as well. Having entered the empire without incident through Helsingfors (present-day Helsinki), Finland, he soon afterward proceeded to St. Petersburg, where his luck ran out. When Minister of the Interior Dmitrii Sipiagin learned of Kennan's presence, he ordered the unfriendly journalist to leave the empire immediately. Kennan left Russia for the last time on the following day, July 26, only four weeks after his arrival.<sup>14</sup>

Although disappointed by his early forced departure, and by the fact that he had visited only in Helsingfors and St. Petersburg, Kennan nevertheless had achieved a considerable amount. He had renewed several old acquaintances, made a number of new ones, and collected much material upon which to base a series of editorials and a few signed articles during 1902-4, which as we have just seen were crucial years in the final reshaping of American public opinion of Russia.

1895-1914 (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 45-100 (hereafter cited as Zabriskie, *American-Russian Rivalry*). See also Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (Baltimore, 1956), pp. 193-99, 262-63 (hereafter cited as Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt*); and Tyler Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War: A Critical Study of American Policy in Eastern Asia in 1902-5, Based Primarily upon the Private Papers of Theodore Roosevelt* (Garden City, New York, 1925), pp. 118-44 (hereafter cited as Dennett, *Roosevelt*). For a balanced study of Russian policy in East Asia from the Russian point of view, see Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy*. For a Soviet view, see L. I. Zubok, *Ekspansionistskaia politika SShA v nachale XX veka* [Expansionist policies of the USA at the beginning of the 20th century] (Moscow, 1969) (hereafter cited as Zubok, *Ekspansionistskaia politika SShA*).

9. Draft of GK to Lawrence F. Abbott, January 4, 1904, GK MSS, LC, Box 6; John Hay to Theodore Roosevelt, April 25, 1903, John Hay Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Hay MSS); Roosevelt to Brooks Adams, July 18, 1903, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Roosevelt MSS).

10. For more on this, see above, p. 265.

11. *Novoe Vremia*. August 17, 31, September 2, 7, 1905; Williams, *American-Russian Relations*. pp. 45-47; Laserson, *American Impact*. pp. 327-35; C. C. Aronsfeld, "Jewish Bankers and the Tsar," *Jewish Social Studies* 35 (April 1973):87-104; Gary Dean Best, "Financing a Foreign War: Jacob H. Schiff and Japan, 1904-1905," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 61 (June 1972):313-24. Interestingly, Soviet historians also blame American expansionism for the deterioration in relations in this period, and some of the bitterness felt by contemporary Russians carries over. Nikolai V. Sivachev and Nikolai N. Yakovlev, *Russia and the United States*, trans. Olga Adler Titelbaum (Chicago, 1979), pp. 18-20. Zubok, *Ekspansionistskaia politika SShA*. passim.

12. See especially Stults, "Imperial Russia," passim.

13. John S. Phillips to GK, January 12, 1901, GK MSS, LC, Box 57. GK to Lena, January 30, 1901, *ibid.*

14. For the circumstances of Kennan's expulsion from the empire, see GK to Minister of Interior Dmitrii Sipiagin, August 5, 1901, *ibid.*, Box 12; and also copy of GK to Ida Tarbell, July 29, 1901, *ibid.*, Box 57. State Department records do not provide details.

15. For a summary of Kennan's connections on this trip, see *ibid.* For details, see his journal of this trip, *ibid.*, Box 22; numerous letters to Lena, *ibid.*, Box 15; and other letters to Tarbell, *ibid.*, Box 57. Some of the letters to Lena contain segments in cipher, the key to which may be found in Tarbell to Lena, July 17, 1901, *ibid.* Kennan's good friend and correspondent N. M. Iadrintsev had died in 1895.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

WITH A FEW exceptions, the following list includes only works actually cited in this study. The exceptions are a number of articles and short pieces written by George Kennan, several articles about Kennan, a few memoirs, and roughly a dozen other articles and books, all of which were useful to the study, but not actually cited in it. A few works of Kennan's are not included, as the source for them was the collection of Kennan Papers in the Library of Congress, which contains numerous clippings of his articles, unsigned *Outlook* editorials and editorial paragraphs, letters to editors, etc., as indicated in the relevant reference notes. That collection is the richest source of material on Kennan's life, although the collection in the New York Public Library is highly significant, even if much smaller.

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