

**TARTARS AT WHOSE GATES?  
FRAMING RUSSIAN IDENTITY THROUGH POLITICAL  
ADAPTATIONS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH WORKS BY  
ASTOLPHE DE CUSTINE AND JULES VERNE**

by

MARY CAROL MATHESON

B.H.E., The University of British Columbia, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(History)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

December, 2007

© Mary Carol Matheson, 2007

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the historical influence of literary works adapted to political purpose, with reference to two significant nineteenth-century French books about Russia: a memoir by Astolphe de Custine entitled *Lettres de Russie* (1843), and a novel by Jules Verne entitled *Michel Strogoff* (1876), each based on travelogue sources. Taken together, these two works framed the poles of an ongoing debate about Russian identity related to the long-term effects of the thirteenth-century Mongol invasions of Russia. Custine's memoir characterized Russia as a threatening Tartar horde at the gates of European civilization, while Verne portrayed Russia as a legitimate European great power engaged in taming its rebellious Tartar subjects. Uniquely among the corpus of nineteenth-century French texts on Russia, these books demonstrate exceptional influence. Indeed, political adaptations of both have resonated substantially in international relations. During the Cold War, Custine's *Lettres de Russie* was discovered and republished by American diplomats in a heavily abridged 1951 edition, to serve as a cipher for an imminent Russian threat. In 1880, Verne's *Michel Strogoff* was adapted for a theatrical production in Paris; for the next twenty years, the play served as a vehicle to express public support for the Franco-Russian Alliance negotiated between 1891 and 1893. Political adaptation of these works ultimately led to their entrenchment in cultural repertoires of America and France, where they persist today at the levels of state and popular culture. The analysis concludes that an insistent myth concerning Tartar identity remains embedded in the international imaginary concerning Russia. The characterization of Russia as legitimate great power or despotic aggressor continues to reflect earlier questions concerning whether it had tamed its Tartar past, or fallen victim to miscegenation.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Illustrations.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Knowledge in Transit: Travel Writing, the Politics of Inclusion, and Russia.....	2
1.2 Of Tartars and Tartary: Russia in European Historiography.....	6
2 Astolphe de Custine: <i>Lettres de Russie</i> .....	9
2.1 Custine in America: "Memo for Mr. Stalin".....	14
2.2 Diplomacy and History: George F. Kennan and Daniel J. Boorstin.....	19
3 Jules Verne: Michel Strogoff.....	21
3.1 Michel Strogoff at the Paris Châtelet Theatre, 1880-1900.....	26
3.2 Michel Strogoff: Themes and Variations.....	30
4 Postscript: <i>Lettres de Russie</i> and Michel Strogoff.....	32
Illustrations.....	56
Bibliography.....	58

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1	Poster illustrating the Cronstadt tableau, from the 1891 production of <i>Michel Strogoff</i> at the Châtelet Theatre.....	56
Illustration 2	Poster for the 1926 silent film production of <i>Michel Strogoff</i> .....	57



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Estelle Dufresne, for her encouragement and support over the duration of this project.

To Brian Taves, Film Librarian at the United States Library of Congress, Washington D.C., board member of the North American Jules Verne Society and an expert on Verne filmography, for his patient replies to my persistent questions about *Michel Strogoff*.

To Thomas Hamilton of London, England, for kindly providing me with DVDs of the 1926 and 1936 films of *Michel Strogoff*.

To Michel Ducharme, whose perspicacious eye and infectious enthusiasm helped push my bibliography to its present voluminous state.

And most especially, to Anne Gorsuch, for unleashing the beast; for her wisdom, candor, warm encouragement and unstinting patience over the past three years, I remain most grateful. Spasiba!

## I. INTRODUCTION

Frequent contacts among men make it easy to compare divergent stories. They stimulate the critical sense. On the other hand, we have faith in that narrator who, at rare intervals, brings us distant rumors over a difficult road.

Marc Bloch,  
*The Historian's Craft*

Myth functions to control history, to shape it in text or image as an ordained sequence of events. The world is rendered pure in the process; complexity and contradiction give way to order, clarity and direction. Myth, then, can be understood as an abstract shelter restricting debate. But myth can also function as ideology—as an abstraction broadly defining the belief system of a particular group or society.

William H. Truettner  
*The West as America: Reinterpreting  
Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920.*

To assess the political impact of particular books in history, scholars may readily point to the Bible, the Koran, and the Communist Manifesto, whose affirmation of community has frequently served a politics of exclusion. Proponents of these works could claim knowledge and authority in their name, especially in times of fear or crisis, as when cultures collided. In the European sphere, for example, foundational religious books held special importance throughout the Crusades and during the imperial contacts of the Early Modern and Modern periods. With explicit cultural authority resting in both the invocation of specific texts and in their interpreters, works such as the above may be clearly linked with international relations.<sup>1</sup> Political relations might involve entire regions, or as seen in the twentieth century, be confined to those between individual nations.

Similarly, non-doctrinal literary works may also serve to illustrate the use of books to significant political purpose. Defining a literary work is a difficult task, however, as the term may encompass genres ranging from a travelogue to a novel. Yet by making a distinction between a "truthful" or documentary work such as a travel memoir, and the "avowedly artistic" text of a novel or play, the influence of the latter remains overshadowed.<sup>2</sup> As Gérard Genette has observed, all literary works are "hypertexts", solidly grounded in the cultural repertoire and mores of their times.<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare's plays are thus replete with overtones of England's travels and geopolitical imaginings, and represent a fruitful source for analysis. Most would agree that these may be plumbed for overt political context, and that they have served as a

vehicle for British cultural diplomacy. The argument here goes further to contend that certain literary works, in this instance a travelogue and a novel, when adapted to political ends, have played a historically-significant role in the culture of international relations. As their adaptations served to codify national identities, they became embedded in cultural repertoires, evolving less as a text than a script over time.

Analysis of the adaptation of literary texts to political ends involves addressing critical questions regarding the identity of the adaptors, their objectives, and their techniques of representation. To explain why certain works have engendered multiple adaptations, literary theorist Linda Hutcheon identifies key elements that they share, particularly “recognition”, “fecundity” and “longevity”. Additionally, she stresses that works are often adapted due to their ability to sustain debate. Adaptation proceeds based on multiple and evolving influences, including those of a political or cultural nature, and may serve social or ideological needs.<sup>4</sup> To illustrate this, Hutcheon traces the story of *Carmen*, which has spawned multiple “translations” from novella to theatre, opera, dance and film, in both Europe and America. When one considers that Prosper Mérimée wrote his novella based on an anecdote from his earlier travel memoir (*Letters from Spain*, 1831-1833), and that it has been re-staged across two centuries, one is struck by the significant international reach, both spatial and temporal, of Mérimée’s—and others’—characterization of the *gitane*. Although not ostensibly a political work, *Carmen* served a politics of exclusion related to gender and to “ethnographic ends”, by highlighting the place of the *gitane* in the European community.<sup>5</sup> The story also fulfilled the novelistic role of “animating” distant cultures.<sup>6</sup> Through its representation of the unfamiliar, it has persisted as an authoritative referent in cultural practice, reframed in both print and audiovisual form. As an influential vehicle for assigning cultural identity, *Carmen* was not alone in its appeal to the stay-at-home traveler. Nor was its parent travelogue unique in its demarcation of the boundaries of a “civilized” Europe.

## **I.I Knowledge in Transit: Travel Writing, the Politics of Inclusion, and Russia**

From the thirteenth century onward, when reliable information about distant cultures was difficult to procure, European travelogues gained considerable importance. Often serving as diplomatic reconnaissance, they provided evidential testimony regarding which cultural groups might be termed civilized, relative to the “enlightened” European. Although popular travel works clearly informed contemporary fiction, they were often accorded a documentary status to distinguish them from fictional works. But as Irina Grudzinska Gross

has observed, travel accounts are as much a product of authors traveling through books as a report of an actual journey.<sup>7</sup> The same may be said of novels and plays. Whether in the form of fiction or *reportage*, contemporary events remain inextricably enmeshed in their political and cultural nexus, a fact that historians have demonstrated to a remarkable degree.

Building on the seminal work of Edward Said, scholars have focused on European literary texts representing non-Western cultures. Studies have shown that as travel memoirs and fiction move through cultures or trans-nationally, similar to *Carmen* above, they became embedded as a way of "knowing" the other, often as part of a collection of writings on a specific region. While Said concentrated on an imperial literary corpus that characterized the Orient, scholars such as Michael Adas subsequently extended his geographic field. Adas explored European attitudes toward Africa and Asia, emphasizing the influence of late medieval travel accounts on the actions of eighteenth and nineteenth-century explorers and colonial administrators.<sup>8</sup> Mary-Louise Pratt assessed both the European and indigenous impact of travel texts concerning Africa and South America, and more recently, James Duncan and Derek Gregory assembled a volume which examines European travel memoirs about cultures ranging from Egypt to Tibet.<sup>9</sup> Each of the above authors has emphasized the role of travel writing in imperial relations. Although early scholarship tended to describe cultural transfer as a monolithic, one-way process, Pratt and post-colonial historians contend that imperial encounters inevitably led to reciprocal exchange. Stressing this point, scholarly consensus describes travel writing as "auto-ethnographic", revealing the writer's cultural imaginings of self in the mirror of the 'other'.<sup>10</sup>

Yet Early Modern and Modern travelogues and fiction also evaluated the status of Europeans, assigning particular groups or regions an identity on a grid that ranged from savage to civilized. Groups such as the Irish, the peasantry, and the inhabitants of non-Christian European "borderlands" became the subjects of such scrutiny. Brian Dolan has usefully explored the notion of national "character" stemming from the early portrayals of such groups.<sup>11</sup> Regarding the judgment by West Europeans towards Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Larry Wolff and Maria Todorova argued that influential travelogues made the case for exclusion of these regions from a common European community.<sup>12</sup> Here attitudes concerning itinerant populations, such as that of the *gitan*, were clearly at play.

Opinions concerning the inclusion of Russia in a European community also generated controversy. Due to the country's relative inaccessibility and the size and complexity of its empire, travel memoirs concerning Russia have played a significant role in this debate. As field reports, many demonstrated the influence of Hapsburg ambassador Sigismund von

Herberstein's work, which was translated into several European languages. Marshall Poe has traced the substantive legacy of Herberstein's *Notes on Muscovite Affairs* (1545), documenting its role as an "interpretive lens" on perceptions of Russia as a despotic power, and its impact on "continuity theories" of Russian history.<sup>13</sup> The discussion of Russian despotism, however, was often underlain by a more threatening topic: that of a possible Russian invasion of Europe, in the manner of steppe invaders from centuries past, including Scythians, Huns and Mongols. Iver Neumann has pointed to this fear as a fundamental component of writing about Russia from the sixteenth century onward, noting the enduring image of "Russians as nomadic barbarians, always on the move, pegging their tents on the outskirts of Europe", and the influence of this on European security concerns.<sup>14</sup>

While both Poe and Neumann assessed the debate with respect to Russia's place in Europe, Wolff and Todorova examined Russia's place within the context of Central and East European nations. Along with Neumann, they stressed the travelogue's role in shaping "knowledge" and hence foreign policy in both European and international relations. Their work points to the carry-over of key eighteenth and nineteenth-century texts in the changing Great Power landscape after World War Two. The use of such texts even by America highlights the significance of the United States assuming the role as world security provider, taking on a "civilizing mantle" formerly embraced by Europe. Wolff, for example, described how a nineteenth-century French travelogue about Russia was endorsed by American diplomats during the Cold War.<sup>15</sup> As Friedrich Kratochwil argues, when existing texts are adopted or adapted to contemporary political issues, they function as "confirmatory history."<sup>16</sup> Despite de-contextualization, they may be used to re-affirm and to codify regional and national identities. Eckart Conze has called for the analysis of such embedded social constructs, noting that they remain an unacknowledged yet critical element of international relations.<sup>17</sup>

With this idea in mind, as well as a recent challenge by historian Peter Burke to identify specific groups and circumstances involved in the narrative construction of identities, an analysis of European writing about Russia yields rewarding insights.<sup>18</sup> Most recent scholarship focuses on travel accounts of Russia from the Early Modern period, but in-depth, diachronic studies spanning the Modern era remain rare. In a bid to probe more deeply the debate regarding Russian identity, this study traces the political life of two highly influential nineteenth-century French works about Russia, each of which continues to resonate today at the level of state culture. One of these is the travel account noted by Wolff above, entitled *Lettres de Russie* (1843) by Astolphe de Custine, and the other is a novel deeply informed by

travel literature. This is Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff* (1876), a work that was adapted for a theatrical production beginning in 1880. The goal here is to assess the adaptations of both works, and their subsequent influence on attitudes concerning Russia's place in international relations. The discussion begins by examining political influences on the original texts, and then identifies geopolitical circumstances engendering their adaptation. It also outlines the proponents, the techniques of adaptation, the reception, and the long-term impact of each in geopolitical culture.

The texts chosen for this study highlight the perennial image of Russia as a potential Tartar invader of Europe, in the manner described by Iver Neumann as a "barbarian at the gate."<sup>19</sup> The first work, Custine's *Lettres de Russie*, was a highly influential travelogue that shaped both European and American perceptions of Russia as an aggressive Tartar nation.<sup>20</sup> This memoir paints a searing indictment of Russia, harshly condemning its "state religion" (the Russian Orthodox Church), its despotic tsars, and its avidity for conquest. As a classic hypertext, *Lettres de Russie* contains both personal observations about Russia and commentary culled from contemporary books and periodicals, which Custine consulted before, during, and after his journey, as he allowed almost four years to write his memoir. The thrust of this work was to focus "distracted" European eyes on an imminent Russian threat. Custine warned that Russia's despotic government and the "willing" servitude of its people heralded an invasion of Europe, in the manner of a Tartar horde.<sup>21</sup> *Lettres de Russie* elicited wide reaction across Europe from 1843 to 1855, particularly in light of suspicions regarding the actions of Tsar Nicolas I during the 1848 revolutions, but then retreated from prominence after Russia's defeat in the Crimean War. Almost a century later, however, the work was revived and adapted, first in France and then within American diplomatic circles. It became a powerful cipher, serving as a fundamental text of United States Cold War foreign policy to portray Russia as the "Tartar at the gates" of the civilized world.

The second work is an adventure novel, which, like Mérimée's *Carmen*, was built on travelogue sources. Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff*, although little-known outside of Europe, presents an influential counter-image of Russia, that of a powerful, "Europeanized" nation defeating a Tartar rebellion within its empire. The novel is also a travel story, tracing its hero's epic journey across Russia to help defeat the Tartar revolt. In France, the enormous popularity of *Michel Strogoff* reflected compelling geopolitical concerns, as the nation sought a military alliance to counter a continued Prussian threat after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Between 1880 and 1900, a theatrical adaptation of *Strogoff* served to rehabilitate images of Russia portrayed in works such as that by Custine, lending

support to the idea of a Franco-Russian Alliance. Verne's story, like Custine's travel memoir, represents a palimpsest of extant and contemporary travel accounts, as well as periodical articles and other literary works.<sup>22</sup> Unlike *Lettres de Russie*, however, *Michel Strogoff* did not retreat from the public eye for long periods of time. It remained steadily popular in France, in book, theatrical and film adaptations, well into the twentieth century.

These works are excellent examples of inter-textuality, each demonstrating the political currents and preoccupations of its day. Taken together, they offer a unique source base for assessing a range of nineteenth-century French views about Russia, rooted in both aristocratic and popular culture. Together, they also clearly illustrate the oppositional constructs of a "bad" and "good" Russia. Each replied to the perennial European questions concerning Russian identity: whether the nation had emerged from a thirteenth-century "Mongol yoke", and whether it could rightfully be considered a civilized and legitimate great power. The works served to determine whether, as Oksana Bulgakowa has usefully noted, Russians should be characterized as "first a Slav, then a Tartar."<sup>23</sup> Although both were translated into other languages, the discussion here concerns their adaptation and reception in France and the United States. It demonstrates how each became politicized as a text for "knowing" Russia, by tracking its enduring connection with diplomacy through space and time. Evidence for the entrenchment of the works in cultural repertoires may be found in two recent film productions: in 2003, Astolphe de Custine appeared as a central character in Alexander Sokurov's film *The Russian Ark*, while *Michel Strogoff* was recast as an animated film that same year. With their conflicting views of Russian identity informed by a Tartar past, the political adaptations of these two works offer "ur" examples of how such identities, once assigned, continue to be reinforced.

## **1.2 Of Tartars and Tartary: Russia in European Historiography**

To understand how images of the Tartar informed European relations with Russia, one must begin with the Enlightenment model of "progress", a measure for assessing the development of "uncivilized" regions. This yardstick was frequently applied to Russia in the aftermath of seventeenth-century reforms initiated by Peter the Great.<sup>24</sup> Yet Russia's empire confounded European certainties. A paradigmatic characterization of Russia as steppe barbarian versus enlightened European centered on the cartographic division between Asiatic and European Russia, and had at its core the question whether Russians exhibited "Asiatic" characteristics, specifically those of "Oriental despotism" and a purported "Tartar" nature.



Tartar, however, is a kaleidoscopic word, one that could signify multiple meanings: Mongol overlord, barbarian custom, pagan ritual, zealous Muslim, and/or aggressive invader. Significantly, the difference between the former descriptors and the last might be expressed as that between “at home” and “on the move”, particularly applicable to European fears concerning Russia. The latter related to the thirteenth-century Mongol (Tartar) incursions led by Genghis and Batu Khan into Russia, which many Europeans believed had imbued Russian national character. This, they insisted, resulted in Russia’s propensity to act as despotic overlord and aggressive conqueror.

During the time of the Mongol incursions, the appellation of Tartar replaced that of Mongol, as illustrated by the words of friar John of Plano Carpini in his diplomatic travel report: “The Mongols who are by us called the Tartars.”<sup>25</sup> Prior to the thirteenth century, Europeans had referred to Central Asians as Turks. One of the Turkic chiefs was named Tatar-khan, and his people, the Tatars, were incorporated into Genghis Khan’s army.<sup>26</sup> Between 1211 and 1241, as Genghis Khan conquered parts of China, Bokhara, Persia and Iraq, and his grandson Batu Khan attacked Kievan Russia, Poland and Hungary, the word Tatar became twinned with that of Tartarus, a term from Greek mythology signifying the lowest level of Hades. Scholars credit Louis IX of France for linking the two words, attributing to him the following citation: “If the Tatars come, we will chase them into Tartarus.”<sup>27</sup> Tartar also became synonymous with Scythian, serving as a “semantic cipher” for Gog and Magog, an abjuration that could apply equally to both Huns and Soviets.<sup>28</sup> The importance of this Tartar motif has been probed by Larry Wolff, who argued that eighteenth-century European “mental mapping” created persistent images: “The most overwhelming vector of influence upon Russia, viewed unequivocally as a force of barbarism, was that of Tartary and the Tartars.”<sup>29</sup> Iver Neumann emphasized the characterization of Tartars as avid conquerors, resulting in an image of Russians as “nomadic invaders...looming like an incubus” at Europe’s frontiers.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout European history, nomadic invaders challenged the precepts of civilization, or settled city life. A powerful antecedent for invasions emanating from the Central Asian steppes is found in Greek tales known as the *Alexander Romance*, which claimed that Alexander the Great had barricaded “uncivilized” northern peoples behind immense copper gates in the Caucasus region. The Bible identified these groups as the descendants of Gog and Magog, the enemies of Christendom, and prophesied that they would one day emerge as Satan’s apocalyptic horsemen, to devastate the Christian world.<sup>31</sup> Scythian incursions into Asia Minor and the Black Sea region during the first century B.C.,



followed by the Hun invasions of Europe from 350 and 600 A.D., appeared to confirm the Biblical prediction of the *flagellum dei*, or “scourge of God”.<sup>32</sup> In the thirteenth century, Mongol forces under Genghis and Batu Khan were but a new group emerging from the Central Asian steppes to affirm ancient prophecy. Soon, “Tartars” could be found from the Black Sea to the Himalayas, and Tartary (or hell) loomed along the Eastern border of Europe.

Fearful of further Tartar depredations, Pope Innocent IV convened a council in Lyons, France in 1245, calling for barricades to be erected across Europe to counter possible attacks.<sup>33</sup> A year earlier, John of Plano Carpini had been sent as a papal emissary to treat with the Mongol Khan, calling on him to convert to Christianity and to fight with Catholic forces against Muslim domination of the Holy Land. This embassy proved unsuccessful, but it did produce information on Tartar tactics of war.<sup>34</sup> Although further invasions of Europe were stemmed by dynastic struggles among Mongol leaders, the Mongol “sack” of Baghdad in 1258 sparked widespread concern. By now a complex conflation of identities, incorporating Mongol, Tatar, and Muslim, had melded with earlier European fears of the Far East.<sup>35</sup> Descendants of the conscripted Tatars had settled around the Black and Caspian Seas, and intermarried with Ottoman Turks, blending their “Oriental” identity with that of Islam. A century later, Tamerlane, a powerful Crimean Muslim Khan descended from the Mongols, launched further campaigns that appeared to threaten Europe.<sup>36</sup> Fears re-emerged when Crimean Tatar groups attacked Poland in 1506 and 1589. Reflecting European anxiety, sixteenth-century maps portrayed images of nomadic Tartars, their tents looming large over the landscape, in clusters extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea.<sup>37</sup>

How did views of the Tartar evolve in France, where historic memory had been deeply marked by the Hun campaigns?<sup>38</sup> Patently, fear remained a staple leitmotif. In 1765, the chevalier de Jaucourt assessed a possible residual threat in Diderot’s and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*, listing the number of cavalry available to Tartar tribes. The chevalier declared:

...the immense range of countries conquered by the Tartars both astonishes and confounds our imagination. It is humiliating to human nature that such barbarian peoples have subjugated almost the entire hemisphere, up to the Atlas Mountains. This villainous people dominates the universe, and is both the founder and destroyer of empires.<sup>39</sup>

However, concluded de Jaucourt, Russia’s “strong and civilized” empire could be relied on to contain any further Tartar threat. Yet despite this Enlightenment portrayal of a Europeanized Russia, fears of a Russian invasion of Europe continued to be invoked, most notably by

Napoléon, who played on these to justify his military campaigns. As late as 1817, Napoléon wrote that the Russians were determined to “conquer the universe.”<sup>40</sup> This image persisted throughout the nineteenth century, as illustrated by speakers in France's *Chambre des Députés* who characterized Russian atrocities in the 1830 Polish uprising as the evocation of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan.<sup>41</sup> Tellingly, Tsar Nicolas I also earned the title of “Attila of Poland” because of this repression.<sup>42</sup> Later in the century, French philosopher Ernest Renan warned darkly of a continued Russian threat: “the Slav, like the dragon of the Apocalypse...will bring along with him the Central Asian hordes, former clients of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.”<sup>43</sup>

It was in this context of Enlightenment versus barbarism, and European versus Tartar, that Astolphe de Custine and Jules Verne first penned their images of Russia. Among nineteenth-century French travel texts, their works represent two very different periods, as France's government shifted from a limited constitutional monarchy under King Louis Philippe between 1830 and 1848, to the Third Republic beginning in 1872. The content and style of the two works are as dissimilar as their authors' social stature and political era. Custine chronicled his personal encounter with Russia in the form of a first-person travel account, composed in the aristocratic, epistolary fashion popular in contemporary literary and political circles. Verne, meanwhile, employed a narrative third-person voice to write an adventure novel, originally aimed at an adolescent reading public. Each work, however, generated a political adaptation that would guarantee it an iconic status and an exceptionally long life.

