

Fighting denationalization:

Rise and fall of the educational dream in Russia Abroad.

A study of educational activities aimed at language and cultural maintenance among Russian immigrants in Christiania/ Oslo, 1920-1945.



Illustration of a Russian folk song by Valery Carrick. Archive B.

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I am homesick!..

The little ship comes slowly into port,
The stream rushes to the sea,
A child is held close to her mother's heart...
And me? I am so weary.

I sang many songs in happiness and pining;
Both joy and sadness passed as thoughts and longing;
And as a last rhyme it wails as a great heartache:
I am so homesick!..
I am so homesick...

A poem by Nina Heintz published in no. 2 1927 of the
hand-written magazine *Za morem Sinichka* (*Titmouse
behind the sea*).

Abstract

This thesis primarily aims to contribute to the contemporary educational science as a historical case study in language and cultural maintenance of the Russian Diaspora in Norway, providing the informative background for understanding the educational processes and discourses which might arise within a minority community. Concurrently, this work is meant to assist the contemporary Russian Diaspora in its search for the solutions to the educational issues it encounters, as well as to contribute to the Diaspora's history.

The study discusses the development of educative thought in the Russian Diaspora in Norway, placing it into a larger context of a somewhat unique formation, a country without borders, or *Russia Abroad*. The role of the various educational activities and institutions for language and culture maintenance is researched, and the political, social and cultural factors, which had an effect on the “*battle against denationalization*”, are discussed.

Qualitative research methods were applied to the study, where the concurrent usage of archive data collection and interviews ensured the validity of this research. Through analysis of the findings, the historical framework of the pedagogical thought became evident, and the four stages of its development were discussed. The theoretical framework has arisen out of the data collection and is referred to where appropriate.

Due to the fact that research on Russian emigration in Norway is rather scarce, and its pedagogical thought has never been investigated until this work, the author dares to state that her study is indeed a considerable contribution to the history of education. Most of the findings are original and unique, and together with the extensive archive data analysis they shed light on the unknown page of the pedagogical history of the Russian Diaspora in Norway and abroad.

Feci quod potui, faciant meliora potentes.
I have done my best; let others do better if they can.

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Dedication

I was born in the Soviet Union. I am an only child and so are my parents in their respective families. I never met my grandparents. My grandfathers died shortly after World War II due to injuries they had received during the war. Both grandmothers died early – one being still weak after almost two years in the Nazi concentration camp near Leningrad, the other broken after several years of hunger and need during the war. Family members on both sides suffered repression under the Stalin regime. The additional tragedy is that there were left few photographs, letters, documents or any other historic materials that could tell about the past of my family. Some of these were destroyed by family members out of fear, some were confiscated, and others were lost in the sinuosity of the war. This past, not original whatsoever, but shared by many Soviet Russians today, made me look for any thread that would connect me to the chain of yesterday-today-and-tomorrow, that would make me feel as a part of something bigger, something that started long before me and will continue even when I close my eyes for the last time.

In 2004, 10 years after my husband and I moved to Norway, I met a lady. She was only one month old when in February, 1920 she and her parents came from Archangelsk to Norway on the ice-breaker *Kozma Minin*. She had spent all her life in Norway, studied in a Norwegian school, married a Norwegian and had mostly Norwegian friends. But in the nursing home that she stayed in everyone called her “our Russian Natti” and the first thing she said to me was: “I am Russian”. She had a fantastic Russian language; she used beautiful, a little old-fashion words and manners of speech and quoted classical Russian poems. She was delighted every time we sang Russian romances together or when she recognized the poems or songs I was reciting for her. Our friendship developed through the years and she became a part of my family, as my children also have visited her and talked to her, sung for her and told her about their own small lives’ ups and downs. Since I didn’t have any grandparents myself, she really became one for me. But beyond that I was really fascinated by her love for Russia, Russian culture, language and history, by her knowledge of it and by her determination that she WAS Russian. She showed me pictures of HER grandmother and a coat-of-arms of her family. Even being brought up in another country, she seemed at times more Russian than I. She represented SOMETHING I was looking for; she was a part of something bigger, some cultural chain that connected her to the Russia I never knew.

Thus my interest in her upbringing grew. I became more and more excited over her small remarks such as: “My father was very strict. He made us speak only Russian at home.” She told me about the family hours that they spent together when the children had to recite Russian poems and read aloud from classical literature. “We were returning HOME soon, you know”, - she would tell, smiling at the thought.

These small hints and memories were so exciting to me that I decided to study them more. I wanted to put Natti’s stories together, to analyze them, to find others who could add details, to dig into the archives, so that this micro-history would become a part of the local Norwegian-Russian historic line.