## **2. ASTOLPHE DE CUSTINE: LETTRES DE RUSSIE**

In a passage widely-cited by defenders of *Lettres de Russie*, Custine declared “I went to Russia to find arguments against representative government, [yet] I return a partisan of constitutions.” He revealed “the mission...that fate had conferred upon me....my duty to reveal facts both useful and grave” about Russia.<sup>44</sup> The monarchist had returned as a converted republican to reveal “*le mirage russe*” to France, that of a Russia pretending to be civilized and progressive, in opposition to the predictions of Enlightenment philosophers Voltaire and Diderot.<sup>45</sup> Very little in Russia appealed to Custine, beyond the tsar and several colorful characters he met during his journey. Quite simply, Russia represented the conflation of all that was negative. Russians were despotic and deceitful (Oriental), scheming (Byzantine), fanatical (Muslim), barbarian and cruel (Mongol), aggressive (Tartar), and, above all, non-Catholic (Russian Orthodox). Custine's dire predictions depicted a nation of pent-up

Tartars who would be unleashed to chastise Europe, yet his portrayal owed as much to the Tatar in the religious, as in the political, sense.

To understand how such themes in Custine's *Lettres de Russie* contributed to its subsequent political adaptation, it is important to explore the context within which he composed his work. After serving briefly at the Congress of Vienna as an aide to Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, Custine retired into private life.<sup>46</sup> Although his father and grandfather had been guillotined during the Terror, enough of the family fortune remained to allow him to move among upper-class circles in Paris.<sup>47</sup> As an aspiring writer, Custine hosted glittering social gatherings for the *élite* of Paris's literary salons. But personal scandal, along with lackluster literary talent, barred him from the royal circle and from the *Académie française*.<sup>48</sup> In 1839, he decided to travel to Russia. Although his early novels had received tepid reviews, his travelogue on Spain met with some success,<sup>49</sup> and he hoped to replicate this with a similar work about Russia. Four years previously, Alexis de Tocqueville had published his acclaimed *De la démocratie en Amérique*, and some have suggested that Custine aimed to write an equally influential book on Russia.<sup>50</sup>

Custine's ostensible goal was to seek the pardon of Tsar Nicholas I for a young Pole, Ignace Gurowski. Gurowski, who lived under Custine's protection, had participated in the Polish uprising against Russia in 1830, and was among many expellees residing in Paris. Custine was invited to attend the wedding of the tsar's daughter, and planned to address Nicholas I directly regarding Gurowski's plight. Yet like many in France, he remained incensed by the repression of Catholic Poland. Thus prior to his journey, he had reason to be critical of Russia, despite his avowed loyalty to aristocracy and monarchical rule. In the course of a four-month journey, Custine spent just under three months in Russia, visiting St. Petersburg, Moscow and Nijni-Novgorod, site of the famous annual fair. He moved easily among the tsar's courtiers who spoke French, but required a translator for other contacts.<sup>51</sup> A Russian handler, known as a *feldjäger*, accompanied him for the duration of his voyage. Custine suspected that this companion was a spy, but this did not prevent him from making an intense study of Russia, keeping written observations which he later claimed to have hidden from authorities. Upon returning to France, he spent three years composing *Lettres de Russie*, a four-volume work published in 1843. Custine's "letters" elicited strong reaction throughout Europe, and provoked the wrath of Tsar Nicolas I, who promptly commanded refutations.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from a somewhat favorable description of the tsar, noting his "magnetic" personality and his features reminiscent of "Apollo and Jupiter", Custine's comments on

Russia were unremittingly negative. Sixteen hundred pages of text expressed his disdain and hostility toward the Russian climate, Russian architecture, Russian government, Russian women, and the servility of the Russian people. Custine's hostility rested on two historical influences that are often cited to explain Russia's "delinquent" development on the international stage: that of the Orient, and that of Byzantium. An "Oriental" influence stemmed from the thirteenth-century Mongol invasions into Russia, the presence of Islamic territories within its empire, and the nation's proximity to China. A second historical current emanated from Byzantium, which during the tenth century had converted Russia to the Orthodox faith. Custine railed against both. "Between France and Russia there is a Chinese wall: the Slavic language and character," he declared; "Despite the pretensions inspired among Russians by Peter the Great, Siberia begins on the Vistula." Playing on messianic visions of a "Third Rome", he explained that St. Petersburg was "the new Byzantium ...[which] in the secret and profound thought of the Russians, is [to be] the future capital of Russia and the world."<sup>53</sup> These are some of the many passages in Custine's work where hyperbole confounds fact, resulting in declamations that were, as one of his most influential proponents later acknowledged, "dreadfully and almost shamefully inaccurate."<sup>54</sup>

*Lettres de Russie* enjoyed wide circulation in Europe, not least due to its dramatic pronouncements on the Russian people.<sup>55</sup> Custine emphasized two flaws in Russia's national character: that of backwardness and that of immorality, each imprinted by the influences noted above. "The Slavs are blond Arabs," opined Custine, or "Chinese disguised," hiding their "primitive character under the de-figuring political mask they have worn for centuries." Marked by "traditions of calculation and fraud" and "Mongolian avidity," Russians revealed their "duplicity" even in "amorous transactions". Peasant women were "young savages, doubly corrupt...[who] sometimes don't respect [even the] elementary rules of prostitution." Custine also recounted a story concerning nuns who had kept a lover hidden in their convent; fearful for their reputation when he fell ill, they murdered him and threw his dismembered body parts into a well. This, he assured his readers, had been revealed to him by a reliable source. In Custine's estimation, all Russians lacked mature character. He dismissed them as imitative "monkeys", "children", "slaves", or alternatively, "machines, encumbered by a soul." Their intellectual capacity merited equal scorn: "Dust and smoke, chaos and nothingness, this is all that can come out of their inconsistent brains."<sup>56</sup> All the tropes attributed to Russia's separation from Europe by the "Mongol yoke" resonate here, in addition to the tropes of deceitful Oriental conduct, biddable servitude, and irreligious practice, each rooted in Byzantine culture.

Frequent denunciations of tsarist despotism also permeated Custine's writing, as illustrated in stories of violence, horror or fear. As one historian later observed, it seemed that Custine "had gone to Russia to feel afraid."<sup>57</sup> He recounted tales of cruelty under Ivan the Terrible, citing the Russian historian Karamzin,<sup>58</sup> and devoted long passages to the banishment of Russian prisoners to Siberia, including prince Trubetskoi, a leader of the failed Decembrist rebellion against Nicolas 1 in 1825. Of the Kremlin, Custine described his shudder upon viewing the "satanic" monument to "armed terror", terming it a "a dwelling suited to the characters from the Apocalypse." He imagined that he saw Ivan the Terrible there, "[who], with the help of his sister and friend Elizabeth of England, was attempting to drown Napoléon in a sea of blood."<sup>59</sup>

Custine's most inflammatory passages concerned his premonitions of Russian aggression towards Europe. Here Russia is portrayed as the full-fledged Tartar invader, urged on by a conflation of Oriental avidity and Byzantine cunning. Custine's claims demonstrate the influence of his acquaintance with Polish refugees in Paris, including Adam Mickiewicz, professor of Slavic language and literature at the *Collège de France*.<sup>60</sup> Mickiewicz, on behalf of victims of Russian imperialism, declared that Russia's tsars had inherited the character of the nation's former conqueror, Genghis Khan.<sup>61</sup> Hiding behind "the deceitful and furtive regard of Asiatics," Custine warned, the Russian people shared "the profoundly calculating ambition of the tsars, conquerors of the world to come, who know well that before [they can] subjugate us they will have to imitate us." He insisted that Tsar Nicolas I, like Batu Khan and Tamerlane, was worshipped by his Russian subjects, and accused him of wanting more: "You wish to govern the globe...by conquest...and [to] oppress the rest of the world by terror. The extension of power that you dream of...is not moral." Even before arriving in St. Petersburg, Custine had assigned a Tartar identity to Russia, characterizing the nation as a "monstrous composite of the minutiae of Byzantium and the ferocity of the horde."<sup>62</sup> During his journey, imaginary visions evoked the thirteenth-century Mongol incursions through Russia: "I see the massacre, the Volga is rolling with blood; from the depths of Asia the Kalmucks come to drink [it], and then to spill more."<sup>63</sup>

Although predictions concerning Russian aggression were scarcely new, Custine's talent seems to have been the ability to breathe new life into them through particularly compelling writing. Yet his accusations reflected political commentary about Russia circulating in Europe since at least the eighteenth century. Custine noted Montesquieu's theory of climate and government, explaining that in Russia "moderation is unknown, [because] nature doesn't want it; the excess of cold like that of heat pushes men to

extremes.”<sup>64</sup> He cited Rousseau also, whose characterization of Russians as “enrolled and drilled Tartars, nothing more,” appears three times in *Lettres de Russie*. Rousseau had warned that Russia would assume a Tartar nature: “the Russian empire would like to subjugate Europe, and will find itself subjugated. The Tartars, its subjects and neighbors, will become its masters—and ours”, a theme which resonates throughout Custine’s text.<sup>65</sup>

Custine acknowledged a number of nineteenth-century travel sources in his *Lettres*, including works by Philippe de Ségur, M.J.H. Schnitzler, and Pierre-Charles Levesque.<sup>66</sup> Scholars have pointed to additional sources, among them texts by Charles-Louis Lesur and Charles Masson, who along with the above focused on the Russian threat.<sup>67</sup> Custine’s phrasing frequently evokes these antecedents. Thus, Ségur’s warning that Russia was a “vast camp sitting on the frontier of Europe” is suggested in Custine’s prophecy: “I see the future of Europe in black,...[Russia] is destined to chastise...Europe through a new invasion; the eternal tyranny of the Orient threatens us incessantly.”<sup>68</sup> Historian Charles Corbet has noted the influence on Custine of Napoléon’s *Bulletins de la grande armée* from the 1812 campaign. “Those hordes of savages...the Russians are the children of the Tartars”, Napoléon declared; “This power is marching to conquer the universe.”<sup>69</sup> The abbé de Pradt, Napoléon’s confessor, also warned that “From Peter the Great to the present, Russian policy never ceased being desirous of conquest...the same thought, that of methodic expansion.”<sup>70</sup>

The above demonstrates the importance of context and inter-textuality when considering Custine’s book. The reader is in fact reading the words of Rousseau et al, distilled in the colorful prose of a travel memoir.<sup>71</sup> As a classic palimpsest, *Lettres de Russie* serves as a primer for negative stereotypes of Russia among European texts. This reinforces the larger contention of this study, that literary works may be adapted to political purpose. Custine’s intent was to expose the weakness of the Russian Orthodox Church in its subjection to a despotic tsar, and also to call for a French alliance with Germany, rather than one with Russia. His *raison d’être* was above all religious, in his bid to re-unite European nations under the banner of the Roman Catholic Church. These intentions have rarely been acknowledged in subsequent adaptations of his work.

*Lettres de Russie* was published in three French editions between 1843 and 1846, and also translated for contemporary publications, notably the English Longman edition of 1843.<sup>72</sup> The latter prudently omitted Custine’s virulent observations on matters pertaining to Britain. During the Crimean War, slightly abridged versions of the work appeared in France and England to portray Russia as a perennial aggressor.<sup>73</sup> *Lettres de Russie* then lay dormant for almost a century, although referred to occasionally in periodical writing.<sup>74</sup>



Traditional French grievances against Russia were overshadowed by France's humiliating 1871 defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, and during the period leading up to the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1893. Not until the Cold War did Custine's *Lettres* re-emerge in France to profile Russia as an aggressor nation, in the form of a highly-abridged 1946 adaptation prepared by Henri Massis.<sup>75</sup> This proved to be a fateful publication, whose most receptive audience was in the United States. And it is to America that the story now turns.

## 2.1 Custine in America: "Memo for Mr. Stalin"

Peter I and Catherine II have given to the world a great and useful lesson for which Russia has paid the price. They have shown that despotism is never so much to be feared as when it claims to be doing good, for then it considers that its intentions can excuse its most revolting acts.

The Marquis de Custine, in *La Russie en 1839*<sup>76</sup>

With this passage in *Harper's Magazine* in 1948, Custine's star began its rise in the United States. Decades earlier, in 1854, *Hunt's Merchant Magazine and Commercial Review* had reviewed a Crimean War edition of *Lettres de Russie*, stating that: "It is in our judgment the best work on Russia that has ever been published."<sup>77</sup> Powerful Cold War proponents would echo these words, resurrecting and adopting Custine's work to label it "the best guide to Russia ever written."<sup>78</sup> These proponents included George F. Kennan, America's ambassador in Moscow in 1951 and progenitor of U.S. "containment" doctrine; Lieutenant-General Walter Beddell Smith, former Chief of Staff under General Eisenhower in Europe and Director of the C.I.A.; and Foy Kohler, diplomat to the Soviet Union from 1947 to 1949, and Director of the Voice of America.<sup>79</sup> In 1951, Phyllis Penn Kohler, the wife of Foy Kohler, published a heavily abridged and translated edition of Custine's *Lettres*, entitled *Journey for Our Time: the Journals of the Marquis de Custine*.<sup>80</sup>

The significance of the Kohler edition is clearly related both to its timing and content. It appeared during the second year of the Korean War, on the heels of the pivotal National Security Council report known as NSC-68,<sup>81</sup> and as the House Un-American Activities Committee was resuming hearings and the Rosenberg trial was proceeding to conclusion. On March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1951, *Life Magazine* featured both the Rosenberg trial and substantial excerpts from the Kohler book, along with a full-page color advertisement encouraging enlistment in the American forces, placed amidst the passages taken from Custine.<sup>82</sup> The leitmotif of Russia as aggressive Tartar invader, reinforced by that of Joseph Stalin as the quintessential

Tartar, quickly became a Cold War staple. At D-Day commemoration ceremonies in Europe on June 6, 1951, President Eisenhower borrowed age-old vocabulary when warning against the “hordes of tyranny”, a warning that would find structured expression in the 1954 Doolittle Report, wherein the Soviet Union was described as an “implacable enemy whose avowed objective is world domination.”<sup>83</sup> Testifying to the identification of Russia with its Tartar past is the comment by Winston Churchill regarding Stalin’s death in 1953: “The Great Khan died.”<sup>84</sup>

Kohler’s text is a startling re-write of *Lettres de Russie*. Despite her avowed “missionary zeal” to bring his work to public notice, Custine’s religious concerns play a minor role in her edition, while Russian despotism and aggression take center stage.<sup>85</sup> On behalf of America’s diplomatic circle, Kohler defended Custine’s text as a definitive prophecy of Stalinist Russia, affirming that its translation could offer vital insights to “explain” the Soviet Union to contemporary readers. Translation, however, appears to have received rather less attention than adaptation. To adapt Custine’s *Lettres* for the “general interest” of the English-speaking public, Kohler omitted seventy-eight percent of the text upon which she “based” her translation, an 1846 French edition loaned to her by Admiral Leslie C. Stevens.<sup>86</sup> Close examination of this 1846 edition, however, reveals that Kohler drew much more heavily on Henri Massis’s 1946 adaptation than on the former.<sup>87</sup> Massis, like Custine, believed that Catholicism was the only doctrine capable of uniting Europe. His introduction to the 1946 French edition also cites nineteenth-century author Emile Montégut, who along with Custine believed that Europe’s “false [liberal] doctrines” had made it vulnerable to a Russian threat:

Attila...the unknown Tamerlane...These names are perfectly appropriate here, for it is a matter of nothing less, this time, than the conquest of the civilized world...one half of humanity which proposes to throw itself on the other...a *materialist Islam*, this is the new form that democracy has assumed.<sup>88</sup>

One assumes that in the context of the 1946 edition, “materialist Islam” refers to Soviet Communism. Massis’s earlier warnings against “Asiatic visions” of “universal monarchy” were thus twinned with religious convictions. These convictions are also evident in a 1956 adaptation of Custine’s work published in Monaco, whose central message was that Europe must unite under the banner of Roman Catholicism to defeat Russia’s “one instinct, one wish: [that of] devouring Europe.”<sup>89</sup>

Massis edited Custine’s text to place his most apocalyptic pronouncements on Russian despotism and ambition at the end of each “letter”, a technique also employed by Kohler, who ended twenty-two of her “chapters” [sic] with the same sentences as Massis.



These include the observation that Russians were “kneeling to invisible gods”, devoted both to their tsar and to conquest. And, as Custine had warned: “the secret of their cunning lies in their access to the [transparent] foreign policy of other nations.” For Massis and Kohler, only a coalition of like-minded opponents alert to this fact could preserve civilization. Failing such opposition, the ambition of Russia’s “slave machines” must “presage an empire over the world.”<sup>90</sup> With the exception of two paragraphs, Kohler also borrowed *in toto* the final pages of Massis’s edition, which were chosen from Custine’s *Résumé du voyage* to emphasize an imminent Russian threat. In the 1846 edition, however, Custine’s *résumé* is three times as long as that found in Massis and Kohler, and contains much deliberation on religious matters, as well as pronouncements which contradict some of his earlier text.<sup>91</sup>

Kohler’s adaptation does include several passages not found in the Massis edition, among them the statement that although Russians were “supremely adroit”, they “usually lack machinery suitable for the end they wish to achieve”, a clear allusion to American industrial supremacy. Yet Kohler went further than Massis, by substituting her own “chapter titles” for Custine’s introductory summaries of individual letters.<sup>92</sup> Some of these titles were crafted with Custine’s words taken out of context, and others from her own. Selected titles emphasize tropes of Byzantine political maneuvering and Tartar aggression, particularly applicable to Cold War suspicions. These titles include: “A Permanent Conspiracy of Smiles”, “A Nightmare of Things to Come”, “They Mean to Seize by Armed Force the Countries Accessible to Them; and Thence to Oppress the Rest of the World by Terror”, and “Asia Stomped the Earth and Out of It Came the Kremlin!”<sup>93</sup> Such descriptors bear a remarkable resemblance to a thirteenth-century English description of the Tartars: “They...persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world under their own subjection....They delude all people and princes of regions in times of peace.”<sup>94</sup>

Kohler’s techniques of adaptation highlight Gérard Genette’s description of “trans-textual relationships”, notably those of inter-textuality, or the production of texts that quote, copy or allude to an original, and those of para-text, the creation of “secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic.”<sup>95</sup> Para-text is embodied in Kohler’s chapter titles, and as will be seen below, in illustrations chosen to accompany the *Life Magazine* article about her book. Genette also noted that “forms of reduction” are critical to inter-textual adaptation, specifically the use of “expurgation” or “reduction with a moralizing or edifying function.” Again, Kohler’s text provides an excellent example of this, in her adaptation of Custine’s original work to political ends.

Equally critical to Kohler's techniques of adaptation are the omissions in *Journey for Our Time*. These are telling. Following the lead of Massis, Kohler left out any material that she termed "without present-day consequence", much of which establishes the context for Custine's critique of Russia.<sup>96</sup> Unlike Massis, however, she did not include Custine's summary statement concerning Russians, a classic example of "diplomatic ethnography":<sup>97</sup>

Without the Middle Ages, without memories from the past, without Catholicism, without a history of chivalry, without respect for their word, still Greeks from the Low Empire, polished by convention like the Chinese, gross or at least indelicate like the Kalmucks, dirty like the Lapps, beautiful as angels, ignorant as savages (I exclude the women and some diplomats), astute like the Jews, intriguers like slaves, mild and grave in their manners like Orientals, cruel in their sentiments like Barbarians.<sup>98</sup>

Regarding religion, Kohler's adaptation (and all editions since) omitted the vast majority of Custine's commentary. As a devout Roman Catholic, Custine was particularly influenced by works such as "Persecutions and Sufferings of the Catholic Church in Russia", which he read while preparing his memoir.<sup>99</sup> In the twenty-three page *avant-propos* to *Lettres de Russie*, Custine devoted fifteen pages to religion, denouncing the "schismatic" and subjugated Russian Orthodox Church. Of this, Kohler retained just over ten percent. Her text also appears to manipulate Custine's warning about Russia imposing the Orthodox faith on its conquered territories. When discussing Russia's plan for world domination, "The plan that I reveal to you...", Custine was referring to religion, a subject which occupied the next four pages of his text, as summarized by this passage: "Rome and all of Catholicism has no greater, no more dangerous enemy than the Emperor of Russia."<sup>100</sup> Kohler omitted these four pages, likely to highlight a more contemporary threat, that of the "red peril".

Custine also believed that religious dissension had left Europe vulnerable to invasion, and as a result, the defense of a "chivalrous" Poland and virulent criticism of an "aggressive" Orthodox faith permeated his observations on Russia.<sup>101</sup> While he found Protestantism equally heretical, he claimed that an alliance with Germany might encourage it to re-embrace Catholicism, in addition to bolstering France's strength against its traditional enemy, England:

Where in Europe do needs agree?...in France and in Germany...  
War will break out between Protestantism and the Catholic Church;  
and the banner borne by France in this colossal struggle will determine  
the fate of the world.<sup>102</sup>

Kohler edited Custine's views regarding the alliance, as well as his dismissive comments regarding the political compromise of limited constitutional monarchy in France. Clearly, these would weaken the credibility of her book. Her edition, along with all other English editions of Custine, including the 1843 British Longman edition reprised for the American editions of 1989 and 2002, also omitted the following singular passage illustrating Custine's contempt for democracy (emphasis added):

Despotism is born of universal equality, as well as autocracy...Absolute democracy is a brutal force, a sort of political whirlwind more deaf and blind, more imperturbable than the *hauteur* of any prince!!!... No aristocrat can submit without repugnance to seeing despotism imposed on the people; however, this is what happens in pure democracies just as in absolute monarchies.<sup>103</sup>

The launch of Kohler's *Journey for Our Time* prompted advertisements in the *New York Times*, including one quoting Arthur Koestler, a prominent critic of Stalin, who called the book's publication "An outstanding event both in the world of letters and of politics." This advertisement also described Custine's "amazing work" as "a revealing picture of Russia—past, present...and future. So accurate that statesmen today use it to guide them in their thinking and planning." Philip E. Mosely, Director of the Russia Institute at Columbia University, reviewed the Kohler book for the *Times*, observing that "Custine's sharp-eyed observations deserve to be re-discovered, and Mrs. Kohler's selections make the discovery exceedingly easy and pleasant."<sup>104</sup> A subsequent *Times* commentator praised Custine as "nearly as penetrating a student of politics as de Tocqueville himself." And while he was critical of the work's "thumping generalizations", this author noted that "grimly prophetic, Custine predicted both the Russian Revolution and Russia's attempt at the 'conquest of the world'."<sup>105</sup> In yet another tribute to Russia's "enduring" history, the *Washington Post* declared:

This book exercises a kind of baleful fascination for its apparent suspension of the time factor....The reissue of this book, so old and yet so new, is a miracle of timeliness worthy of public thanks. It should be placed in the hands of every dewy-eyed idealist who looks to the East for salvation.<sup>106</sup>

None of these articles described the extensive abridgement of the original work. All subsequent commentary attributed the Kohler edition to Custine, a practice that persists today. Rather, each article emphasized Stalin's despotism and Custine's warning about the

Russians: "they wish to rule the world by conquest; they mean to seize by armed force the countries accessible to them, and thence to oppress the rest of the world by terror."<sup>107</sup>

*Time Magazine* also lauded the Kohler edition, but a far more extensive article was published for the two and a half million American readers of *Life Magazine*, under the title of "Like Czar, Like Commissar: One Hundred Years Ago Barbaric Despotism Ruled Russia as It Does Today."<sup>108</sup> This article contained several pages of excerpts from the Kohler book, accompanied by illustrations from a little-known work by Gustave Doré, a series of savage drawings about Russian history that Doré had penned during the Crimean War. *Life* editors intimated that these illustrations had appeared in an earlier underground Russian edition of Custine. Titled "Doré's Comic Strip of Russia: War, Gore, Patricide, Turk Trouble", the images chosen by *Life Magazine* portrayed Russian tsars perpetrating violence, torture and aggression in their avid pursuit of imperial conquest. One drawing depicted Peter the Great "eating" Europe, with a dressing of "Tartar sauce."<sup>109</sup> Others ridiculed Russia's military capabilities, as well as its pretensions to enlightenment. The *Life* article concluded with these statements: "An inordinate, boundless ambition....the kneeling slave dreams of world domination", followed by: "Russia sees Europe as a prey which our dissensions will sooner or later deliver up to her....Therein lies the danger of allowing them to interfere in our policy and in the counsels of our neighbors."<sup>110</sup>

## **2.2 Diplomacy and History: George F. Kennan and Daniel J. Boorstin**

The re-publication of Custine's work was attributed to the chance discovery of an underground edition of *Lettres de Russie* by U.S. diplomats stationed in the Soviet Union. Cold War disclaimers about the French marquis varied; at times, he was characterized as a "trained diplomat", at others, a "political journalist".<sup>111</sup> His words appear to have been ubiquitous in government circles, as when Senator J. William Fulbright and Clerk of the House Ralph R. Roberts noted his work in their congressional reports.<sup>112</sup> For diplomat George F. Kennan, however, Custine was "a serious literary figure", a "philosopher" whose talent lay in his keen sense of "moral discrimination."<sup>113</sup> The notion of Russia as an aggressive Tartar nation found a vigorous defendant in Kennan, particularly in his 1971 book entitled *The Marquis de Custine and His Russia in 1839*. Like Custine, Kennan believed that Russian "backwardness" stemmed from Oriental and Byzantine influences on its past.<sup>114</sup> Kennan's analysis rested on the 1843 Longman English edition and an 1844 French edition of *Lettres de Russie*. While initially seeming to distance himself from Kohler's book, which he

described as “a new abridged English translation” produced by a “casual diplomatic acquaintance”, Kennan later wrote (emphasis added):

...even if we admit that *La Russie en 1839* was not a very good book about Russia in 1839, we are confronted with the disturbing fact that it was an excellent book, probably the best of books, about the Russia of Joseph Stalin, and not a bad book about the Russia of Brezhnev and Kosygin....something that has been recognized by practically everyone who has had any knowledge of Stalin's Russia and who has then, in the light of that knowledge, read even the recent condensations of *La Russie en 1839*.<sup>115</sup>

Where Custine had railed against Russian Orthodoxy, Kennan contended that he “was wrong about the identity of the religion”; it was in fact a “new secular orthodoxy called Marxism-Leninism”, of messianic intent. Clearly Kennan concurred with the notion that this secular orthodoxy, as NSC-68 had described it, was “antithetical” to that of the “civilized world.” Communism was now irrevocably linked with religious fanaticism, as well as despotism and Tartar aggression. Kennan declared that there was “nothing new...about the idea of world conquest as the innermost impulse of Russian policy. For three hundred and fifty years, Western travelers in Russia had been arriving at similar thoughts and suspicions.” Custine had merely detected Russia’s “far-flung ambition”, that of “world conquest—conquest in the name of ideological proselytism—conquest as a concealment and expiation of internal failure.”<sup>116</sup>

While it is beyond the scope of the present study to discuss in detail further editions of *Lettres de Russie*, it is important to note that whenever tensions and questions arise about Russian identity, and more particularly about Russian ambition, editions of Custine tend to reappear. A notable example is the 1989 American edition, whose editorial team included historian and Librarian of Congress Daniel J. Boorstin and illustration editor Jacqueline F. Kennedy. This book, a facsimile of the 1843 Longman English edition, contains approximately eighty-five percent of the original text.<sup>117</sup> Boorstin’s forward, in addition to the introduction written by George F. Kennan, leaves no doubt as to the “problem” of Russia:

*Custine can help us correct the Modern Myopia....beneath the veil of the U.S.S.R. there still lies a Russia....Is the Empire that marched across half of Europe and eastward across all of Asia still there?.... Russia can no more forget the millennia [sic] of Mongolian occupation, the long expansion across Europe and Asia, the sacred czarist autocracy, the identity of State and Religion, and the traditions of secrecy and police brutality, than we Americans can forget our own ties to the Magna Carta, parliaments, the Bill of Rights, the common law, and constitutions...*

Dedicating the 1989 edition "To all intrepid travelers", Boorstin compared Custine's work to Tocqueville's study of America, while positing that "Perhaps it [the difference] could be called *Dostoevsky* or *Mark Twain*?"<sup>118</sup> That the Boorstin editorial team represented considerable political stature in America is without question. This edition appeared at the height of Perestroika, in the aftermath of Gorbachev's 1987 "Year of Europe" which proclaimed Russia's place in Europe's cultural heritage.<sup>119</sup> The Reagan-Gorbachev initiatives had also resulted in the 1987 I.N.F. treaty, signaling the definitive thaw of Cold War relations.<sup>120</sup> It is instructive to note that the 1989 edition is titled *A Journey through Eternal Russia*, while Kohler's abridgement appeared as *A Journey for Our Time*. Boorstin appeared to confirm the enduring sentiment—if not presentiment—that Russia remained a Tartar in disguise, deeply imprinted by its Mongol past.<sup>121</sup>

### 3. JULES VERNE: MICHEL STROGOFF

In contrast to Custine's depiction of Russia as a nation of Tartar invaders, Jules Verne painted a very different portrait in his 1876 novel *Michel Strogoff*. In this novel, Russia is seen acting as a legitimate European power, engaged in "civilizing" undisciplined subjects by defeating a Tartar rebellion within its empire. Although traditional recriminations against Russia had not been forgotten, and had been further fanned by the Crimean War and by a second wave of Russian repression in Poland in 1863, *Michel Strogoff* was published at a time when France had begun to assess the potential for forging an alliance with Russia.<sup>122</sup> Patently, Russia's military reserves were vast, in comparison with those of the French. Geopolitical matters became particularly urgent in 1887, when a threatening speech by Bismarck, plus the rumor that England would join the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy), suggested that France could stand defenseless against imminent German aggression. This accelerated calls for a Franco-Russian alliance, an idea embraced by the French public beginning in the late 1870s.<sup>123</sup> Nowhere was popular enthusiasm for this alliance expressed more clearly than through the vehicle of Verne's *Strogoff*, in a stage production first mounted in Paris in 1880.<sup>124</sup>

*Michel Strogoff* is a quintessential melodrama, complete with edifying morality and dramatic effect. Its plot is based on an uprising in the recently-conquered region of Bokhara, in today's Uzbekistan. The story's hero, Michel Strogoff, is dispatched from Moscow by the Russian tsar to deliver an urgent letter to the tsar's brother, the grand-duke, in Irkutsk.<sup>125</sup> Tartar rebels have cut the only telegraph wire, and the tsar wishes to warn his brother of an



impending attack and to assure him of the eventual arrival of Russian troops. In the course of a 5,200 *verst* (5, 523 kilometer) journey from Moscow to Irkutsk, Strogoff confronts the gamut of perils common to the nineteenth-century adventure odyssey: gypsy spies, villains and traitors, savage storms, attacks by wild animals, perilous river journeys, torture, fire, and murder. His greatest trial comes with his capture by the Tartars, whose leader Feofar Khan orders him blinded by a white-hot sword, after an Islamic custom.<sup>126</sup> Yet Strogoff escapes to complete his journey to Irkutsk, helped by a young woman named Nadia whom he has befriended. There, he reveals that he has only pretended to be blind, in order not to arouse suspicion. His mother was captured by the Tartars in order to help identify him, and their abusive treatment of her brought tears to his eyes during the blinding ceremony, tears which vaporized the effects of the super-heated sword. In Irkutsk, Strogoff confronts the Russian traitor Ivan Ogareff, a former military general assisting Feofar Khan in the revolt. Ogareff's scheme of jettisoning naphtha to be set afire on the Angara River is to be the culmination of the Tartar assault.<sup>127</sup> In an apocalyptic final battle, complete with tolling bells and flaming river, Strogoff, along with a cadre of "loyal" political exiles, aids the grand-duke in defeating the rebels' attack. Verne's *dénouement* is predictable: Tartars justly defeated and "civilized" social order restored, Strogoff marries Nadia, and enjoys the tsar's favor as he advances in the imperial service.

The storyline of the novel builds on images of Tartars as deceitful, despotic and remorseless. This, Verne wrote, demonstrated that the Tartars had "conserved...their Asiatic character", an allusion to the nineteenth-century European "science" of race. He characterized their "system of war...[as] pillage, theft, fire, and murder", and also described torture, including an instance when a Russian peasant who assisted Michel Strogoff was buried alive, his head exposed above ground for vultures and wolves. He also included the stock character of a gypsy to illustrate the deceitful nature of "bohemians, gypsies, tsiganes... [having] affinity with Tartar or Mongol." As a Russian traitor, Ivan Ogareff delighted in intrigue and treachery, acting as executioner when necessary, traits that Verne attributed to Ogareff's part-Mongol blood. Feofar Khan, the emir of Bokhara who instigated the Tartar revolt, was a "modern Genghis Khan", determined to sow regional seeds of rebellion to defeat the "sultan of Petersburg." When attempting to extort a confession from a captured Strogoff, the Khan first ordered Strogoff's mother flogged, then bound on her knees with a sword pointed at her chest, so that any movement as she watched her son undergo blinding would cause the sword to penetrate her heart.<sup>128</sup> Even Verne's description of the final river conflagration suggests the Tartar, as described by Virgil, whose definition of Tartarus is found in the

*Encyclopédie*: “the place of punishment for tyrants and criminals...surrounded by torrential waters, whose flaming waves push along great pieces of stone.”<sup>129</sup> In *Michel Strogoff*, chunks of ice on the Angara River took the place of stone.

Unlike Custine, Verne clearly identified Russia as part of Europe's Christian community, echoing the view of many in France who were anxious to forge an alliance. Thus the tsar urged Michel Strogoff to undertake his perilous journey with these words: “for God, for Russia, for my brother and for me!” Both the novel and its subsequent theatre and film adaptations feature prominent Christian motifs, with Strogoff exclaiming “God protect Holy Russia!” and praying to an icon of Mary, a cross visible at his throat. Strogoff's mother Marfa was also named for a Russian martyr saint. Themes of chivalry and Christian sacrifice permeate the story, as do references to the malevolence of Islam.<sup>130</sup> In one of the later film adaptations, a wounded Russian soldier crawls across a battlefield toward a slain Russian priest, to touch him briefly before he himself dies. In another, Muslim Tartars chant “Allah is great.”<sup>131</sup> As a reward for his courage, Strogoff was presented with the Cross of St. George the dragon-slayer, the highest military decoration of Russia, awarded by the tsar to those who distinguished themselves in war.<sup>132</sup>

The story of *Michel Strogoff* resonated at a time when France aspired to imperial stature in Asia and Africa, and when the Russian empire was expanding to the south-east. Ironically, Russia had its own mythical legend of the Tartar horde. This was the story of *Ilya Muromets*, a Russian *bogatyr* or knight who delivered the nation from Mongol overlords in the thirteenth century.<sup>133</sup> In 1864, the *Gorkachov Circular* laid out Russia's “special mission” as a “civilized” nation, which was to pacify neighboring “half-savage nomad populations possessing no fixed social organization.”<sup>134</sup> By 1876, the Central Asian khanats of Bokhara, Khiva and Kokand (in present-day Uzbekistan) were subdued by Russia, to the approbation of many in France.<sup>135</sup> Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, an influential author whose articles had generated interest in a Franco-Russian alliance, wrote:

Russia can now say that that Turkestan no longer exists. Khiva and Bokhara are peaceful vassals... Central Asia and the empire of the steppes, from which have erupted the Genghis Khans and Tamerlanes [of the past], are now forever subject to the eagle of Moscow.<sup>136</sup>

Other authors praised the “marvelous execution” of Russia's imperial program, with one influential commentator suggesting that France might learn how to deal with Muslim peoples from Russia's colonial example. “In Asia”, wrote another, “civilization [itself] is



advancing with the Russians.”<sup>137</sup> Such observations, when twinned with the statement by a character in *Strogoff* complacently noting Russia’s subjection of Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand,<sup>138</sup> echo the eighteenth-century pronouncements of French *philosophes*, notably Voltaire and Diderot, and the *Encyclopédie*’s vision that Russia’s “strong and civilized” empire would contain any further Tartar threat.<sup>139</sup> Thus the trope of an enlightened despot, in this instance a Russian tsar containing an Islamic revolt, resonated once again in *fin de siècle* France. Whispers of a *mirage russe* were easily refuted, as Verne’s novel was set during the reign of Tsar Alexander II, who had begun an ambitious program of reforms in Russia, including the emancipation of Russian serfs in 1861.<sup>140</sup> Custine’s *Lettres de Russie* now stood on its head. For the French, Germany was the barbarian, championing materialist individuality over universal values of peace and stability. Even formerly vociferous critic Ernest Renan had begun to praise the “Russian soul.”<sup>141</sup>

Ironically, Jules Verne himself was not altogether enthusiastic about Russia. Like many in France, he remained angered by Russian repressions in Poland. It is instructive to note that Verne held the Polish rebel Kosciuszko in high esteem, and that his character Captain Nemo in *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* was originally cast as a vengeful Pole: his daughters raped, his wife dismembered by an axe, his father executed by knouting, and his friends deported to Siberia by Russia during a Polish uprising.<sup>142</sup> Verne’s publisher Hetzel, sensitive to both political repercussions and market concerns, demanded that Nemo be re-cast. Verne subsequently altered Nemo’s identity to that of an Indian seeking revenge against England. Hetzel also insisted that Verne present *Michel Strogoff* to the Russian ambassador in Paris, for vetting prior to publication. The ambassador, Prince Orloff, requested that the tsar’s name be removed from the book, and that its original title, *Courier of the Tsar*, be changed. Verne complied.<sup>143</sup>

A number of subtle allusions in *Michel Strogoff* hint at Verne’s ambivalent attitude towards Russia. These include the name of the novel’s arch-villain, Ivan Ogareff, likely a reference to Nikolai Ogarev, co-founder of the dissident journal *La Cloche*, published in France by Russian exiles Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev.<sup>144</sup> Echoes of Custine may also be found in the novel, for example when Verne characterized Strogoff as the tsar’s courier charged with a special mission. Custine had written of a similar character, whom he described thus: “he is the word of the sovereign: a living telegraph.”<sup>145</sup> Verne also noted a certain “celebrated traveler” who had compared Russia to Spain, which Custine did at several points in *Lettres de Russie*, notably in his *Résumé du voyage*. Ultimately, however, Verne differed from Custine in his portrayal of the Tartars, depicting them as a minor ethnic group,

albeit a threatening one, within Russia's empire. Meanwhile, he remained sensitive to the political implications of *Michel Strogoff*, and most particularly to its staging. He hoped that a theatrical production of the novel would be mounted for the 1878 Paris Exposition, but at that time it seemed that England might be a more likely ally for France than Russia.<sup>146</sup>

In composing *Michel Strogoff*, Verne demonstrated an acute political knowledge of Russia. This complemented his interests in geography and ethnography, emerging scientific disciplines in the high imperial period of the late nineteenth century. Verne characterized Nadia's father, Wassili Fodor, as a rebel Latvian who was deported to Siberia for having participated in a "secret" (likely anti-tsarist) group.<sup>147</sup> Irony appears to emerge once again via Dixon, who had labeled Polish expellees "Siberians", and praised their courage and intellect as superior to that of Russians.<sup>148</sup> Verne cast Michel Strogoff as a Siberian, with the prepossessing physique and blue eyes "of the Caucasian type."<sup>149</sup> At this time, Siberia and Tartary appeared to be cartographically interchangeable, a practice which had its roots in the eighteenth century.<sup>150</sup> Siberia appeared on maps in the region of today's Kazakhstan, while present-day Siberia was called "Tartary". Yet Turkestan (a former term encompassing Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) might also be labeled "Tartaria", and could include Siberia. As an avid member of France's Geographical Society, Verne would no doubt have been aware of this. And although twentieth-century commentators described the Tartar revolt in *Michel Strogoff* as a "fictional" uprising,<sup>151</sup> Verne may well have known of an uprising in the khanat of Kokand which was put down by Russian troops in 1875, a year prior to the publication of his novel.<sup>152</sup> While choosing words identical to those of Emile Montégut to characterize the Tartar revolt as "an uprising that threw one half of Asia on the other", Verne ended his story by declaring that any rebellion against the "Russian colossus" was futile.<sup>153</sup>

Although Verne had not traveled to Russia, his novel was built on contemporary travelogue sources. As noted previously, he was well-versed in the travel genre, having authored a series of books on eighteenth and nineteenth-century European explorers. He did acknowledge several travel memoirs in the novel, among them works by Alexis de Levchine, Catherine de Bourboulon, and Henry Russell-Killough.<sup>154</sup> He gleaned substantial geographic and ethnographic material from these sources. An assiduous reader, Verne also subscribed to many journals, including the influential *Revue des deux mondes* and the popular travel journal *Le Tour du monde*. Although neither is mentioned in his text, these appear to have provided material for *Michel Strogoff*. The former featured regular travelogues as well as articles discussing Russian imperial expansion in Central Asia, while the latter included a

significant travel article by William H. Dixon in 1872.<sup>155</sup> This article, titled “A Free Russia”, referred to key reforms instituted by Alexander II, and begins with the following passage:

In the past, Russia was free....[but] later submerged by the Asiatic hordes; from then on, the Tartar system prevailed, in practice if not in spirit, until the [Crimean] war of 1853; but since the end of that conflict Old Russia has transformed itself.<sup>156</sup>

The article also mentions characters named Marfa and Nadia, names chosen by Verne for Strogoff’s mother and future wife respectively.<sup>157</sup> Other passages are equally suggestive, such as Dixon’s description of “hostility [towards Russia] still fermenting in the Kirghiz steppes”,<sup>158</sup> and his statement that the Crimean Tartar descendants of Batu Khan and Tamerlane remained loyal to their ancestral homelands of Bokhara and Khiva. Dixon also included descriptions of Tartar warfare, among them “pillage”, “devastation”, and the “rupture of communications.”<sup>159</sup> Of notable import, his article was written in 1869 but not translated into French until after the Franco-Prussian War, testifying to geopolitical concerns.

### 3.1 Michel Strogoff at the Paris Châtelet Theatre, 1880-1900

Michel Strogoff...charged with a unique and capital mission, [he] traversed our valley of tears, avoiding temptation and overcoming obstacles, [he] tasted martyrdom, benefited from supernatural aid, glorified his Creator, [and] then, at the end of his task, entered into immortality.

Jean-Paul Sartre, *Les Mots*<sup>160</sup>

That literary giant Jean-Paul Sartre confessed to having wept upon reading *Michel Strogoff* affirms the novel’s place, both past and present, in French culture. By 1880, Verne’s novel was in its fiftieth edition, and prolific stage writer Adolphe d’Ennery had been called to co-write the play with Verne.<sup>161</sup> In November that year, the military melodrama *Michel Strogoff* met with unprecedented acclaim in its début at the Châtelet Theatre in Paris. With a stage that measured twenty-four by thirty-five meters and seating for 3,500 spectators, the Châtelet Theatre showcased France’s most spectacular productions, including numerous performances about Russia, from symphonies featuring Russian composers to Diaghilev’s *Ballets Russes*.<sup>162</sup>

Between 1880 and 1939, *Michel Strogoff* played at the Châtelet more than 2,500 times.<sup>163</sup> While scholarly analyses of this theatrical production depict it as an extravagant

"Orientalist project" complete with dancing girls and spectacular special effects, it is apparent that much more was afoot.<sup>164</sup> Almost immediately, the play became *the* vehicle in Paris for popular support for Russia. As historian Charles Corbet noted in his review of opinion about Russia among French political pundits and *litterati* throughout the nineteenth century:

...the most learned books are not necessarily the most representative. Not only did *Michel Strogoff* contribute to the popularization of a new image of Russia, but...it registered the change in popular French opinion as an accomplished fact from that time onward.<sup>165</sup>

The public's embrace of *Strogoff* illustrates strong support building for an alliance with Russia, despite successive governments' hesitations and considerations of strategies to ally with England, or even with Germany. Historian Anne Hogenhuis-Seliverstov has noted that in the events leading to the Franco-Russian Alliance, French public support for Russia played a critical role.<sup>166</sup> As further evidence of this enthusiasm, *Michel Strogoff* was not the only production about Russia playing in Paris at this time. Operettas, *revues* and plays featuring Cossacks and other stock Russian characters appeared both prior to and simultaneously with Verne's adaptation, testifying to alert entrepreneurial instinct.<sup>167</sup> Yet none of these had the impact of *Strogoff*, whose producers clearly had an eye for its sensational adaptation to geopolitical concerns.

No expense was spared to mount the most spectacular scenes from Verne's novel, including the opening scene of Moscow by torchlight against a backdrop of tolling Kremlin bells, the military camp of Feofar Khan, and a battlefield scene where the last red rays of sunset illuminated bodies strewn across the stage.<sup>168</sup> The overt military trappings of the play were formidable. At each performance, the Châtelet's immense doors opened to admit mounted horsemen wearing the helmet and chest armor of the Preobrajenskia regiment, the tsar's personal guard. These cavaliers were in fact French republican guards, whose passage through the streets of Paris on their way to the theatre elicited daily applause. They joined mounted "Cossacks" on stage, steering their horses up staircases past actors holding aloft yellow silk flags imprinted with the tsar's personal emblem, the double-headed eagle. Nikolas Rubinstein, director of the Moscow Conservatory, sent the official Preobrajenskia regimental march to *Strogoff*'s producers for the play's opening night. Played on fife, drum, and trumpet, this fanfare marking the torchlight retreat of the guards was described by a reviewer in 1880:

...amidst the acclamations of two hundred actors massed on the stage, and to the thrilling music of the orchestra, mounted guardsmen executed the Rubenstein march, whose effect resulted in a colossal success. The public demanded three times that the curtain be raised.<sup>169</sup>

Although it had begun as a children's novel, *Michel Strogoff* evolved into pure political theatre. The inclusion of flags, music and regimental tattoo moved staple elements of French military staging from the parade ground into the theatre, exemplifying the "ritual complex" of nationalism identified by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, an important means of forging social cohesion in times of impending threat.<sup>170</sup> At the same time, the theatrical adaptation of *Michel Strogoff* offered French audiences an occasion for virtual "travel" to Russia. As historian Merleau-Ponty once observed, "Vision...functions like all true journeys...to travel is to see, but seeing is already traveling."<sup>171</sup> Thus reassured, a Châtelet audience could "picture" the strength and determination of the Russian military framed in a (k)nightly tableau, as well as imagine the machinations of the marauding Tartar.

*Michel Strogoff* played five hundred and eighty-one times in Paris between 1880 and 1890, its productions receding when uncertainties arose about the possibility of alliance with Russia. In 1887, however, the year of Bismarck's threatening speech, the exterior of the Châtelet was draped in Russian colors to announce a new production of *Strogoff*.<sup>172</sup> Following this, in 1891, a signal event in Franco-Russian relations launched a special reprise of the play. Despite Romanov family ties to Germany, Tsar Alexander III had invited the French fleet to sojourn at the port of Cronstadt near St. Petersburg, to the jubilation of the French media and public.<sup>173</sup> Secret discussions concerning an alliance began at the end of that summer. In Paris, the *Strogoff* reprise included both countries' national anthems, along with a newly-created final scene whose backdrop illustrated Russian sailors saluting their French *confrères* in a frenzy of welcome.<sup>174</sup> Also that year, as European fleets jostled for pre-eminence on the world's oceans, another pro-Russia production called *L'Année franco-russe* played at the Cluny Theatre. This too featured a "Cronstadt" tableau, as well as posters from popular Russophile productions including *Strogoff*.<sup>175</sup> Further testifying to the play's connection with political *rapprochement*, an 1892 periodical describes servers dressed in military costumes from *Michel Strogoff* circulating amidst cardboard models of Russian cannons and the Kremlin, during a festival held in Paris's Tuileries Gardens to benefit the poor of France and Russia.<sup>176</sup>

Following in the wake of Cronstadt, the visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon in 1893 and that by Tsar Nicholas II to Paris in 1896 became occasions for celebration across France.

During these events, *Michel Strogoff* retreated from Paris theatres, in part due to other spectacles mounted to woo visiting Russian dignitaries. There was perhaps an element of discretion here also, as Verne's novel had been banned in Russia due to its sometimes frank portrayal of political realities.<sup>177</sup> But in 1897, when French president Félix Faure visited Russia and Tsar Nicholas II pronounced the word "ally" for the first time in public, over a hundred French cities and towns flew Russian flags, organized musical concerts, and staged military tattoos.<sup>178</sup> *Michel Strogoff* re-appeared at the Châtelet, complete with yet another new scene entitled "the Franco-Russian Alliance" and a backdrop trumpeting Russian military might. *Strogoff* audience members joined citizens across France in singing both national anthems, celebrating with multiple curtain calls as "a long cry of enthusiasm" reverberated through the theatre.<sup>179</sup>

By 1900, in addition to touring in the French provinces, *Strogoff* had played 1,117 times in Paris. The year 1900 also affirmed its connection with the Franco-Russian Alliance, as part of the Paris *Exposition Universelle*.<sup>180</sup> The opening of this exposition was preceded by the inauguration of a bridge built to honor the alliance, the *pont Alexandre III*. As the Russian ambassador and French president walked ceremoniously across the bridge, with their backs to Napoléon's tomb at *Les Invalides*, they moved towards the newly-named *Avenue Nicolas II* for the official opening of the exhibits.<sup>181</sup> A popular feature of these exhibits was a mock Trans-Siberian railway linking one of Russia's pavilions to that of China. Following in the imaginary path of *Strogoff*, visitors could watch an unfurling panorama of Siberia through the "windows" of the train. Finally, towards the close of the Exposition, on the evening of October 11<sup>th</sup>, seven hundred and fifty actors and singers wearing costumes from *Michel Strogoff* entertained spectators from a steamer on the Seine River.<sup>182</sup>

Thus the message of Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff* was that of Russia as legitimate European great power, pacifying the Tartar hordes; a 'brother' rather than an 'other' for France. Or was the Russian military subduing a barbarian (Protestant) German horde night after night at the Châtelet, with Bismarck incarnated as Ogareff, a general who had betrayed the values of Europe? Regardless of its enemy target, the theatrical adaptation of *Michel Strogoff* remained popular until World War Two, reflecting ongoing French anxiety amidst convoluted, and often covert, European geopolitical maneuvering. Testifying to the identification of *Strogoff* with its author, a special production of the play was mounted after Verne's death in 1906, to raise funds for his grave monument in Amiens.<sup>183</sup>



### 3.2 Michel Strogoff: Themes and Variations

*Michel Strogoff* enjoyed fleeting popularity outside of France, as it was mounted for the theatre in several European countries even before the 1880 French production.<sup>184</sup> Between 1882 and 1900, it was also staged in the United States, in New York, Boston and San Francisco.<sup>185</sup> In these productions, however, Verne's story was adapted to feature the Russo-Turkish War of 1878, rather than a Tartar uprising. One New York reviewer described this adaptation as "judiciously rewritten", with a "grandeur" and "realism" appealing to the "popular taste for the spectacular."<sup>186</sup> While theatrical productions played steadily in France until 1939, *Strogoff* lived on more memorably in European films, notably in six productions between 1926 and 1971. Some of these films were co-productions involving France, Germany, Italy and Yugoslavia. Although the films were taken to America, reception there was lukewarm in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution.<sup>187</sup>

The early *Strogoff* films are intriguing, particularly those from 1926 and 1936. While film scholars credit the story's exotic elements as the appeal for adaptation, they also contend that these productions served as a vehicle for the "tsarist nostalgia" of White Russian refugees involved in their creation.<sup>188</sup> Yet this provokes questions. As film historian Richard Abel has observed, the American cultural machine toppled most French film production companies after World War One. How, then, did a White Russian film community based in Paris survive? Could there have been an injection of funds from pro-Russian sources such as V.O.K.S., the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, a group first formed in 1925?<sup>189</sup> Additionally, Latvia's government loaned four thousand troops to the filming of the 1926 production of *Michel Strogoff*.<sup>190</sup> This could hardly indicate support for "tsarist nostalgia", as Latvia had recently signed a treaty of neutrality with Russia, its former overlord. Indeed, the 1926 film adaptation focuses more on the valor and discipline of the Russian military than a tsarist past. Interest in this production may also be explained by pivotal events in Europe, such as France's withdrawal from the German industrial heartland in 1925, as dictated by the Treaty of Versailles, and the Treaty of Locarno, which appeared to reinforce German strength. Adding to the argument that the film was politically charged is Abel's observation that *Michel Strogoff*'s main competitor in 1926 Paris movie-houses was a pro-Poland film, *Le Jouer des échecs*. The Polish government had loaned its troops for the filming of this production, whose story was adapted from an early nineteenth-century play that depicted an Ottoman Turk out-maneuvering Catherine the Great. Given that Germany had

had recently signed a treaty with Poland, this also suggests a connection with geopolitical posturing.<sup>191</sup>

Similarly, the 1936 film adaptation of *Strogoff* evokes strong political overtones. Co-produced in Germany and France, the film was immediately banned by the Nazis.<sup>192</sup> This may have been a rejection of the filmic display of disciplined Russian military forces, or a rejection of the film's star, Anton Walbrook, who left Germany after denouncing Hitler's regime.<sup>193</sup> The appeal for a new adaptation of *Strogoff* could also be explained by the bilateral military agreement signed by Russia and France in 1935, after Hitler's proclamation of universal conscription. The *dénouement* of this production is equally suggestive. It was taken for adaptation to both the United States and Mexico, each a site for debate concerning the Soviet Union under Stalin. Mexico in particular represented an ideological battleground up until World War Two, with German agents lobbying through subsidies, including those in the cultural arena, for Mexican support. Again, this raises questions about the funding of the 1936 film: during this period marked by mounting economic tensions, did Russian funds bankroll the American and Mexican productions?

A final word here concerns the 1956 version of *Michel Strogoff*, billed as the story of a man who "saved a nation". In this instance, the nation which required saving might have been one of many. The blockbuster film *Michel Strogoff* opened in France in December of 1956, on the heels of a series of international crises, including the 1954 French surrender in Vietnam, the 1955 American suggestion of atomic retaliation against Chinese maneuvers in the Taiwan strait, the 1956 Suez Canal crisis and ensuing threats by Khrushchev against Britain and France, and also in 1956, the Soviet invasion of Hungary. *Michel Strogoff* was the highest-grossing French film of the year, with over six million tickets sold, and it played well into 1957, a year marked by the launch of *Sputnik* in Russia.<sup>194</sup> When one considers that an American film about Genghis Khan was playing in England at this time, it is tempting to consider that these productions had at their core a concern, yet again, about Russia's "Tartar" nature: the French film displaying an intrepid European savior pitted against Asiatic hordes, with the American film savoring the subjugation of the Tartars by Genghis Khan, with "hordes of extras...cutting each other to pieces."<sup>195</sup>

In addition to its prolific film career, *Michel Strogoff* remained steadily popular in novel form. It was incorporated into foreign language curricula in North America and Mexico, and into French curriculum as a vehicle for studying "character portraits." Even as late as 1976, it was the top-selling novel from the Verne pantheon in France.<sup>196</sup> The story was reframed in comic book format, recast in 1964 as an operetta at the Paris Mogador Theatre, and adapted



for a puppet production at the Spoleto Festival in Italy in 1992.<sup>197</sup> Reflecting the novel's popularity in France, tourists will find a *rue Michel Strogoff* in Versailles, and a *boulevard Michel Strogoff* in Amiens, as well as packages offering winter train travel through Siberia following Strogoff's route from Moscow to Irkutsk.<sup>198</sup> Since 1876, hundreds of thousands have "traveled" with *Strogoff*, each imprinted by an image of a powerful Russia defeating the barbaric Muslim Tartar. It would seem that Linda Hutcheon's criteria of "fecundity" and "recognition" remain much at play here. Tellingly, as Hutcheon notes, the progression from book to theatre to film promotes identification with the story through a sensory "immersive engagement."<sup>199</sup> Despite the claim that *Michel Strogoff*'s popularity rests in its place as an exemplary text from the adventure genre, its political underpinnings were far more influential. Most clearly, it served to portray Russia as a partner for France. An initial theatrical adaptation engendered its entrenchment in France's cultural repertoire and its subsequent iconic status, a status reflected even at the level of the state, which is seen below.

#### 4. POSTSCRIPT: LETTRES DE RUSSIE AND MICHEL STROGOFF

As demonstrated by this study, Astolphe de Custine's *Lettres de Russie* and Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff* have led an exceptionally long life. Indeed, along with Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's work, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians* (1883), they appear to be the most enduring texts from the corpus of nineteenth-century French texts concerning Russia.<sup>200</sup> On the surface, the aristocratic Custine and the bourgeois Verne would seem to have little in common. Yet each generated an extremely influential portrayal of Russia, via the political adaptation of a travelogue and novel respectively, launching their canonical status through multiple modalities. Thus the genre of the European travelogue, a medium for field report and diplomatic reconnaissance during an age of horse and buggy, evolved to represent certainty in an era of the emerging superpower. Through an analysis of the content and trajectory of such texts, as Michel de Certeau observed, scholars can "appreciate the impact of history on a symbolic structure of knowledge: the voyage."<sup>201</sup> Now firmly embedded as referential imagery, these works tend to re-appear in moments of crisis, with re-editions and adaptations corresponding to signal events involving Russia, such as the disintegration of the Soviet Union beginning in 1989.

The original books by Custine and Verne illustrate a France fired by indignation against Russia and subsequently awash in Russophilia, as it struggled to survive as a nation. Once adapted to political ends, the texts functioned in the cultural repertoires of Great Power

maneuvers involving France, Russia, and the United States, well into the twentieth century. While Verne's novel enjoyed most popularity in France, Custine's *Lettres* clearly remains the dominant work on Russia in the United States. *Strogoff's* appeal related to the Franco-Russian Alliance, whose importance for France was starkly described by historian Charles Corbet: "The alliance is dead, but to it we owe our life."<sup>202</sup> Strong post-war French Communist sympathies also reflected Cold War tensions with America, as France reluctantly relinquished its Great Power status. Verne profiled Russia containing its internal Tartars, both off and on the stage; a Russian partner for France as the bulwark of European civilization against Oriental or Muslim despotism and aggression. In the United States, however, Russophilia remained an unlikely concept, and containment another matter. American uncertainty about Russia seemed to oscillate between two poles: Russians as *bar-bar*, a people who did not speak the same language as Americans, and who must be kept at bay, or civilized if in their midst, versus Russians as Tartars, the yellow menace serving as the advance guard of a Red Peril, a sort of frontier thesis in reverse. Complicating this issue was the "hermit kingdom": a Russia closed, as Roland Barthes once pithily noted, to American terrestrial observers.<sup>203</sup> Yet like the recent American reliance on Ahmed Chalabi's observations concerning Iraq, Cold War diplomats put their faith in the words of Custine, albeit words over a century old. By representing the "reality" of Russia through the prism of their personal political authority and authoritative declarations culled from Custine, the Kohler and Boorstin editions measured Russian actions against a yardstick of "civilizational proof." As Michael Williams observed, "in the appeal to the centrality of Western culture... a new set of power relations became dominant."<sup>204</sup> Images of Russia as "counter-civilizational", or as a nation "regressing" into "proto-imperial" acts, remain a staple in international relations, most recently fanned by the truculence of Presidents Vladimir Putin and George W. Bush.

Historian Peter Burke observed that analysts of "cultural construction" must identify influential players in the creation of identities, as well as the "relative importance of individual and collective invention." The works by Custine and Verne offer exemplary examples by which these may be ascertained. Equally, they support the hypothesis that literary narrative exists as "a historical force in its own right", lending itself to persistent "re-employment", particularly powerful as multi-media forms evolve.<sup>205</sup> Re-employment results in adaptations which themselves become "generative and transposable", permitting their use to structure a social field, as Williams explained in his adaptation of Bourdieu's theories to international relations.<sup>206</sup> Interests and strategies motivating such constructs may be either conscious or

unconscious, an observation which has much bearing on what appears to be an often instinctual re-employment of these two “stories” about Russia.

What of the Tartars, and of Custine and Verne, today? Each remains alive and well in the West, demonstrating a powerful and affirmative reach. Speculations about the role of the Tartar in Russian history may be found in a recent work entitled *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier*. This book states that between 1304 and 1589, Muscovite foreign policy proceeded based in theory on the precepts of Byzantium, but in practice on the traditions of the Central Asian steppes. Its author also quoted a Cold War Catholic observation that “The Mongol temporal ‘Iron Curtain’ completed the Byzantine spiritual one,”<sup>207</sup> twinning Churchill’s pronouncement concerning Soviet occupation in Europe with the iconostasis of the Russian Orthodox church. Tartars continue to generate literary interest also, as demonstrated by a 1995 American proposal for a film adaptation of *Michel Strogoff*. The author of this screenplay embellished Verne’s story to include “four Tartar horsemen”, blood-licking Tartars probing reindeer entrails for signs of prophecy, and Muslim Tartars sinking Strogoff’s raft to destroy both a Bible and a printing press.<sup>208</sup>

With respect to Custine, the Kohler edition appears to persist as the definitive text in the United States, despite later and much longer English editions. Repeatedly, Custine is identified as the author of *Journey for Our Time*, although Kohler may receive credit as his “translator”. As an example of this, in a recent review of Alexander Sokurov’s film *The Russian Ark*, the reviewer cited both Kohler’s and Kennan’s books.<sup>209</sup> Meanwhile, the 1989 Boorstin edition sits prominently in the travel section of a large Canadian metropolitan library, a status likely due to its original Book of the Month Club designation, and to the fact that few travel texts on Russia are published for the North American reader.<sup>210</sup> *Lettres de Russie* continues to re-emerge for re-scripting in times of crisis, amidst geopolitical concerns addressing the perennial question of what will Russia *do*? This penchant for applying Custine’s work to contemporary political events is borne out by an interview with a former English diplomat, who revealed that during the Cold War, “We young men in the embassy used to read Custine to learn what the Soviet Union that we could not visit was like.”<sup>211</sup> Equally telling, a helpful advisor recounts that he presented Margaret Thatcher with a copy of *Journey for Our Time* during her tenure as Britain’s Prime Minister.<sup>212</sup>

Custine’s observations remain particularly ubiquitous in journalistic circles, and are often quoted to introduce contemporary articles that dwell on barbaric/despotic themes of Russian history. An Internet search yields many such examples, including American newspaper articles on the Kursk submarine disaster and the Beslan school massacre, each

opening with Custine's words.<sup>213</sup> So too does a report on Russia produced for the Carnegie Institute in 2000. The author of this report is the grand-daughter of Nikita Khrushchev, Nina Khrushcheva, who quoted Custine to explain why Russia's historic identity will not permit liberal economic reforms.<sup>214</sup> Although Tartar aggression may have subsided, such works imply that aggressive ideology appears to linger, antithetical to that of the West. This, for many commentators, demonstrates Russia's continuing failure on the "cultural gradient".<sup>215</sup>

As testament to the powerful influence of the adaptation of Custine's *Lettres de Russie*, its resonance at the level of state culture is especially revealing. Perhaps its most intriguing sequela is the film by Alexander Sokurov, in which Custine is portrayed as one of two main characters wandering through the Hermitage Museum while commenting on three hundred years of Russian history. Sokurov's film appears to affirm Russia's place in the European cultural community, a thrust borne out by an exhibit celebrating the relationship between Russia and France, held in St. Petersburg and Paris, also in 2003. In Paris, the exhibit was mounted in a hall directly above Napoléon's tomb in *Les Invalides*, easily accessible to visitors strolling across that emphatic monument to the Franco-Russian Alliance, the *pont Alexandre III*. Yet in America, although the Center for Defense Initiatives noted Custine's central role in the new Russian film, he was described as "an imaginary French marquis."<sup>216</sup> Also in 2003, as a Napoleonic Tartar rested under French feet, a conference funded by the United States Congress examined the question of Russian identity. Led by Russia expert and Librarian of Congress James H. Billington, founder of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at Princeton University, this conference's proceedings are summarized in a public report which describes Custine as "the nineteenth century's most astute observer of Russia."<sup>217</sup>

In France, by contrast, both Custine and Verne resonate at the level of state culture. In 2003, a speaker at the *Académie française* reminded his invited guest, President Vladimir Putin of Russia, of Custine's negative impact on French perceptions of his country.<sup>218</sup> When President Putin returned to France in 2005 for an annual state-sponsored *salon du livre* which had chosen Russia for its theme, France was celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Jules Verne's death, with multiple events across the country. These were preceded in 2004 by a retrospective exhibit highlighting the central place of *Michel Strogoff* in European culture, held at the *Centre International Jules Verne* in Rouen. The Verne celebrations prompted numerous re-releases of *Strogoff* classics, in both book and film. The novel was also published in an abridged version that eliminated Verne's long descriptive passages concerning geography, as a text approved by France's Ministry of Education for

use in official curriculum.<sup>219</sup> In 2006, following on the heels of Vernomania, the French Mint produced commemorative Euro coins featuring *Michel Strogoff*.<sup>220</sup> On these, Strogoff is depicted on horseback, sword raised as he thunders towards Islamic rebels, with Russian churches and Tartar tents in the background. Such an image prompts the uneasy sense that France and Russia are now both post-empire, and dealing with the results. The recent film adaptation of *Michel Strogoff*, produced in animated format for children, again features Strogoff brandishing a militant sword against rebellious Tartars, among them a swarthy Feofar Khan whose curved black moustache echoes the curving swords of the Tartar horde. This production won a prestigious award in 2006, receiving the “*Laurier d’or*” in the category “*Jeunesse*”, a prize presented at the *Sénat* in Paris by the Radio and Television Council of France.<sup>221</sup> In this latest adaptation, a teacher reads *Michel Strogoff* to a fascinated group of “*petits rats de bibliothèque*” or “little book-mice”, who follow Strogoff throughout his journey, at times attempting to harass his enemies. They are entertained by much that they see, including a scene where evil gypsies and Tartars dance (the latter a Ukrainian dance). *Plus ça change...*

Thus, eternally it seems, the poles of debate regarding Russian and Tartar identity are re-inscribed. In this instance, political adaptations demonstrate the processes of state versus public cultural construction of identities, with the authority of American Cold War diplomats and Custine set against that of the French public and White Russian refugees. Central to the debate outlined here is the mythical Tartar, a word which like a telescope extends and recedes to mark the conflation, deflation, and dilation of cultural frontiers. The term Tartar, indeed its very conception, remains a “co-efficient of emotivity”, valued not for any intrinsic meaning, but rather “for the use to which it is put.”<sup>222</sup> Yet the status and use of such a word is perhaps most usefully described by Roland Barthes. In the construction of a mythical identity, the term Tartar serves as “a petrified code....[for] myth is fundamentally nominal, insofar as nomination is the first procedure of distraction.”<sup>223</sup>

Finally, the image of Russia as a Janus nation, represented by the double-headed eagle of the tsar, uncertain in its status as a “learner” (European) versus a “threat” (Asian), masks a much deeper story.<sup>224</sup> Behind this lingers the persistent notions of a veil, a curtain, a wall; images invoked since the tale of Alexander the Great willfully walling nomads from the Central Asian steppes behind his mythical copper Alexandrian Gates. The Tartars, along with Gog and Magog, will emerge at the Apocalypse, explains the Bible in *Revelations*. As Iver Neumann observed regarding European security concerns: “European debate about Russia has also been a source of policy....shared fear can hardly be treated as something

extraneous to the European debate about Russia."<sup>225</sup> Nor can shared imaginings regarding Russia's place in the world, in a culture of international relations. Why then, and how, do the words of "distant travelers" maintain such historic weight? Can one trace the path of similar texts to illustrate the persistence of scripting and memory demonstrated here? Do images from the past continue to infiltrate political interactions, particularly those with "hermit kingdoms" seen as inscrutable by the West?

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Michael C. Williams, *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> This distinction is discussed by Edward Said. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, 1982, translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 167, 154, 95, 108.

<sup>5</sup> Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 103.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Irina Grudzinska Gross, "The Tangled Tradition: Custine, Herberstein, Karamzin, and the Critique of Russia," *Slavic Review*, 50:4 (Winter, 1991), p. 997.

<sup>8</sup> As examples, Adas cited a 1748 travelogue by British general George Anson, titled *Voyage Around the World*, which exerted much influence on Montesquieu, Diderot and Rousseau, and John Barrow's *Travels in China* (1804), which became the authoritative text on China for British commentators. Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Man: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 10, 90, 178.

<sup>9</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 7, 4, 20. James Duncan and Derek Gregory, *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Dolan emphasizes the importance of examining such travelogues diachronically in order to assess their influence. Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: European Travellers in the Age of the Enlightenment* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Wolff argued that debates concerning the place of Eastern Europe and Russia relative to Western Europe centered on an Enlightenment-inspired "taxonomy of relationships." Todorova, in her analysis of the relationship of travel discourse to public opinion and foreign policy, described the conflation of Balkan identity with that of the Ottoman Turk. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 358; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Marshall T. Poe, *A People Born to Slavery: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476-1748* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 219, 36.

<sup>14</sup> Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: The East in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 91.

<sup>15</sup> A travel memoir by the Marquis de Custine, entitled *Lettres de Russie* (Paris: Amyot, 1843). Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 305.

<sup>16</sup> Friedrich Kratochwil, "Is the Ship of Culture at Sea or Returning?", p. 201-222, in *The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory*, eds. Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil (London: Lynne Rienner, 1996).



---

<sup>17</sup> Eckart Conze, "States, International Systems and Intercultural Transfer: A Commentary", in *Culture and International History*, eds. J. C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), p. 198-205.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), p. 97.

<sup>19</sup> Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, 77.

<sup>20</sup> Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 364; Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, 92.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Malia identifies Custine's work as "the paradigmatic example of equating internal despotism with external aggression." He also writes that Bolshevism was viewed by some as the "second coming of the Tartars." Martin Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horsemen to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 437, 246.

<sup>22</sup> Verne was the author of *Découverte de la Terre: Histoire générale des grands voyages et des grands voyageurs*, a compendium of works published by Hetzel between 1864 and 1880. He also wrote *Géographie illustrée de la France et de ses colonies*, published in 1866.

<sup>23</sup> Oksana Bulgakowa, "The Russian 'Vogue' in Europe and Hollywood: The Transformation of Russian Stereotypes through the 1920s." *Russian Review*, 64:2 (April, 2005), p. 214.

<sup>24</sup> This debate took place throughout Europe, but had special resonance in eighteenth-century France when *philosophes* Voltaire and Didérot established connections with Catherine the Great of Russia. Did "le mirage russe" mask the true Russia, at once barbarian and "oriental", or was Russia committed to the ideals of the West, on a path beginning with Peter the Great? For a discussion of early modern European travel writing about Russia, see Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*; Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*; and Neumann, *Uses of the Other*. Recent commentary on Russia's place in Europe may be found in Catherine Evtuhov and Stephen Kotkin, editors, *The Cultural Gradient: The Transmission of Ideas in Europe, 1789-1991. Essays in honor of Martin Malia* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols, 1247 A.D.*, editor Christopher Dawson (Medieval Academy of America, 1980).

<sup>26</sup> Charles-Louis Lesur, *Histoire des Kosaques. Introduction ou coup d'oeil sur les peuples qui ont habité le pays des Kosaques, avant l'invasion des Tartares. Tome 1* (Paris: A. Belin, 1814), p. 149. A recent text identifies the Tatars as a group who lived north of Beijing. David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia, Vol. 1: Inner Eurasia from Prehistory to the Mongol Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p. 400.

<sup>27</sup> Augustus Henry Keane, *Ethnology in Two Parts: Fundamental Ethnical Problems and the Primary Ethnical Groups* (1896), p. 303. Online. Available: Google Books Online. See also V.-V. Barthold, *La Découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*, translated and annotated from Russian by B. Nikitine (Paris: Payot, 1947), p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog", 55. For the equation of Scythians with Tartars, see François Pétis, *The History of Gengizcan the Great, First Emperor of the ancient Moguls and Tartars* (London: 1722), chapter 1, p. 1. Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. Available: <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>

<sup>29</sup> Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 190.

<sup>30</sup> Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, 91.

---

<sup>31</sup> *Revelations* 20 foretells the rise of Gog and Magog in the service of Satan. Gog and Magog are identified as Tartars on a well-known early French map, the *Catalan Atlas* of 1380. Scott D. Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog", in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p. 55-66. See also James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), p. 34, 105.

<sup>32</sup> Scythian invaders came from the region of today's Kazakhstan.

<sup>33</sup> The papal bull denounced the "wicked race of the Tartars" and exhorted Christian Europe to raise its "mailed arm" to assist Polish and Hungarian knights, as well as to construct "ditches, walls, or other defenses and fortifications" against the invaders. "On the Tartars", *The Constitutions of the First Council of Lyons, 1245 A.D.* 4:49. Online. Available: <http://mb-soft.com/believe/txs/lyons.htm>

<sup>34</sup> Approximately one-third of this report was devoted to Tartar tactics of war. The influence of Plano Carpini's comments may be seen in Marco Polo's work, where they appear almost verbatim. John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*. See also John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the New World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

<sup>35</sup> This conflation of identities, incorporating elements of ethnicity, geopolitical space, religion, ideology, politics and culture is similar to that which has been attributed to the Balkan region. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 21.

<sup>36</sup> Tamerlane's forces invaded Syria and the Ottoman Empire between 1360 and 1405.

<sup>37</sup> See for example the sixteenth-century atlases of Adam Olarius and Gerhard Mercator. Intriguingly, historian Brian Dolan argued that because Tatar communities had successfully monopolized trade in the Crimean region, European merchants propagated notions of "oriental despotism" and fearsome Tartars. James Chambers also noted that the Mongol invasions of Russia caused bankruptcies among English merchants, due to the interruption of the herring trade. This may account for the frequent reference to Tartars in sixteenth-century English literature, notably in Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon's *Gesta Grayorum*, Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Squire's Tale" in the *Canterbury Tales*, Matthew Arnold's poem "Sohrab and Rustum", Christopher Marlowe's play *Tamburlaine the Great*, and William Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers*, 109; Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen*, 85.

<sup>38</sup> In 451 A.D. Hun forces attacked the French cities of Trèves, Metz, Reims, Laon, and St. Quentin, and laid siege to both Orléans and Paris. The French credited St. Geneviève with resisting the attack against Paris. Maurice Bouvier-Ajam, *Attila: le fléau de Dieu* (Paris: Tallandier, 1982), p. 460.

<sup>39</sup> Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Tartares", in *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Vol. 3, 1765, (New York: Pergamon Press, n.d.), p. 921-922.

<sup>40</sup> Napoléon Bonaparte, as quoted in Charles Corbet, *L'Opinion française face à l'inconnu russe* (Paris: Didier, 1967), p. 84.

<sup>41</sup> Speeches by M. Salvandy (1834) and the comte de Montalambert (1836), as cited in Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 169, 180. Ernest Renan's description of the Slavic horde is also found in Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 365.

<sup>42</sup> Michel Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française* (Paris: Fayard, 1967), p. 355, 508.

<sup>43</sup> As quoted in Henri Massis, *L'Occident et son destin* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1956), p. 31, 116, 137, 45. According to Michael Adas, Massis called for Europeans to return to their medieval Catholic roots

---

in order to counter the influence of Indian philosophy, which had appeared post-World War One as an alternative to an industrial, materialist society. Massis believed that Indian philosophy would enhance the prestige of Bolshevism. Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Man*, 394.

<sup>44</sup> All translations here are mine, based on the 1846 edition of Custine's *Lettres de Russie*. Passages from the 1951 American text *Journey for Our Time* are translations by the editor of that text, Phyllis Penn Kohler (see footnote 78.) Astolphe de Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, 3rd edition (Paris: Amyot, 1846), avant-propos, xxxi, xxxii.

<sup>45</sup> "Le mirage russe" derives from the title of a book published in France during the Cold War. A. Lortholary, *Les 'Philosophes' du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la Russie: Le Mirage russe en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Albert Boivin, 1951), as found in Sergueï Karp and Larry Wolff, *Le Mirage russe au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'études du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, 2001), p. 7, 241.

<sup>46</sup> Custine's grandfather, Adam-Philippe de Custine-Sarreck, served as colonel of the Saintonge Regiment at Yorktown during the American Revolutionary War, as well as in France and Austria during the French Revolution. Custine's mother was also imprisoned during the Terror, and shared a cell with several aristocrats, including Napoléon's future wife Joséphine de Beauharnais. Delphine de Custine was released and fled the country with young Astolphe, but upon her return resumed her place in high society and maintained a romantic relationship with René de Chateaubriand, the French Romantic writer. Chateaubriand warned that Russia was characterized by the "peace of the caserne" and the "silence of deserts," images frequently invoked by Custine. Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 186.

<sup>47</sup> Custine's decision to retreat to private life was in part due to health problems, including bouts of malaria and depression. Anka Muhlstein, *A Taste for Freedom: The Life of Astolphe de Custine*, translated by Teresa Waugh (New York: Helen Marx Books, 1999), p. 111, 126, 129, 140. *Astolphe de Custine, le dernier marquis* (Paris: Lamnay, 1996). Muhlstein wrote the introduction for a 1990 French edition of Custine, as well as for the 2002 American edition. For further biography of Custine, see Francine-Dominique Leichtenhan, *Astolphe de Custine, voyageur et philosophe* (Paris: Champion-Honoré, 2003); Julien-Frédéric Tarn, *Le Marquis de Custine, ou les malheurs de l'exactitude*, 1985 (Paris: François Bourin, 1993); Olivier Gassouin, *Le Marquis de Custine* (Paris: Editions Lumière et Justice, 1987); A. Luppé, *Astolphe de Custine* (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1957).

<sup>48</sup> Custine was exposed as a homosexual in a scandalous incident in 1823, widely reported in Paris. Thereafter he lived openly in a homosexual relationship.

<sup>49</sup> Astolphe de Custine, *L'Espagne sous Ferdinand II*, 1831 (Paris: Editions François Bourin, 1991). This work is a panegyric to a sunny, Catholic Spain, despite Custine's experiences with unfriendly border officials and the guards he hired to ward off brigands.

<sup>50</sup> George F. Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine and his Russia in 1839* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 18. Kennan noted that Custine quoted de Tocqueville on the title page of his travelogue on Spain, while biographer Anka Muhlstein reported that he met de Tocqueville at a Paris salon. Muhlstein, *A Taste for Freedom*, 272. Custine's opinion of de Tocqueville was not flattering: "he is the most naive of the ambitious... he lacks frankness, his mouth is old and badly cut." From a letter by Custine to A. Varnhagen, dated January 9, 1941, as cited in Pierre de Lacretelle, *Marquis de Custine: Souvenirs et Portraits, textes choisis et présentés par Pierre de Lacretelle* (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1956), p. 219.

<sup>51</sup> Exchange between France and Russia began during the reign of Peter the Great, when French tutors, architects, sculptors and scientists resided in Russia for long periods. French was also a diplomatic language shared by many European courts in the eighteenth century.

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of the reaction to Custine's work, see Michel Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française*, notably chapter 6. See also Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 218-227.

---

<sup>53</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 1, 43, 45, 348, 351.

<sup>54</sup> Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine*, 120.

<sup>55</sup> A caveat applies here: virtually every commentator on Custine's work has cited a figure of 200,000 copies sold, but this is Custine's personal estimate. The estimate first appeared in the introduction he wrote for an 1854 abridged edition of the *Lettres de Russie*, published during the Crimean War. Custine noted that a French tribunal had investigated counterfeit Belgian editions of his work, and that he had calculated the figure of 200,000 based on the tribunal's report. See *La Russie, par le marquis de Custine* (Paris: Imprimerie Walder, 1855, 1 Vol., 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), *Avant-propos*.

<sup>56</sup> Commentary along these lines may be found in all four volumes of Custine's work. The majority of the quotations cited here are found in Volume 3, in the addendum to his 29<sup>th</sup> "letter", dated the evening of August 15<sup>th</sup>. Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 3, 66, 339, 355, 346, 353, 340, 350, 356, 363, 349. See also Vol. 1, xxxv, 8, 142, 210, and Vol. 2, 321.

<sup>57</sup> Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française*, 186.

<sup>58</sup> Nikolai Karamzin, *History of the Russian Empire* (Paris: A. Belin, 1819).

<sup>59</sup> Custine noted that "the reputation of Ivan the Terrible...fascinated Elizabeth's masculine spirit." Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 3, 165, 206.

<sup>60</sup> Muhlstein, *A Taste for Freedom*, 261.

<sup>61</sup> Charles Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 279. Russia converted to the Orthodox faith in the late 980s, and the schism between Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox groups occurred in 1054.

<sup>62</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 2, 82, 77; Vol. 3, 61; Vol. 1, 187.

<sup>63</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 3, 127.

<sup>64</sup> Montesquieu declared that the Tartar invasion of Russia had despoiled the "natural order" of Russian government. For an incisive analysis of European commentary concerning Russian despotism and the role played by the works of Montesquieu therein, see Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 147-166 and 189-195.

<sup>65</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Le Contrat social*. Translated by Maurice Cranston (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 51.

<sup>66</sup> Custine included seven pages from de Ségur's book *Histoire de Russie et de Pierre le Grand* (Paris: Baudoin Frères, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1825). Other references cited were Schnitzler's *La Russie, la Pologne, et la Finlande* (Paris, 1835), and Levesque's *Histoire de Russie et des principales nations de l'Empire russe* (Paris, 4th ed., 1812).

<sup>67</sup> Charles-Louis Lesur, *Histoire des Cosaques*. Major Charles Masson, *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie et particulièrement sur la fin du règne de Catherine II et sur celui de Paul I*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Levrault, Schoell et Cie, 1804). As cited in Corbet, *L'Opinion française*. Corbet noted that these references dated from the time of Napoléon, who commissioned a number of anti-Russia texts to bolster his 1812 campaign. Lesur published the so-called "testament" of Peter the Great, a document which purportedly proclaimed Russian designs on Europe; this was later revealed to be the work of a disgruntled Polish general. Masson, who went to Russia in 1786, served as secretary to the arch-duke before being expelled by the emperor Paul I. Masson predicted that conditions in Russia would lead to revolution, a point that Custine stressed in *Lettres de Russie*. For further discussion of Custine's sources, see Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française*; Irina Grudzinska Gross, "The

---

Tangled Tradition", p. 989-998; and Vera Milčina, "La Russie en 1839 du Marquis de Custine et ses sources contemporaines", *Cahiers du monde russe*, 44:1 (2000), p. 151-164.

<sup>68</sup> Lesur also published an anonymous work entitled *Tableau historique des progrès de la Puissance russe* (1812), as well as a book entitled *Catholicisme et Liberté*. Lesur, *Histoire des Cosaques*, 316; Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 2, 313.

<sup>69</sup> Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 64, 84.

<sup>70</sup> Dominique Georges Frédéric de Pradt, *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe relativement à l'Europe, suivi d'un aperçu sur la Grèce* (Paris: Pichon et Didier, 1828), p.156. As quoted in Raymond T. McNally, "The Origins of Russophobia in France, 1812-1830", *American Slavic and East European Review*, 17:2 (April, 1958), p. 182.

<sup>71</sup> For extensive discussion of French opinion concerning Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Ezequiel Adamovsky, *Euro-Orientalism: Liberal Ideology and the Image of Russia in France, c. 1740-1880* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 90-128, and Corbet, *L'Opinion française*. Adamovsky discusses an influential work which equated civilization with Roman Catholicism, viz., *Of the Pope* (1819) by Joseph de Maistre, as well as Victor Hugo's *Of the Rhine* (1841), which characterized Russia as insatiable conqueror. Custine was familiar with both. Charles Corbet noted that Victor Hugo compared Russians to Hun invaders. Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 187.

<sup>72</sup> The Marquis de Custine, *Russia or The Empire of the Czar, or Observations on the Social, Political and Religious State and Prospects of Russia, During a Journey Through That Empire*, translated from the French, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 3 Volumes (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844).

<sup>73</sup> Custine, *La Russie* (1855). The first French Crimean War edition appeared in 1854, and a second illustrated edition in 1855. The latter contains approximately ninety percent of the text found in the 1846 edition of *Lettres de Russie* (this is my calculation, based on an approximate word count per page). David Kunzle, "Gustave Doré's History of Holy Russia: Anti-Russian Propaganda from the Crimean War to the Cold War", *Russian Review*, 42:3 (July, 1983), p. 271-299.

<sup>74</sup> See for example a 1922 article by French ambassador Alfred Dumaine, who described Custine as "a simple tourist exercising his curiosity", noting that his book that contained, despite its flaws, "luminous observations that shine...like sparks amidst the cinders." Alfred Dumaine, "Un observateur méconnu de la Russie: le Marquis de Custine", *La Revue de Paris*, année 29, Tome 1 (Janvier-Février, 1922), p. 476-502. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

<sup>75</sup> Henri Massis, editor, *Lettres de Russie, avec une introduction par l'Editeur* (Paris: Les Editions de la Nouvelle France, 1946), 1 Vol., 367 pages.

<sup>76</sup> This memo appeared at the end of the first installment of an article by J. Pierpont Morgan, entitled "Will Our Prosperity Last?" *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 197, No. 1183 (December, 1948), p. 37.

<sup>77</sup> Two abbreviated English editions appeared during the Crimean War: *Russia, translated from the French of the Marquis de Custine* (New York, 1854); and *The Empire of the Czar*, 1 Vol., published as the fifth volume in a series entitled *Travellers' Library* (London: 1856). De Lacretelle, *Marquis de Custine*, 274. *Hunt's Merchant Magazine and Commercial Review*, Vol. 31 (July-December, 1854), editor Freeman Hunt (New York: Fulton St.), p. 523. Online. Available: Google Books Online, [www.googlebooks.com](http://www.googlebooks.com)

<sup>78</sup> This quotation, attributed to George F. Kennan, is featured on the back cover of the most recent American edition of Custine. Anka Muhlstein, editor, *Letters from Russia: The 1843 Translation, edited, revised and with an introduction by Anka Muhlstein* (New York: New York Review Books, 2002). Walter Beddell Smith wrote that Custine's book "could be called the best work so far produced



---

about the Soviet Union.” Note Beddell Smith’s use of the term Soviet Union, as opposed to Russia. As found in Phyllis Penn Kohler, editor and translator, *Journey for Our Time: the Journals of the Marquis de Custine* (London: Arthur Barker, 1953), p. 11.

<sup>79</sup> George F. Kennan, the first American diplomat trained in Russian affairs, served at the Moscow Embassy from 1933 to 1937 and from 1944 to 1946, before being named ambassador in 1951. He was expelled from Russia after just four months in Moscow. Foy Kohler worked as ambassador to Russia from 1962 to 1966, following his role as Director of Voice of America. He also wrote a book about Russia whose introduction included excerpts from his wife’s edition of Custine. Foy Kohler, *Understanding Russia: A Citizen’s Primer* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

<sup>80</sup> Kohler, *Journey for Our Time* (New York: Cudahy, 1951).

<sup>81</sup> NSC 68: *United States Objectives and Programs for National Security. A Report to the President Pursuant to the President’s Directive of January 31, 1950.* April 14, 1950. (Washington, DC: National Security Council, 1950). The report states that: “...this Republic and its citizens in the ascendancy of their strength stand in their deepest peril. The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic, but of civilization itself.” Online. Available: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm#he>

<sup>82</sup> Kunzle, “Gustave Doré’s History of Holy Russia”, 291.

<sup>83</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower, D-Day Commemoration Ceremonies, June 6, 1951. Online. Available: <http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/speeches>. The Doolittle Report, also known as The Report on the Covert Activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, was tabled on September 30, 1954. Appendix A, p. 6, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*, 373.

<sup>85</sup> Kohler, *Journey for Our Time*, 10.

<sup>86</sup> Again, this percentage is my calculation, based on a comparison of the average word count per page in the Kohler 1953 edition of 338 pages (first edition: New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1951) and the 1846 French third edition of 1,648 pages (first edition: Paris: Amyot, 1843). Astolphe de Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, 4 Vols. (Paris: Amyot, 1846).

<sup>87</sup> Massis’s edition, although not his name, was mentioned by Kohler in the first paragraph of her preface, but not thereafter. The Massis edition is six percent longer than the Kohler edition, and thus contains approximately twenty-eight percent of the 1846 text (my calculations). Its introduction features quotations from nineteenth-century French authors critical of Russia, notably Emile Montégut and Ernest Renan. Massis, *Lettres de Russie*, Introduction, p.1-58.

<sup>88</sup> Emile Montégut, *Libres opinions morales et historiques* (Paris: n.p., 1888), as cited in Massis, *Lettres de Russie*, 52, 55, 56.

<sup>89</sup> Henri Massis, *Découverte de la Russie* (Montréal: Les Editions Variétés, 1944), p. 49. In this work, Massis denounced the Soviet Union: “Soviet Russia, inheritor of the Empire of the Steppe, who dethroned in 1920, only to take their place, the last [of the] Genghis Khans....[as the] repository of the conquering drive of the Mongols, obeying the same instincts as the nomads of the past, Bolshevik Muscovy could, as during the Middle Ages, nourish the hope of devouring Europe.” (My translation.) See also de Lacretelle, *Marquis de Custine: Souvenirs et Portraits*, 44.

<sup>90</sup> Kohler, *Journey for Our Time*, 80, 56, 86, 96, 132, 153. Massis, *Lettres de Russie*, 151, 114, 161, 177, 224, 253.

---

<sup>91</sup> Custine's *Résumé du voyage* contains approximately 17,000 words, while that of Massis and Kohler only about 5,500 words. Kohler, *Journey for Our Time*, 227-240.

<sup>92</sup> In keeping with the epistolary travelogue style fashionable in literary circles, each letter was dated and preceded by a list of important individuals, sights and/or events discussed in the letter.

<sup>93</sup> Kohler, *Journey for Our Time*, 5, 6, 7.

<sup>94</sup> "The Tartars: A Thirteenth-Century Description." Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (New York: Dutton and Co., 1927), p. 91, as quoted in *The Medieval Sourcebook*. Online. Available: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsell/source/tartars>

<sup>95</sup> Genette, *Palimpsests*, 1-6, 235, 240.

<sup>96</sup> Kohler, *Journey for Our Time*, 9.

<sup>97</sup> Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*, 14.

<sup>98</sup> Custine's summary of Russian character appeared in his *résumé du voyage*. The allusion to chivalry here concerns Poland, and that to women refers to Custine's belief that Russian women were trained as spies. Kohler also omitted a portion of Custine's text which contained Peter the Great's assertion that it would take three Jews to fool one Russian. Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 4, 359.

<sup>99</sup> This work appeared in the *Journal des débats* in 1841, in the form of a series of articles translated by the comte de Montalambert. Montalambert also translated a book entitled *Vicissitudes de l'Eglise catholique des deux rites en Pologne et en Russie*, by German author Marie Josef Horrer. (Paris: Sagnier et Bray, 1843). Custine cited both these works in his *Lettres de Russie*.

<sup>100</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 1, xiii-xxxv; Vol. 4, 363, 239.

<sup>101</sup> Under Nicolas I, Russia mandated forcible conversion of Catholics and other religious groups in its imperial territories. Failure to comply with Russian Orthodox precepts earned recalcitrant subjects a range of punishments, from flogging to imprisonment, or banishment to Siberia.

<sup>102</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 4, 374.

<sup>103</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 2, 60.

<sup>104</sup> Philip E. Mosely, "It Always Was a Brooding Kremlin", *New York Times*, April 8, 1951, p. 221; book advertisement for *Journey for Our Time*, also in the *New York Times*, April 1, 1951, p. 202. Online. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Available: <http://www.proquest.com>. Koestler was a prominent author of anti-Stalin works, among them *The Yogi and the Commissar and Other Essays* (1945) and *The God That Failed* (1949). His novel *Darkness at Noon* (1940), describing the disillusionment of a former Bolshevik, was adapted for the New York stage in 1951, the year that Kohler's book was published.

<sup>105</sup> Orville Prescott, "Books of the Times", *New York Times*, April 2, 1951, p. 23.

<sup>106</sup> John Barkham, "The Changelessness of Russia: A Fellow-Traveler of the 1840s", the *Washington Post*, April 22, 1951, p. B7. A further article about Kohler's book appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, also in April. Vermont Royster, "The Bookshelf: A Brutal Comparison of Two Eras in Russia", *Wall Street Journal*, April 5, 1951, p.6. Online. Available: ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

<sup>107</sup> Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, as quoted by Orville Prescott in the *New York Times*.



---

<sup>108</sup> "The Permanent Despotism", *Time Magazine*, April 2, 1951. This article characterized Custine as "warmly pro-Russian" prior to his journey, and as "the first thoroughly disillusioned Russian [sic] traveler on record." It ends with the following quote: "The spectacle of this society, all the springs of which are taut like the trigger of a weapon that one is about to fire.... Since I have come to Russia, I see the future of Europe in black." Online. Available: <http://www.time.com>. For an excellent analysis of the illustrations by Gustave Doré chosen to accompany the *Life* article, see David Kunzle, "Gustave Doré's History of Holy Russia." Both *Time Magazine* and the *New York Times* listed Kohler's edition on their lists of recommended Christmas gift books in December, 1951.

<sup>109</sup> Adamovsky, *Euro-Orientalism*, 261.

<sup>110</sup> "Like Czar, Like Commissar: One Hundred Years Ago Despotism Ruled Russia As It Does Today", *Life Magazine*, March 4, 1951, p. 108-128. The following words from Beddell Smith's introduction were included in this article: "I could have taken many pages verbatim [from Custine]...and after substituting present-day names and dates...sent them to the State Department as my own official reports." This statement was widely quoted during the Cold War. Kohler, *Journey for Our Time*, Introduction, p. 11-13. The March 5, 1951 edition of *Life* is also notable for a letter to the editor requesting a copy of the pamphlet "You and the Atomic Bomb", printed by *Life* publishers for the New York Civil Defense Commission.

<sup>111</sup> General Walter Beddell Smith characterized Custine as a "trained diplomat", while Philip Mosely wrote that Custine was "barred from political advancement [sic]...by his devotion to the Bourbons....[therefore] he devoted his life to political journalism of the many-tomed variety." Beddell Smith, "Introduction", *Journey for Our Time*, xxviii; Mosely, "It Always Was a Brooding Kremlin", 221.

<sup>112</sup> During a 1958 Senate Committee hearing on American foreign policy, Senator J. William Fulbright asked former Assistant Secretary of State William Benton if he was familiar with "a book called *Journey For Our Time*, by a Frenchman named Marquis de Custine?" In his 1961 report on U.S. foreign policy and operations, submitted after an overseas tour, Clerk of the House Ralph Roberts cited the "well-known French traveler, the Marquis de Custine", noting that Custine had called the Russian Orthodox Church "one of the wheels of despotism." See "Review of Foreign Policy, 1958: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations", U.S. Senate Committee Hearings, 85<sup>th</sup> Congress, Volume 1275, Card 5-7 (U.S. Senate Library, 1958); and Ralph R. Roberts, "Appendix: Exhibit 1, Russia: A Short Historical Summary", from the Report of U.S. Foreign Policy and Operations, Senate Committee on Appropriations, Senate Document 73, Serial Volume 12447, Session 87-2, volume 4 (U.S. Senate Library, 1962), p. 32.

<sup>113</sup> Muhlstein, *A Taste for Freedom*, 140; Kennan, "Introduction", *Empire of the Czar*, xxix. French historian Pierre Nora, commenting favorably on George F. Kennan's book, described Custine as an "intuitive genius", and compared his status as a "pariah" to that of Alexander Soljenitsyn. Pierre Nora, editor, *Lettres de Russie: La Russie en 1839 par le Marquis de Custine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), p. 13, 29.

<sup>114</sup> Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine*; Walter L. Hixson, *George F. Kennan: Cold War Iconoclast* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

<sup>115</sup> Kennan did acknowledge Custine's comments about democracy, although he provided a rather patrician translation: "democracy", in Kennan's translation, became "unlimited egalitarianism". Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine*, 12, viii, 124, 73.

<sup>116</sup> Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine*, 73, 87, 127. Kennan's comments about religion echo those in NSC-68, which stated that "the Soviet Union...is animated by a new fanatic faith, antithetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the whole world." NSC-68, "Analysis. 1: Background of the Present Crisis." These observations were echoed by Pierre Nora in his edition of *Lettres de Russie*. Note that the Nora edition, while stating that it was based on an 1855 Crimean War

---

edition, bears more resemblance to those of Massis and Kohler. It contains thirty-two percent of the original (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1846) text, as opposed to twenty-eight percent in Massis, and twenty-two percent in Kohler. Nora also noted that there were two essential works on Custine: that by Kennan, and one by Michel Cadot, whose research Kennan had relied on while writing his book. Nora, *Lettres de Russie*. Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française*.

<sup>117</sup> This is Boorstin's calculation.

<sup>118</sup> The Marquis de Custine, *Empire of the Czar: A Journey Through Eternal Russia*, based on the Longman Edition of 1843, anonymous English translation, 3 Vols. Forward by Daniel J. Boorstin, Introduction by George F. Kennan (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1989), p. xiv.

<sup>119</sup> Williams, *Culture and Security*, 60, 81.

<sup>120</sup> The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty aimed to reduce the world nuclear arsenal by approximately twenty percent.

<sup>121</sup> The most recent American edition of Custine appeared in 2001, and was also based on the 1843 British Longman text. Its editor Anka Muhlstein also edited the 1999 French edition of *Lettres de Russie*. In an earlier biography of Custine, Muhlstein described Kohler's book as a "somewhat condensed version", "known only to a few specialists". In France and Russia, although Custine's work never achieved the political status accorded to it in America, he remains a subject of debate. For some, he was a prophet of Stalin, for others, a prophet of the Russian Revolution. As examples of works demonstrating the ongoing interest in Custine, see Victor Erofeev, *Résumé du Voyage en Russie, suivi de Custine et la Russie éternelle: Un Dialogue qui n'en finit pas* (Paris: Allia, 1995) and Gaston Bouatchidzé, *L'As d'Astolphe: Le Voyage en Russie du marquis de Custine* (Paris: Hermann, 2005). The latter derides the affectations and pretensions of Custine.

<sup>122</sup> In 1890, the population of Germany was almost double that of France, which had the most elderly population in Europe. After the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War, the French government initiated "natalist" programs to enhance the health of French children, as well as programs to improve education, particularly in science and technology. None of this, however, could match the German threat.

<sup>123</sup> Secret negotiations for the Franco-Russian Alliance began in late summer of 1891; the alliance was formally ratified by Tsar Alexander III in December, 1893 and the French government in January, 1894.

<sup>124</sup> *Michel Strogoff* first appeared as a serial publication in the children's *Magasin d'Education et Récréation*, and then as a novel published by Hetzel in 1876. Building on the successful stage adaptation of Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1874), Hetzel arranged for the script of *Michel Strogoff* to be co-written by Verne and Adolphe d'Ennery. Louis Bilodeau, *Edition critique, Michel Strogoff: Pièce en cinq actes et seize tableaux, par Jules Verne and Adolphe d'Ennery* (1880) (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994).

<sup>125</sup> Irkutsk is located near Lake Baikal, on the Angara River.

<sup>126</sup> Called *fal*, Verne described this as the custom of choosing random passages from the Koran to provide inspiration for punishment to be meted upon the sinful. In this instance, the passage read: "and he will see the things of the earth no more." ("Et il ne verra plus les choses de la Terre.") The anti-Enlightenment message is palpable here. A Koran composed of thin gold pages was prominently displayed in the war camp of Feofar Khan, on a jeweled and lacquered table in front of the emir's tent. The exhortation of Strogoff's torturer prior to his blinding, that of "look, with all your eyes, look!" ("Regarde, de tous les yeux, regarde!"), became a leitmotif for *Michel Strogoff*. Jules Verne, *Michel Strogoff* (Paris: Presses Pocket, 1997), p. 34, 261.

---

<sup>127</sup> Ogareff had been cashiered by the Grand Duke, and hence was seeking vengeance. Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 394.

<sup>128</sup> Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 100, 34, 174, 371, 68, 289.

<sup>129</sup> Diderot and d'Alambert, *l'Encyclopédie*, vol. 3, 716. Verne may have been aware of an 1837 play entitled *Revolt of the Tartars*, by Thomas de Quincey, which featured a similar story, including scenes of a Tartar siege and a flaming Volga River. De Quincey referred to the theatrical possibilities of his play, notably those lending themselves to special effects. Thomas de Quincey, *Revolt of the Tartars*, 1837 (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1899). Online. Project Gutenberg, E-book #16026. Available: [www.ProjectGutenberg.com](http://www.ProjectGutenberg.com)

<sup>130</sup> See the 1926 film poster, Illustration 2.

<sup>131</sup> These are the 1926 and 1936 film adaptations, respectively.

<sup>132</sup> Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 44, 246, 450.

<sup>133</sup> Ilya Muromets remains a fixture in Russian stories, monuments and film.

<sup>134</sup> "The Gorkachov Circular on Russia's Mission in Central Asia, 1864", in *Major Problems in the History of Imperial Russia*, edited by James Carcraft (Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994), p. 410.

<sup>135</sup> Bokhara was subdued in 1867, Khiva in 1873, and Kokand in 1876.

<sup>136</sup> "La Russie peut dire qu'il n'y a plus de Turkestan. Khiva et Bokhara sont les paisibles vassaux...l'Asie centrale et l'empire des steppes d'où sont sortis les Genghiz et les Tamerlan sont pour jamais dévolus à l'aigle de Moscou." Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, no title, *La Revue de Paris*, 1ere année, tome 6 (novembre-décembre, 1894), p. 7-20.

<sup>137</sup> Citations from *le Journal des Voyages*, 23 mai, 1886, and *La Semaine de Cusset et de Vichy*, 25 décembre, 1886. As quoted in Janine Neboit-Membot, *L'Image de la Russie dans le roman français, 1859-1900* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2005), p. 455. For the observation that France might learn from Russia's colonial expertise, see Louis Léger, *Etudes slaves: Voyages et littérature* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1875), p. 223. Léger was a prominent authority on Slavic culture and literature, and a critic of Polish émigré denunciations of Russia.

<sup>138</sup> Alcide Jolivet, a French newspaper reporter who accompanied Michel Strogoff during part of his journey, declared that: "One mustn't act like a Tartar. The upper hand belongs to those whose weapons [continue to] civilize, and it is clear that the peoples of Central Asia have everything to lose and nothing to win with this invasion ...the Russians know well how to stop them." Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 266.

<sup>139</sup> Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Tartares", *l'Encyclopédie*, Vol. 3, p. 921.

<sup>140</sup> Leroy-Beaulieu, among others, pointed to Russia's progressive reforms addressing serfdom, as well as the modernization of its economy and military.

<sup>141</sup> In his eulogy for Ivan Turgenev, the influential Russian writer who resided near Paris from 1874 to 1883, Renan praised "this great Slavic race, whose appearance at the front of the world's advance is the most unexpected phenomenon of the century." Ernest Renan, in *Discours et conférences*, as cited in Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 406.

---

<sup>142</sup> The Polish rebel Kosciuszko led a failed revolt against Russia in 1794. Verne also included the observation "He who says Polish says French" in his novel *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*. Lucian Boia, *Jules Verne, les paradoxes d'un mythe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005), p. 103, 244, 112; Jean Chesneaux, *Une Lecture politique de Jules Verne* (Paris: Librairie François Maspero, 1971), p. 18.

<sup>143</sup> Jean-Pierre Goldenstein, preface, *Michel Strogoff*, ii. Jules Verne's political views remain a matter of debate, but because his extant correspondence is circumspect and he destroyed his personal papers, little is certain. For discussions regarding Verne's political views, see "Jules Verne, écrivain: Conversation avec Jean-Yves Tadié" in Jean Demerliac, *L'Odyssée Jules Verne, avec Michel Serres et Jean-Yves Tadié* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2005), p. 124-139, and Jean Chesneaux, *Jules Verne: Un Regard sur le monde* (Paris: Bayard, 2001), especially p. 19, 47-52, 114, 125 with regard to *Michel Strogoff*.

<sup>144</sup> Ogarev was a poet and childhood friend of Herzen. *La Cloche*, or *The Bell*, was founded by Herzen and Ogarev in 1868.

<sup>145</sup> Custine described a Russian courier traveling on an imperial mission: "[he] is the representative of power—he is the word of the sovereign: a living telegraph." Custine, *Lettres de Russie*, Vol. 2, 87; Vol. 3, 128, 267.

<sup>146</sup> In a letter to his publisher Hetzel, Verne wrote: "The time is not right for a *machine russe*, as ideas are pointing to England [at the moment]." As cited in Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xxvi. Intriguingly, Custine and Verne held a shared literary ambition: to be recognized as a playwright, and by the *Académie française*.

<sup>147</sup> Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 111.

<sup>148</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, "La Russie libre", *Le Tour du monde*, numéro 24, 1<sup>er</sup> semestre (1872), p. 20, 21.

<sup>149</sup> Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 37.

<sup>150</sup> See for example two maps: "The Dominions of Moscovy or Russia", in *Atlas geographus: or, a compleat system of geography, ancient and modern. Containing what is of most use in Bleau, Verenius, Cellarius, Cluverius, Baudrand, Brietius, Sanson, &c. With the discoveries and improvements of the best modern authors to this time...* Vol. 1 (London: 1711-1717). Online. Available: *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale Group; and "A Map of Independent Tartary" by John Tallis, c. 1851. Online. Available: [http://www.rozhulse.com/acatalog/maps\\_90223\\_tallis](http://www.rozhulse.com/acatalog/maps_90223_tallis)

<sup>151</sup> Chris Bongie, *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism and the fin de siècle* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 48, and Joëlle Dusseau, *Jules Verne* (Paris: Perrin, 2005), p. 412.

<sup>152</sup> V.-V. Barthold, *La Découverte de l'Asie*, 281.

<sup>153</sup> Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, 447. Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, 7.

<sup>154</sup> Alexis de Levchine, *Russes et Tartares, description des hordes et des steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks*, 1832; Catherine de Bourboulon, "A travers l'Asie" in *Le Tour du monde*, 10:2 (1864), and Henry Russell-Killough, *Seize mille lieux à travers l'Asie et l'Océanie, voyage exécuté pendant les années 1858-1861*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1864). Verne, *Michel Strogoff*, "Dossier historique et littéraire", 468-484. Louis Bilodeau has identified additional sources consulted by Verne, including works by M. Lanoye and Abel de Rémusat. Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xxii.

<sup>155</sup> In an 1894 interview, Verne noted that he read these two journals faithfully, among others. R.H. Sherard, "Jules Verne at Home: His Own Account of His Life and Work", *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. 2:2

(New York: S.S. McClure Ltd., 1894), p. 115-129. See articles by H. Blerzy "Les révolutions de l'Asie centrale", and Emile Jonveaux, "Les Russes dans l'Asie centrale: Leurs conquêtes sur les rives du Syr et de l'Amou-Daria", in *La Revue des deux mondes*, XLIV, (1874.5), p. 127-154 and LXVII (1867.1), p. 968-998. Blerzy recounted a story of a rebel emir in Bokhara in the mid-1860s, and declared that Russia's conquests represented a "gain for civilization". He also noted that Russia had become "European" at the moment it had conquered Siberia. Emile Jonveaux, meanwhile, warned against Russian expansion, and in particular against the strength of the Tartars, whose "numerous affinities with the Slavic family" would make them valuable adjuncts to the Russian army. Jonveaux urged the French to pay more attention to commercial opportunities in Central Asia, but observed that: "The three khanats (especially Bokhara) situated to the south of the Kirghiz steppes are inhabited by people whose civilization, joined with the most belligerent Muslim fanaticism, make them capable of opposing European invasion with serious resistance." See also the article translated by Emile Jonveaux during the Franco-Prussian War: William Hepworth Dixon, "La Russie libre", *Le Tour du monde*, numéro 23, 1er semestre (1872), p. 1-64 and numéro 24, 1er semestre (1872), p. 1-76. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

<sup>156</sup> Dixon, "La Russie libre", *Le Tour du monde*, Vol. 23, 1.

<sup>157</sup> Dixon, "La Russie libre", *Le Tour du monde*, Vol. 24, 6.

<sup>158</sup> Verne described Russia's concern that the revolt which had originated in Bokhara might incite the Kirghiz to rebel also.

<sup>159</sup> Dixon, "La Russie libre", *Le Tour du monde*, Vol. 24, 62, 76, 66.

<sup>160</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Les Mots* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), p. 111. As cited in Dusseau, *Jules Verne*, 535.

<sup>161</sup> Edmond Stoullig, "Théâtre du Châtelet: Michel Strogoff", *Les Annales du théâtre* (1881), p. 537. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>. See Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xiv, for a description of d'Ennery's work.

<sup>162</sup> The Châtelet Theatre is located on the Right Bank of Paris, midway between the Hôtel de Ville and the Louvre, just off the Pont au Change. The theatre opened in 1862; in the 1890s, the Russian ballerina Karsavina referred to it as "the temple of *Michel Strogoff*." Today the theatre contains just 2,500 seats. Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xlv.

<sup>163</sup> Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xxix, LI-LIII.

<sup>164</sup> Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xiii, 137; Bongie, *Exotic Memories*, 54, 69; Neboit-Membot, *la Russie dans le roman français*, 50; Nanci Christine Brookes, *Translating Russia for the French Imagination*, PhD dissertation (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 2004), p. 141. Bongie argued that *Strogoff* acted as a vehicle for Verne to express his "nostalgia" for a pre-liberal, colonial era, while Neboit-Membot characterized *Michel Strogoff* as a novel of "initiation". Brookes describes Michel Strogoff as a partly "savage" character representing Russia's exotic landscape, echoing the concept of "auto-ethnography" as described by Mary Louise Pratt. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

<sup>165</sup> Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 361.

<sup>166</sup> Anne Hogenhuis-Seliverstoff, *Une Alliance franco-russe: la France, la Russie et l'Europe au tournant du siècle dernier* (Brussels: Bruylant, 1997), p. 60, 160.

<sup>167</sup> Among others, these included the opera *Dimitri*, and a popular play about the Russian *moujik*, entitled *les Danicheff*, co-written by Alexander Dumas Jr. In the latter, a Russian character saves a



---

French diplomat from an attack by a wild animal. Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xxii; Neboit-Membot, *L'Image de la Russie dans le roman français*, 18; Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 360.

<sup>168</sup> For further descriptions, see Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, 24, 67, 126-127, 134.

<sup>169</sup> M. Scipion, "Soirée Parisienne", *Gil Blais*, 19 novembre, 1880. As cited in Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, 127. For one reviewer, however, the march sparked unhappy memories of the triumphant entry of a Prussian military contingent into a French city in 1871, with musicians *en tête*. Stoullig, "Michel Strogoff", 1881, p. 539.

<sup>170</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 6, 9.

<sup>171</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty, as quoted by Michel de Certeau in "Madness of Vision", *Enclitic 7:1* (Spring, 1983), 23-24. Cited in Luce Giard, "Epilogue: Michel de Certeau's Heterology and the New World", *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 1995), p. 313.

<sup>172</sup> Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xlv.

<sup>173</sup> The tsar permitted the *Marseillaise* to be played for the first time in Russia, even removing his hat in honor of the event, a fact widely reported across Europe. In 1891, 1,500,000 French citizens subscribed to a national loan to Russia. Historian René Girault argued that French investors may have been influenced by popular stereotypes of Russians, among them "valiant Cossacks, the Russian soul, and *Michel Strogoff*." Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 426, 424. René Girault, "Emprunts russes et investissements français en Russie", *Le Mouvement social*, 80 (juillet-septembre, 1972), p. 50.

<sup>174</sup> See the image of the Cronstadt tableau in Illustration 1.

<sup>175</sup> *Revue d'art dramatique*, tome xxiv (octobre-décembre, 1891), p. 307. Online. Available: <http://www.gallica.bnf.fr>

<sup>176</sup> "La fête de bienfaisance au profit des pauvres de Russie et de France dans le Jardin des Tuileries", *L'Illustration*, août 1892. In *Paris des Illusions: un siècle des décors éphémères, 1820-1920* (Paris: Mairie de Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, 1984), p. 51.

<sup>177</sup> These included passages about the knouting of prisoners, as well as the description of an autocratic tsar. Although many Verne novels were immediately translated for the Russian market, sources disagree on the date of translation for *Michel Strogoff*, Louis Bilodeau identified 1900, while François Albera identified 1909. Bilodeau, *Edition Critique*, xx. François Albera, *Albatros: des Russes à Paris, 1919-1929* (Milan: Mazzotta, pour la Cinémathèque française, 1995), p. 80.

<sup>178</sup> Philippe Deschamps, *France-Russie 1891-1898: Livre d'or de l'alliance franco-russe* (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1898), p. 224-248.

<sup>179</sup> Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xlv.

<sup>180</sup> On the role of nineteenth-century expositions in cementing political alliances, see Wolfram Kaiser, "The Great Derby Race: Strategies of Cultural Representation in Nineteenth-Century World Exhibitions", in *Culture and International History*, eds. J. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), p. 45-59. When one notes that fifty million visitors attended the 1900 Paris *Exposition Universelle*, these links to *Michel Strogoff* take on considerable significance.

---

<sup>181</sup> The article cited here also comments on the presence of Russian "blue-jackets" at the Army and Navy pavilions. "Opening of the Paris Exposition, From Our Own Correspondent", *The Times of London*, 16 April, 1900, p. 3. Online. Available: <http://rsvpn.ubc.ca/http/infotrac.galegroup.com>

<sup>182</sup> "Paris Fair Fetes. Parade and Ballet on the Seine. Exposition to Close November 5<sup>th</sup>." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, New York, October 11, 1900. Online. Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.com>

<sup>183</sup> Bilodeau, *Edition critique*, xlv.

<sup>184</sup> Although none had a substantial run, *Strogoff* productions were mounted in England, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Denmark and Sweden. Stoullig, "Michel Strogoff", 1881, 533, 538.

<sup>185</sup> *Strogoff* was staged in New York at the Aberle, Booth, Novelty, Brooklyn and Third Avenue theatres, as well as the Academy of Music and Lee Avenue Academy; in Boston at the Howard Athenaeum; and in San Francisco as a touring production of Haverly's Company. For New York reviews, see the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 31, 1882, p.3; March 8 and 10, 1885, p. 7 and p. 3. Online. Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

<sup>186</sup> American productions seem to have included the full panoply of special effects found in the Paris staging, including mounted horsemen. When one of these cavaliers fell into the orchestra pit in a Boston theatre, a reviewer noted: "The animal was dragged back onto the stage and the play proceeded." "Michel Strogoff", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 31, 1882, p. 3; March 8, 1885, p. 7; "Current Events", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 7, 1885, p. 4. As a play, but without the extravagant staging of earlier productions, *Strogoff* also appeared in Canada in the repertoire of a Catholic reading circle, the "Cercle dramatique Notre-Dame de Hull", circa 1937. Guy Beaulne, "Forum: Un demi-siècle de théâtre de langue française dans la région Ottawa-Hull", *Recherches Théâtrales du Canada*, Vol. 4:1 (Spring, 1983). Online. Available: <http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts>

<sup>187</sup> I am indebted to Brian Taves, an expert on the filmography of Jules Verne and the film librarian at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., for the observation that the first *Strogoff* films were those made of American theatrical productions, in 1910, 1912 and 1918. Taves also directed my attention to the American productions of 1926 and 1937. The latter, re-titled *The Soldier and the Lady*, features the same lead actor and much of the battle footage from the French/German production. Taves notes that neither the 1926 nor 1937 film generated much enthusiasm in the United States.

<sup>188</sup> See for example Richard Abel's argument that the 1926 film production of *Michel Strogoff* "permitted the Russian émigrés...to reconstruct the now-vanished world of the tsars, indulging their nostalgia for a fetishized, mythical past." Richard Abel, "Memory Works: French Historical Epics, 1926-1927", *Film History*, 17 (2005), p. 353.

<sup>189</sup> V.O.K.S., the Russian acronym for All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, was established by the Soviet Union in 1925, under the authority of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Its mandate was to maintain relationships with Communist groups as well as groups called Friends of the Soviet Union, in a number of different countries. In France, Communism remained strong after World War One.

<sup>190</sup> International Movie Data Base. Online. Available: <http://www.imdb.com>

<sup>191</sup> Abel, "Memory Works", 358.

<sup>192</sup> Demerliac, "Jules Verne, écrivain", in *L'Odyssée Jules Verne*, 226.

<sup>193</sup> I am grateful to Thomas Hamilton of London for this observation.



---

<sup>194</sup> Film statistics may be viewed online at "Les cent films ayant fait le plus d'entrées au cinéma en France", [www.iecn.u-nancy.fr/~roth/films/htm](http://www.iecn.u-nancy.fr/~roth/films/htm); and at "Le Top 100 des films en France", <http://membres.lycos.fr/gogswebsite1/chiffres-sondages/classements.htm>.

<sup>195</sup> Titled *The Conqueror*, this film focused on the career of Genghis Khan prior to the Mongol invasions of Europe and Russia. John Wayne played in the starring role. "Reviews. That Nice Fellow Genghis Khan: The Film on History." *The Times*, London, 6 February 1956, Issue 53447, Column C, p. 4. Online. Available: <http://rsvpn.ubc.ca>

<sup>196</sup> Jean-Julien Verne, *Jules Verne: A Biography*, translated by Roger Greaves (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1976), p. 116. Verne's novel has been translated into seventeen languages, reflecting his status as the most widely-translated French author in the world. *Michel Strogoff* appeared in American curricula as early as 1895, on a list of recommended French books published in a teachers' newsletter. A. H. Edgren, "The High School Teacher's Equipment in French", *The School Review: A Journal of Secondary Information* Vol. 3:5 (May, 1895), p. 265.

<sup>197</sup> *Festival dei due monde*, Spoleto, Italy. *Strogoff's* entrenchment in popular culture began in the late nineteenth century, with popular consumer products that featured images from the story. These included stereoscopic viewing cards from the theatrical production, as well as products such as tea, wallpaper, figurines and postcards.

<sup>198</sup> The "Mini-groupe Emotion et Découverte" offered an excursion titled *La Sibérie en hiver sur les traces de Michel Strogoff*, from February 24 to March 10, 2007.

<sup>199</sup> Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 131, 133.

<sup>200</sup> This study was preceded by my previous project which examined a large corpus of French writing on Russia, from both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The works of Custine and Verne, in addition to the study written by Leroy-Beaulieu, clearly remain the most influential of those produced in France.

<sup>201</sup> Michel de Certeau, "Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries" (1978), in *America in European Consciousness*, 324.

<sup>202</sup> Corbet, *L'Opinion française*, 12.

<sup>203</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, translated by Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 107.

<sup>204</sup> Michael C. Williams, *Culture and Security*, 63-78, 40.

<sup>205</sup> "Re-employment" is Michel de Certeau's term, as cited in Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, 98.

<sup>206</sup> Williams, *Culture and Security*, 91, 27-34.

<sup>207</sup> Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 14, 5.

<sup>208</sup> Subedai, one of the leaders under Genghis Khan, was one of the "reindeer people". Thomas Roberdeau, *Michael Strogoff: A Screenplay, based on the Jules Verne novel*. (Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1995), p. 14, 140, 78.

<sup>209</sup> See the film review by Dragan Kujundzic, entitled "After 'After': The Arkive Fever of Alexander Sokurov". Online. Available: <http://www.artmargins.com/content/cineview/kujundzic.html>

---

<sup>210</sup> This is one of just a half-dozen travel books on Russia shelved at the main branch of the Vancouver Public Library, in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia.

<sup>211</sup> "Interview with Sir Michael Alexander". 25 November, 1998. British Diplomatic Oral History Programme. Online. Available: <http://www.cam.ac.uk/archives>

<sup>212</sup> Thatcher dismissed the relevance of a work which was one hundred and fifty years old. George R. Urban, *Diplomacy and Disillusion at the Court of Margaret Thatcher: An Insider's View* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996), p. 199.

<sup>213</sup> On the Kursk disaster, see Jacob Heilbrunn, "The First Steps from Authoritarian to Civil Society", in the *Los Angeles Times*, Sunday August 27, 2000. Online. Available: <http://www.latimes.com.news>. For the Beslan hostage tragedy, see the editorial "Tragedy in Russia" in the *Washington Post*, September 4, 2004. Available: [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com). Custine's influence also extends internationally, as may be seen in quotations taken from his work for articles in *Spiegel Magazine* and in the *Asia Times*. Walter Mayr, "Russia: Putin's Power Play", translated by Christopher Sultan, in *Speigel Online*, October 22, 2004. Available: [www.speigel.de/international](http://www.speigel.de/international). John Helmer, "Dances with Bears: You Who Applaud Today, Applaud France", in the *Asia Times*, February 21, 2003. Available: [www.asiatimes.com](http://www.asiatimes.com).

<sup>214</sup> Nina Khrushcheva, "Cultural Contradictions of Post-Communism: Why Liberal Reforms Did Not Succeed in Russia. A Paper from the Project on Trade, Development and International Finance." (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2000), Introduction. Online. Available: <http://www.cas.muohio.edu/havighurstcenter/papers>

<sup>215</sup> Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*.

<sup>216</sup> C.D.I. *Russian Weekly*, # 252. "Cinema: Breathtaking History of Russia", by Peter Bradshaw, first published in *The Guardian*, 10 April, 2003. Online. Available: <http://www.cdi.org/russia/252-18.cfm>

<sup>217</sup> Billington is the author of several books on Russia, including *Russia in Search of Itself* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). James H. Billington and Kathleen Parthé. "The Search for a New Russian Identity: Russian Perspectives. Part of the Project on Russia's Political Leaders, funded by a Carnegie Foundation grant to James H. Billington and the Library of Congress." (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Publications, 2003), p. 97. Online. Available: [www.loc.gov/about/welcome/speeches/russianperspectives](http://www.loc.gov/about/welcome/speeches/russianperspectives)

<sup>218</sup> Beginning in 1873, Leroy-Beaulieu wrote a series of influential articles on Russia for France's most prestigious journal, *La Revue des deux mondes*. Later published as a book, this is frequently cited as the single most influential work on Russia leading to the Franco-Russian Alliance. In the speech given during a reception for President Vladimir Putin at the *Académie française*, the speaker declared that Leroy-Beaulieu, who was elected to the *Académie* on the strength of his book, had "broken the negative stereotypes that circulated in France about your people." The speaker then invoked Custine: "These prejudices had been reinforced by the success of Custine's travel memoir, which focused on tsarist bureaucracy and primitive traditions [in Russia]. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, while he didn't minimize the still-visible consequences of the Mongol invasions, affirmed Russia's cultural place in Europe." Speech by M. Jean Cluzel, "L'Académie française reçoit le Président russe M. Vladimir Poutine, le 11 février 2003." Online. Available: [www.france-cei.fr](http://www.france-cei.fr). Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Empire des tsars et les Russes*, 3 Vols. (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1881).

<sup>219</sup> "Michel Strogoff, Livre sélectionné par le Ministère d'Education nationale", in the journal entitled *L'Ecole des lettres des collèges*. Online. Available: <http://www.ecoledesloisirs.fr/php-ed/catalogues>

<sup>220</sup> Minted at the *Monnaie de Paris* in 2006, the ten-Euro gold coin and five-Euro silver coins are described without using the word Tartar; rather, the description mentions "a revolt in Russia's empire."

---

<sup>221</sup> The trailer for this film lauds the adventures of Michel Strogoff: "...courageously confronting obstacles, savage animals, and above all the Tartars, whose cruelty is without limit." *Les Aventures extraordinaires de Michel Strogoff*, a film by Bruno René and Alexandre Huchez, based on the novel by Jules Verne. A *Ciné classique* animation, Rouge Citron Productions, 2003.

<sup>222</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, translated by Peter Putnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 170, 172.

<sup>223</sup> Barthes, "African Grammar", in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, 107.

<sup>224</sup> Adamovsky, *Euro-Orientalism*, 273.

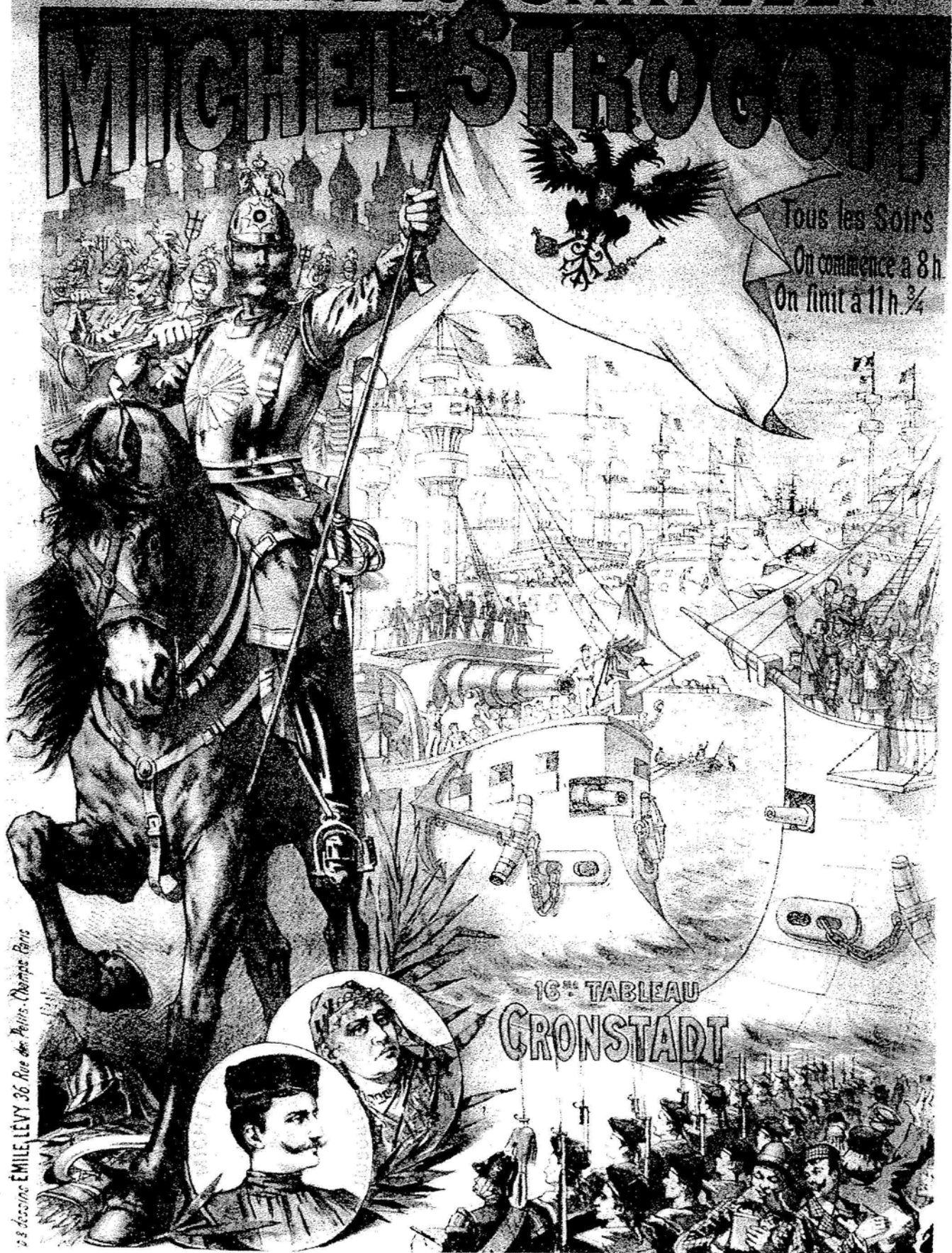
<sup>225</sup> Iver B. Neumann, *Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 206.

THÉÂTRE DU CHATELET

# MICHEL STROGOV

Tous les Soirs  
On commence à 8 h  
On finit à 11 h  $\frac{3}{4}$

28 Avenue ÉMILE LÉVY 36 Rue des Petits-Champs, Paris



16<sup>e</sup> TABLEAU  
CRONSTADT



**PATHE RURAL** présente

**IVAN  
MOSSJOUKINE**

*dans*

**MICHEL STROGOFF**

d'après le Roman de  
**JULES VERNE**

2<sup>e</sup> et dernier Chap<sup>e</sup>



**UN FAMEUX JOCKEY**  
**COMIQUE**



**PATHE · REVUE**

*Morais Salants*

*Les Inondations du Nil  
de Calais à Monte-Carlo avec le nouveau "Train Bleu"*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ASTOLPHE DE CUSTINE

#### ***Lettres de Russie:* in French**

Custine, Astolphe de. *Lettres de Russie*. 4 Vols. 1648 pages. Paris: Amyot, 1846.

Custine, le marquis de. *La Russie, par le marquis de Custine*. 1 Vol. 2ème édition. Paris: Imprimerie Walder, 1855.

Florenne, Yves, editor. *Custine. Présentation et choix d'Yves Florenne*. 222 pages. Paris: Mercure de France, 1963.

Lacretelle, Pierre de, editor. *Marquis de Custine: Souvenirs et Portraits. Textes choisis et présentés par Pierre de Lacretelle*. 271 pages. Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1956.

Massis, Henri, editor. *Le Marquis de Custine: Lettres de Russie. Avec une introduction de l'éditeur*. 367 pages. Paris: Les Editions de la Nouvelle France, 1946.

Nora, Pierre, editor. *Le Marquis de Custine. Lettres de Russie: La Russie en 1839. Edition présentée et établie par Pierre Nora*. 408 pages. Paris: Gallimard, 1975.

#### ***Lettres de Russie:* in English**

Custine, the Marquis de. *Russia; or The Empire of the Czar; or Observations on the Social, Political, and Religious State and Prospects of Russia, During a Journey Through That Empire. Translated from the French*. (1843) 3 Vols. 1025 pages. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844.

Custine, the Marquis de. *Empire of the Czar: A Journey through Eternal Russia*. Based on the Longman Edition of 1843, an anonymous English edition. Forward by Daniel J. Boorstin. Introduction by George F. Kennan. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1989.

Custine, Astolphe de. *Letters from Russia. The 1843 Translation, edited, revised and with an Introduction by Anka Muhlstein*. New York: New York Review Books, 2002.

Kohler, Phyllis Penn, editor and translator. *Journey for our Time: The Journals of the Marquis de Custine*. Introduction by Lieutenant-General Walter Beddell Smith. 338 pages. New York: Pellagrini and Cudahy, 1951; London: Arthur Barker, 1953.

"Like Czar, Like Commissar: 100 Years Ago Barbaric Despotism Ruled Russia As It Does Today." Excerpts from Phyllis Penn Kohler's *Journey For Our Time: The Journals of the Marquis de Custine*. With illustrations by Gustave Doré, titled: "Doré's Comic-Strip History of Russia: War, Gore, Patricide, Turk Trouble." *Life Magazine*, Volume 30:10 (March 5, 1951), p. 108-129.

### **Lettres de Russie: Selected Sources**

Lesur, Charles-Louis. *Histoire des Kosaques. Introduction ou coup d'oeil sur les peuples qui ont habité le pays des Kosaques, avant l'invasion des Tartares*. Tome 1. Paris: A. Belin, 1814.

Masson, Charles. *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie et particulièrement sur la fin du règne de Catherine II et sur celui de Paul I*. Vol. 3. Paris: Levrault, Schoell et Cie, 1804.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *De l'esprit des lois*. (1748) Tomes XIV, XVII. Paris: Garnier, 1973.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract*. (1762) Translated by Maurice Cranston. London: Penguin Books, 2004.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Government of Poland*. (1772) In *Nations and Identities: Classic Readings*, p. 76-79. Edited by Vincent P. Pecora. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Séguir, Philippe, le comte de. *Histoire de la Russie et de Pierre le Grand*. 2<sup>ème</sup> édition. Paris: Baudoin Frères, 1829.

### **Other**

Custine, Astolphe, le marquis de. *L'Espagne sous Ferdinand II*. (1831) Paris: Editions François Bourin, 1991.

### **Lettres de Russie and Journey For Our Time: Commentary and Analysis, 1843-1958**

#### **France**

Dumaine, Alfred. Ambassadeur de France. "Un observateur méconnu de la Russie: le Marquis de Custine." *La Revue de Paris*, Année 29, Tome 1 (janvier-février, 1922), p. 476-502. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Massis, Henri. *Découverte de la Russie*. Montréal: Les Editions Variétés, 1944.

Massis, Henri. *L'Occident et son destin*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1956.

#### **England**

Labenskii, M. *A Russian's Reply to the Marquis de Custine's 'Russia in 1839'*. Edited by H.J. Bradfield, Esq. Dedicated to the Earl of Aberdeen. London: T.C. Newby, 1844.

"Miscellaneous Literary Notices: Russia." *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXXII (January, 1844), p. 544. London: Chapman and Hall.



- Murchison, Roderick. "Book Review." *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXIX (January-April, 1844), p. 351-360. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons
- Shaw, Thomas B., translator. "Amalet Bek. A True Tale of the Caucasus from the Russian of Marlinski." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Number CCCXXIX, Volume LIII (March, 1843), p. 281-301. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons
- Urban, Sylvanus. "Review: Custine's Empire of the Czar." *The Gentleman's Magazine*. New Series, Vol. XXI (January-June, 1844), p. 397-398. London: Nichols and Son.

## U.S.A.

- "Advertisement: *Journey for Our Time*." *New York Times*, April 1, 1951. Online. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Available: <http://www.proquest.com>
- Barkham, John. "The Changelessness of Russia: A Fellow-Traveler in the 1840s." Review: *Journey for Our Time*. *The Washington Post*, April 22, 1951, p. B7. Online. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Available: <http://www.proquest.com>
- Hammen, Oscar J. "Free Europe versus Russia, 1830-1854." *American Slavic and East European Review*, 11:1 (February, 1952), p. 27-41.
- Hopper, Bruce. "Review. *Journey for Our Time: The Journals of the Marquis de Custine*, by Phyllis Penn Kohler." *The American Historical Review*, 57:2 (January, 1952), p. 384-392.
- Legras, Jules. "*La Russie en 1839*, du marquis de Custine." *Slavic Review* (May, 1932), p. 187-200.
- McNally, Raymond T. "The Origin of Russophobia in France: 1812-1830." *American Slavic and East European Review*, 17:2 (April, 1958), p. 173-189.
- "Memo for Mr. Stalin." *Harper's Magazine*. Vol. 197 (December, 1948), p. 37.
- Moseley, Philip B. "It Always Was a Brooding Kremlin." Review: *Journey for Our Time*. *New York Times*, April 8, 1951, p. 251-252. Online. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Available: <http://www.proquest.com>
- "The Permanent Despotism. *Journey for Our Time*." *Time Magazine*, April 2, 1951. Online. Available: [www.timemagazine.com](http://www.timemagazine.com)
- Prescott, Orville. "Books of the Times." Review: *Journey for Our Time*. *New York Times*, April 2, 1951. Online. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Available: <http://www.proquest.com>
- "Revelations of Russia, the Emperor Nicholas and his Empire. Government and Society in Russia. From the British Quarterly Review." *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*. (September-December, 1845), p. 128-135. New York: Leavitt, Trow and Co. Online. Available: [www.eclectic.magazine](http://www.eclectic.magazine)

"Review: *Russia*, by the Marquis de Custine." *Hunt's Merchant Magazine and Commercial Review*. Volume 31 (July-December, 1854), p. 523. Google Books Online. Available: [www.google.com](http://www.google.com)

Royster, Vermont. "The Bookshelf. A Brutal Comparison of Two Eras in Russia." Review: *Journey for Our Time*. *Wall Street Journal*, April 5, 1951, p. 6. Online. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Available: <http://www.proquest.com>

"La Russie en 1839 par le Marquis de Custine, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition; and A Memoir of the Life of Peter the Great by John Barrow, Esq., Secretary to the Admiralty." A Review. *North American Review*, Number CXXIX (October, 1845), p. 269-320. Google Books Online. Available: [www.google.com](http://www.google.com)

### **Astolphe de Custine: Biography and Analysis**

Bouatchidzé, Gaston. *L'As d'Astolphe: Le Voyage en Russie du marquis de Custine*. Paris: Hermann, 2005.

Gross, Irina Grudzinska. *The Scar of Revolution: Custine, Tocqueville and the Romantic Imagination*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991.

Gross, Irena Grudzinska. "The Tangled Tradition: Custine, Herberstein, Karamzin, and the Critique of Russia." *Slavic Review*, 50:4 (Winter, 1991), p. 989-998.

Kennan, George F. *The Marquis de Custine and his Russia in 1839*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971.

McKenna, Kevin J. "Russia Revisited: A Cultural Update to the Marquis de Custine's *Journey for Our Time*." *Selecta*, Vol. 8 (1987), p. 109-114.

Milčina, Vera. "La Russie en 1839 du Marquis de Custine et ses sources contemporaines." *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 44:1 (2000), p. 151-164.

Muhlstein, Anka. *A Taste for Freedom: The Life of Astolphe de Custine*. A translation of *Astolphe de Custine, le dernier marquis*. (Paris: Lamnay, 1996) Translated by Teresa Waugh. New York: Helen Marx Books, 1999.

Pomper, Philip. "Review: George F. Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine and his Russia in 1839*." *Journal of Modern History*, 44:3 (September, 1972), p. 429-430.

Pushkarev, S.G. "Russia and the West: Ideological and Personal Contacts Before 1917." *Russian Review*, 24:2 (April, 1965), p. 138-164.

Sinel, Alan. "Review: George F. Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine and his Russia in 1839*." *The American Historical Review*, 78:1 (February, 1973), p. 127-128.

### **Contemporary Newspaper Articles Quoting Custine, 1999-2007**

- Bonafield, Michael J. et al. "Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution." Book Review. *Star Tribune*. Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota. July 3, 2007. Online. Available: [www.startribune.com](http://www.startribune.com)
- Chikoff, Irina de. "C'est avant tout sur leur 'vision du monde' que Russes et Occidentaux s'opposent." *Le Figaro*. November 4, 2006. Online. Available: [www.lefigaro.com](http://www.lefigaro.com)
- Dalrymple, Theodore. "How to Read a Society." *City Journal Online*. Spring, 2000. Online. Available: <http://www.city-journal.org>
- Doder, Dusko. "Midnight in Moscow." Book Review. *Washington Post*, April 25, 1999. *Johnson's Russia List*, number 3260, April 27, 1999. Online. Available: [www.cdi.org/russia/johnson](http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson)
- Helmer, John. "Dances with Bears: You Who Applaud today, Applaud France." *Asia Times*. February 21, 2003. Online. Available: [www.asiatimes.com](http://www.asiatimes.com)
- Helmer, John. "The Stalins of Sound." *The Russia Journal*. April 30, 2007. Online. Available: [www.russiamjournal.com](http://www.russiamjournal.com)
- Heilbrunn, Jacob. "The First Steps from Authoritarian to Civil Society." *Los Angeles Times*. August 27, 2000. Online. Available: <http://www.latimes.com/news>
- Mayr, Walter. "Russia: Putin's Power Play." Translated by Christopher Sultan. *Spiegel On-Line, Spiegel Magazine*. October 22, 2004. Online. Available: [www.spiegel.de/international](http://www.spiegel.de/international)
- Washington Post Editorial. "Tragedy in Russia." *Washington Post*. September 4, 2004. Online. Available: [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)

### **Film Reviews: *Russian Ark* by Alexander Sokurov (2003)**

- Gillespie, David and Elena Smirnova. "Alexander Sokurov and the Russian Soul." *Studies in European Cinema*, 1:1 (2004), p. 57-65.
- Harke, Tim. "A Visit to the Museum: Aleksandr Sokurov's 'Russian Ark' and the Framing of the Eternal." *Slavic Review* 64:1 (2005), p. 43-58.
- Kujundzic, Dragan. "After 'After': The Arkive Fever of Alexander Sokurov." 2004. Online. Available: <http://www.artmargins.com/content/cineview>
- Ravetto-Biagioli, Kriss. "Floating on the Borders of Europe: Sokurov's Russian Ark." *Film Quarterly*, 59:1 (2005), p. 18-26.

### **Custine and *Lettres de Russie* in State Culture, 1998-2003**

"L'Académie française reçoit le Président russe Vladimir Poutine." An address in honor of President Vladimir Putin of Russia. February 11, 2003. Online.  
Available: [www.france-cei.fr](http://www.france-cei.fr)

Billington, James H. and Kathleen Parthé. *The Search for a New Russian National Identity: Russian Perspectives. Part of the Project on Russia's Political Leaders, Funded by a Carnegie Foundation Grant to James H. Billington and the Library of Congress.* Washington, DC: Library of Congress Publications, 2003. Online.  
Available: [www.loc.gov/about/welcome/speeches/russianperspectives](http://www.loc.gov/about/welcome/speeches/russianperspectives)

"Interview with Sir Michael Alexander." British Diplomatic Oral History Programme. November 25, 1998. Online. Available: <http://www.cam.ac.uk/archives>

Khrushcheva, Nina. "Cultural Contradictions of Post-Communism: Why Liberal Reforms Did Not Succeed in Russia. A Paper from the Project on Trade, Development and International Finance." New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2000. Online.  
Available: <http://www.cas.muohio.edu/havighurstcenter/papers>

### **JULES VERNE**

#### ***Michel Strogoff*: in French**

Bilodeau, Louis, editor. *Edition critique. Michel Strogoff: Pièce en cinq actes et seize tableaux, par Jules Verne et Adolphe d'Ennery* (1880). Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994.

Verne, Jules. *Michel Strogoff* (1876). Paris: Presses Pocket, 1997.

#### ***Michel Strogoff*: in English**

Roberdeau, Thomas. *Michael Strogoff: A Screenplay, based on the Jules Verne novel.* Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1995.

Verne, Jules. *Michel Strogoff: A Courier of the Czar.* Anonymous English translation. Illustrated by N.C. Wyeth. (1927) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955.

Verne, Jules. *Michael Strogoff, Courier of the Czar.* (1937) New York: The Book League of America, 1940.

#### ***Michel Strogoff*: Verne's Sources**

Blerzy, H. "Les Révolutions de l'Asie centrale." *La Revue des deux mondes*, XLIV (1874.5), p. 127-154.

Bourboulon, Catherine de. "A travers l'Asie. Relation du Voyage de Shang-Hai à Moscou, par Pékin, la Mongolie et la Russie asiatique." *Le Tour du monde, Nouveau journal des voyages, publié sous la direction de M. Edouard Charton et illustré par nos célèbres artistes*. 10:2 (1864), p. 289-336. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Dixon, William Hepworth. "La Russie libre." (1869) Translated by M. Emile Jonveaux. *Le Tour du monde*. Numéro 23, 1er semestre (1872), p. 1-64; Numéro 24, 1er semestre (1872), p. 1-76. Online. Available : <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Jonveaux, Emile. "Les Russes dans l'Asie centrale. Leurs conquêtes sur les rives du Syr et de l'Amou-Daria." *La Revue des deux mondes*, LXVII (janvier, 1867.1), p. 968-998.

### **Michel Strogoff: Films (DVDs)**

*Les aventures extraordinaires de Michel Strogoff. Un film de Bruno-René et Alexandre Huchez d'après le roman de Jules Verne. Avec les voix d'Anthony Delon et de Claire Keim, et la musique originale de Jean-Jacques Debout. Ciné Classique: Animation, long métrage. A Rouge Citron Production. 2003.*

*Michel Strogoff, Un film de Viktor Tourjansky et Ivan Mosjoukine. France, 1926.*

*Michael Strogoff, from the French. Starring Anton Walbrook. In collaboration with Joseph N. Ermolieff Productions. U.S.A., 1937.*

*Michel Strogoff, Un film de Carmine Gallone d'après le roman de Jules Verne. Adaptation nouvelle et dialogues par Marc-Gilbert Sauvajon. (Les Films Modernes, 1956) Studio Canal, 2005.*

*Michel Strogoff. Une série réalisée par Jean-Pierre Decourt avec Raimund Harmstorf, Valerio Popesco, Lorenza Guerrieri, Vernon Dobtcheff, Tibor Tanczos, et Pierre Vernier. Ecrit par Claude Desailly, musique par Vladimir Cosma. 6 heures, 30 minutes (Europe Images International, 1974) L.C.J. Editions and Productions, 2005.*

*Le Triomphe de Michel Strogoff, Un film de Viktor Tourjansky inspiré par Jules Verne. Scénario original; adaptation et dialogues par Marc-Gilbert Sauvajon. (Les Films Modernes, 1961) Studio Canal, 2005.*

### **Michel Strogoff: Commentary, Theater and Film Productions, 1880-1956**

#### **France**

"Michel Strogoff." *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire du dimanche*. Numéro 47 (20 novembre, 1880), p. 185-188. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Morlot, Emile. "La reprise de Michel Strogoff." *Revue d'art dramatique*. Tome IX (janvier-mars, 1888) p. 62. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

"Quinzaine Dramatique." *Revue d'art dramatique*. Tome XXIV (octobre-décembre, 1891)  
p. 301-316. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Stoullig, Edmond. "Théâtre du Châtelet. Michel Strogoff." *Les Annales du Théâtre* (1881)  
p. 533-542. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Stoullig, Edmond. "Théâtre du Châtelet. Michel Strogoff." *Les Annales du Théâtre* (1882)  
p. 351-352. Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

## **England**

"Entertainments. The Capital: Michael Strogoff. A Universal Film de France, adapted from  
Jules Verne." *The Times*, February 10, 1927, p.10. Online.  
Available: <http://rsvpn.ubc.ca/jtt/infotrac/galegroup.com>

"That Nice Fellow Genghis Khan." Film Review. *The Times*. London. February 6, 1956.  
Online. Available: <http://rsvpn.ubc.ca>

## **U.S.A.**

"American Premier of Michel Strogoff." *The Washington Post*. November 14, 1926. Online.  
Available: [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)

"Big Pictures Coming." *Times Select: The New York Times*. November 28, 1926. Online.  
Available: [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)

"Current Events." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 7, 1885, p. 4. Online.  
Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

"The Haverly Company." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 18, 1882, p. 3. Online.  
Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

"Michael Strogoff at Haverly's Theater." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 31, 1882, p. 3.  
Online. Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

"Michael Strogoff." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 10, 1885, p. 3. Online.  
Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

"Michael Strogoff." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 21, 1885, p. 5. Online.  
Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

"Paris Fair Fêtes. Parade and Ballet on the Seine. Exposition to Close November 5<sup>th</sup>."  
*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 11, 1900, p. 6. Online.  
Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>

"Plays and Players." *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 8, 1885, p. 7. Online.  
Available: <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org>



### **Analysis of *Michel Strogoff*: Novel and Play**

- Bongie, Chris. *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism and the Fin de Siècle*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Brookes, Nanci Christine. *Translating Russia for the French Imagination, 1856-1894*. PhD dissertation. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 2004.
- Delabroy, Jean. "Michel Strogoff, ou le sacrifice du spectacle." *Revue des Lettres modernes*. Vol. 4 (1983), p. 149-160.
- Jackson, Allan Stuart. *The Standard Theater of Victorian England*. London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1993.
- Neboit-Membot, Janine. *L'Image de la Russie dans le roman français (1859-1900)*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2005.

### ***Michel Strogoff*: Other**

- Beaulne, Guy. "Forum. Un demi-siècle de théâtre de langue française dans la région Ottawa-Hull." *Recherches Théâtrales du Canada*. Vol. 4: 1 (Spring, 1983) Online. Available : <http://www.lib.unb.ca/texts>
- Edgren, A.H. "The High School Teacher's Equipment in French." *The School Review: A Journal of Secondary Information*, 3:5 (May, 1895), p. 257-268. Online. Available: Google Books On-line.

### **Analysis of *Michel Strogoff*: Films**

- Abel, Richard. *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Abel, Richard. "Memory Works: French Historical Epics, 1926-1927." *Film History*, 17 (2005), p. 352-362.
- Albera, François. *Albatros: des Russes à Paris, 1919-1929*. Milan: Mazzotta, pour la Cinémathèque française, 1995.
- Bulgakowa, Oksana. "The 'Russian Vogue' in Europe and Hollywood: The Transformation of Russian Stereotypes through the 1920s." *Russian Review*, 64:2 (April 2005), p. 211-235.
- "Les Cent Films ayant fait le plus d'entrées au cinéma en France." Online. Available: [www.iecn.u-nancy.fr/~roth/films.htm](http://www.iecn.u-nancy.fr/~roth/films.htm)
- Exposition Michel Strogoff*. 2004. Centre International Jules Verne, Amiens, France. Online. Available: <http://cijv.fr>
- The Oxford History of World Cinema*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Personal Correspondence with Brian Taves, Film Librarian, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C; and Board Member, Jules Verne Society of North America. 2005-present.

Strada, Michael J. and Harold R. Troper. *Friend or Foe? Russians in American Film and Foreign Policy, 1933-1991*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1997.

Taves, Brian and Stephen Michaluk, Jr. *The Jules Verne Encyclopedia*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996.

### **Jules Verne: Biography and Analysis**

Boia, Lucian. *Jules Verne, les paradoxes d'un mythe*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005.

Brasey, Edouard. *Les Univers de Jules Verne*. Paris: Editions du Chêne, 2005.

Butcher, William. *A Chronology of Jules Verne*. First published in *Backwards to Britain*, 1992. Online. Available: [jv.gilead.org.il](http://jv.gilead.org.il)

Chesneaux, Jean. *Une lecture politique de Jules Verne*. Paris: Librairie François Maspero, 1971.

Chesneaux, Jean. *Jules Verne: Un regard sur le monde*. Paris: Bayard, 2001.

Compère, Daniel. *Jules Verne, écrivain*. Genève: Librairie Droz, 1991.

Dehs, Volker and Jean-Michel Margot, and Zvi Har'El. "The Complete Jules Verne Bibliography." Online. Available: [jv.gilead.org.il](http://jv.gilead.org.il)

Demerliac, Jean. "Jules Verne, écrivain: Conversation avec Jean-Yves Tadié." In *L'Odyssée Jules Verne. Avec Michel Serres et Jean-Yves Tadié*, p. 124-139. Paris: Albin Michel, 2005.

Dusseau, Joëlle. *Jules Verne*. Paris: Perrin, 2005.

Mellot, Philippe and Jean-Marie Embs. *Le Guide Jules Verne*. Paris: Les Editions de l'Amateur, 2005.

Poivre d'Arvor, Olivier et Patrick. *Le Monde selon Jules Verne*. Paris: Editions Mengès, 2005.

Sherard, R.H. "Jules Verne at Home. His Own Account of His Life and Work." *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. 2:2 (1894), p. 115-129. New York: S.S. McClure Ltd.

Verne, Jean-Julien. *Jules Verne: A Biography*. Translated by Roger Greaves. New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1976.

Weissenberg, Eric. *Jules Verne, un univers fabuleux*. Lausanne: Editions Favre, 2004.

### **Michel Strogoff in State Culture**

"Lauriers d'or de la radio et de la télévision, présentés au Sénat: Catégorie Jeunesse."  
Award presented to Rouge Citron Productions for *Les aventures extraordinaires de Michel Strogoff*. Paris, 2006. Online.  
Available: <http://www.groupe-rcp.com/videos/strogoff.htm>

"*Michel Strogoff*, livre sélectionné par le Ministère de l'Education nationale." (2004)  
Online. Available: <http://www.écoledesloisirs.fr/php/ed/catalogues>

### **Huns, Mongols, and Tartars**

*Atlas geographicus: or, a compleat system of geography, ancient and modern. Containing what is of most use in Bleau, Verenius, Cellarius, Cluverius, Baudrand, Brietius, Sanson, &. With the discoveries and improvements of the best modern authors to this time.* Vol. 1. (1711-1717) Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group.  
Available: <http://galenet.galegroup.com>

Barthold, V.-V. *La découverte de l'Asie; L'histoire de l'Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*.  
Translated and annotated from the Russian by B. Nikitine. Paris: Payot, 1947.

Bernier, François. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668.* (1670) Translated and annotated by Archibald Constable. Online. Eighteenth Century Books Online. Gale Group. Available: <http://galenet.galegroup.com>

Chambers, James. *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979.

de Jaucourt, chevalier de. "Tartares". In *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (1765), edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Volume 3: 922-926. New York: Pergamon Press, n.d.

de Quincey, Thomas. *Revolt of the Tartars.* (1837), edited by William Edward Simonds. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1899. Online. Project Gutenberg: E-book 16026. Available: [www.projectgutenberg.com](http://www.projectgutenberg.com)

First Council of Lyons, 1245 A.D. Constitutions 2:4. "On the Tartars." Online. Available: <http://www.piar.hu/councils.ecum13.htm>

"The Gorchakov Circular on Russia's Mission in Central Asia, 1864." In *Major Problems in the History of Imperial Russia*, edited by James Carcraft, p. 410-411. Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994.

Keane, Augustus Henry. *Ethnology in Two Parts: Fundamental Ethnical Problems and the Primary Ethnical Groups.* (1896) Online. Available: Google Books Online

Khodarkovsky, Michael. "Ignoble Savages and Unfaithful Subjects: Constructing Non-Christian Identities in Early Modern Russia." In *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, edited by Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, p. 11-26. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997.

Ostrowski, Donald. *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Plano Carpini, John of. *History of the Mongols* (1247), edited by Christopher Dawson. Medieval Academy of America, 1980.

Polo, Marco. *On the Tartars. Chapter 44-47*. (1310) Online. The Medieval Source Book. Available: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>

Poulet, Régis and Denis Savelli. "Asiatisme: Etymologie, Etude Sémantique, Commentaire". *Dictionnaire internationale des termes littéraires*. Online. Available: <http://www.ditl.info/arttest/art83.ph>

Spuler, Bertold. *The Mongols in History*. Translated by Geoffrey Wheeler. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

Strahlenberg, Philipp Johann von. *An histori-geographical description of the north and eastern part of Europe and Asia; but more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary. Together with an entire new polyglot-table of the dialects of thirty-two tartarian nations, and a vocabulary of the Kalmuch-k-Mungalian tongue*. London: 1736. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale Group. Available: <http://galenet.galegroup.com>

"Tatars." In Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. 10 Vols. (1243) New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Vol. 1, p. 91-93. Online. The Medieval Sourcebook. Available: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet. "Tartare". In *Voltaire's Dictionnaire Philosophique*. (1764) Online. Available: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark/>

Westrem, Scott. "Against Gog and Magog." In *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, edited by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gills, p. 54-78. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

### **Franco-Russian Relations: 1871-1900**

Delavaud, L. et al. *La Russie: Géographique, Ethnologique, Historique, Administrative, Economique, Littéraire, Artistique, Scientifique, Pittoresque, etc.* (1892) 3<sup>ème</sup> édition. Paris: Larousse, 1900.

"La Cavalerie russe"; "L'Infanterie russe"; "Fêtes franco-russes." Le 12 mars, 1892; le 9 avril, 1892; le 21 octobre, 1893. *Le Petit Journal Illustré. Supplément Illustré du Dimanche*. Online. Cent ans du Petit Journal Illustré. Available: [www.lepetitjournalillustré](http://www.lepetitjournalillustré)

"La fête de bienfaisance au profit des pauvres de Russie et de France dans le Jardin des Tuileries." *L'Illustration*, août 1892. In *Paris des Illusions: Un siècle des décors éphémères, 1820-1920*. Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris: Mairie de Paris, 1984.

"La visite du Tsar Nicholas II en France." *Le Figaro*. Numéro 278-283 (4-9 octobre, 1896).  
Online. Available: [gallica.bnf.fr](http://gallica.bnf.fr)

Léger, Louis. *Etudes slaves: Voyages et Littérature*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1875.

Léger, Louis. *Souvenirs d'un Slavophile*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1905.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole. "Commentaire." *La Revue de Paris*. Tome 6  
(novembre-décembre 1894), p. 7-20. Online. Available: <http://bnf.gallica.fr>

Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole. *L'Empire des tsars et les russes*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. 3 Vols. Paris:  
Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1883.

Marmouget, Mathieu. "La visite du tsar Nicholas II à Paris, 5-9 Octobre, 1896." Mémoire  
de maîtrise sous la direction de R. Hubscher, Paris X Nanterre, 1997. Online.  
Available: <http://mmarmouget.free.fr/ressources>

"Opening of the Paris Exposition: From Our Own Correspondent." *The Times*, 16 April,  
1900. Online. Available: <http://rsvpn.ubc.ca/http/infotrac.galegroup.com>

### **Franco-Russian Relations: 1945-present**

Adamovsky, Ezequiel. *Euro-Orientalism: Liberal Ideology and the Image of Russia in France, c. 1740-1880*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006.

Cadot, Michel. *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle française*. Paris: Fayard, 1967.

Corbet, Charles. *L'Opinion française face à l'inconnu russe, 1799-1894*. Paris: Didier, 1967.

Girault, René. "Emprunts russes et investissements français en Russie." *Le Mouvement social*, 80 (juillet-septembre, 1972), p. 49-58.

Guthrie, Christopher E. "The *Revue des deux mondes* and Imperial Russia." *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, XXV: 1 (1984), p. 93-112.

Hogenhuis-Seliverstov, Anne. *Une alliance franco-russe: La France, la Russie et l'Europe au tournant du siècle dernier*. Brussels: Bruylant, 1997.

Kunzle, David. "Gustave Doré's History of Holy Russia: Anti-Russian Propaganda from the Crimean War to the Cold War." *Russian Review*, 42:3 (July, 1983), p. 271-299.

McNally, Raymond T. "The Origins of Russophobia in France." *American Slavic and East European Review*, 17:2 (April, 1958), p. 173-189.

*La Revue des deux mondes*. Spéciale: Russie. (mars, 2005)

Ziejka, Franciszek. "Ensorcelés par l'empire des tsars: La 'découverte' par les français après 1870." *Revue de Littérature comparée*, Vol. 4 (1991), p. 459-466.

## **Russia in European and International Relations**

- Bassin, Mark. "Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space." *Slavic Review*, 50:1 (Spring, 1991), p. 1-17.
- Costigliola, Frank. *France and the United States: The Cold Alliance Since World War Two*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992.
- Evtuhov, Catherine and Stephen Kotkin, editors. *The Cultural Gradient: The Transmission of Ideas in Europe, 1789-1991. Essays in Honor of Martin Malia*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.
- Karp, Sergueï and Larry Wolff. *Le Mirage russe au XVIIIe siècle*. Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'études du XVIIIe siècle, 2001.
- Khrushcheva, Nina. "Cultural Contradictions of Post-Communism: Why Liberal Reforms Did Not Succeed in Russia. A Paper from the Project on Trade, Development and International Finance." New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2000. Online. Available: <http://www.cas.muohio.edu/havighurstcenter/papers>
- Le Goff, Jacques. "Poland, Europe and Russia." In *The Cultural Gradient: The Transmission of Ideas in Europe, 1789-1991. Essays in honor of Martin Malia*, edited by Catherine Evtuhov and Stephen Kotkin, p. 277-309. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.
- Neumann, Iver B. *Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in International Relations*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Neumann, Iver B. *Uses of the Other: The East in European Identity Formation*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Pagden, Anthony. "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent." In *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, edited by Anthony Pagden, p. 33-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Poe, Marshall T. *A People Born to Slavery: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476-1748*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Williams, Michael C. *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

## **OTHER**

- Adas, Michael. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Burke, Peter. *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.
- Campbell, Mary B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic Travel Writing*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.



- Dolan, Brian. *Exploring European Frontiers: European Travellers in the Age of the Enlightenment*. London: Macmillan Press, 2000.
- Duncan, James and Derek Gregory. *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Genette, Gérard. *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. (1982) Translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Hutcheon, Linda. *A Theory of Adaptation*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Lapid, Yosef and Friedrich Kratochwil, editors. *The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory*. London: Lynne Reinner, 1996.
- Markham, J. David, translator. *Imperial Glory: The Bulletins of Napoléon's Grande Armée*. London: Greenhill Books, 2003.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- "Review of Foreign Policy, 1958: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations." United States Senat Committee Hearings, 85<sup>th</sup> Congress, Volume 1275, Card 5-7. U.S. Sentate Library, 1958. Online. Available: Lexis Nexis U.S. Serial Set Digital Collection.
- Roberts, Ralph R. "Appendix: Exhibit 1, Russia: A Short Historical Summary." In Report of United States Foreign Policy and Operations, Senate Committee on Appropriations, Session 87-2, Senate document 73, Serial Volume 12447, Volume 4. U. S. Senate Library, 1962. Online. Available: Lexis Nexis U.S. Serial Set Digital Collection.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.