Unfortunately, our Natti is deceased and did not get to see this thesis finished. On the 1st of March, 2008 Natalia Kormilitzine-Wulfsberg took her last breath at the Berger nursing home, in Rykkinn, Norway. Let this study be devoted to her and her memory.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the second part of the XX century, multicultural education as a field of study has received much attention, both in Norway and abroad (Baker 1977, Banks 1988, Gay 1992, Øzerk 1992, Sam 1995 and Aasen 2003 are just a few examples). Growing pluralism and democracy in the Western societies called for the development of equal educational opportunities for the students regardless of their ethnic or cultural affiliation. The issue of mother tongue and culture maintenance thus emerged and awoke a wide range of questions which linguistics, psychology, sociology and other disciplines attempted to answer. However, in order to provide a context for understanding the contemporary developments and discourse in multicultural education, a historical perspective is necessary (Banks 2004:7). In order to implement discrimination and cultural deprivation reduction in schools and in society, historic research draws parallels with the past empowering both the majority and the minority populations to dialogue. This research will thus contribute to the contemporary educational science as a historical case study in language and cultural maintenance of one of the Diasporas in Norway, providing the informative background for understanding of the processes and discourses which might arise inside of a minority community. Concurrently, this work is meant to assist the contemporary Russian Diaspora in its search for the solutions to the educational issues it encounters, as well as to contribute to the Diaspora's history.

1.1 Goals, objectives and structure of the present study

The research on Russian emigration to Norway in 1920-1940 is scarce. Several articles were published about Russians in Norway (Goldin *et al* 1996, Zwetnow 1994, *etc.*). Some documentary books touch specifically upon different sides of Russian Diaspora life (such as the history of the St. Nicholas Parish in Oslo by f. Johannes (Johannes 2006) or the story of Norwegians¹ who worked in Russia before the Revolution and later had to flee, together with the Russians, from the Bolshevik regime (Ravna 2000). But there are only two serious studies that deal with the Russians in Norway as a phenomenon. The first is the fundamental work by Morken (1984) which describes the White

¹ The reason why these Norwegians might be interesting for this study is stated in subchapter 3.3.

Russian Emigrants in Norway, their escape, social and financial situation, as well as the attitude of the Norwegian government to the Russian refugees. She touches slightly upon the question of Russian émigré life, without going deeply into details, as this is not the prime goal of her study. Furthermore, Morken (*ibid*:9) claims that there were not enough emigrants in Norway in order to create a Russian emigrant milieu, which led her to focus mostly on the social and political spheres of the White emigrants' existence in this country. Another research worth mentioning is done by Teterevleva in her series of articles (2001, 2004, 2005). In her study she describes the time period in question, the evacuation from Russia and the first years of the émigré life in Norway. Unfortunately, discussing the cultural life of the Russian Diaspora, she concentrates only on the information found in the Carrick archive. Thus her understanding of cultural life in Oslo is limited, as the educational efforts made by Russian émigrés are barely dealt with in this archive. Teterevleva (2001:45) concludes that “the time showed that greater part of the émigrés was interested mostly in financial support, and not in cultural events. Almost the only person who initiated and supported educational and cultural programs was V. Carrick”.

The author of the current study believes, however, that both of the historians who have studied the Russian emigration in Norway fell into the trap of trusting the judgment of the only Russian émigré who had publicly preserved his written notes – Valery Carrick. Calling Norway the “European periphery”, he often complained about the hard psychological atmosphere of the Diaspora where “most of the people think only of survival”, and “the unimaginative everyday life of the few Russians who live here, who know each other so well” dominated their relationships. As a result, Carrick considered interaction with his compatriots as “not a very pleasant duty” (Ms. Fol. 4199:18, 29). While it is true that looking up to the big centers of Russia Abroad, such as Paris, Berlin or Prague, one could get an impression that Norway was just an unimportant little place, and attempts to equate the cultural activities accessible to the émigrés in the leading cities to the enterprises in Oslo would be doomed. At the same time it is rather clear that the quoted clichés are very far from reflecting the entirety of the Russian Diaspora existence. It is not wholly inappropriate to state that the refugee community in Oslo was rather small and indeed there were people whose life was hard and for whom survival was the biggest concern. Yet this view would not fairly depict the émigré life in Oslo. In fact, the organizations and activities, such as Russian Balalaika Orchestra, cultural evenings under the umbrella of the Russian Émigré Circle (REC),

Russian choir for girls or hand-written magazine for children and youth *Za morem sinichka/ Tot-mouse behind the sea*, to name a few, were started and led by other individuals than Carrick. Of course, one should not underestimate the enormous cultural endowment contributed to the Diaspora life by Valery Carrick. Nevertheless, one cannot oversee the multifold cultural and educational life held by the Russian community in Oslo. Russian émigrés in Norway shared aspirations, hopes and ideas with the Russians in the global Diaspora; they also had children, wanted to bring them up as Russians, and hoped to return to their homeland at some point. Thus it is important to show that Russians in Oslo, no matter how scattered and different they were, how others judged them and how they sometimes define themselves today, had a diverse cultural life where the goal was not only to entertain, but to educate. This study is meant to contribute to a better understanding of this work, and the next two subchapters deal with the study's goals and structure.

1.1.1 Goals and research objectives of the study

Upon the aforesaid, one can conclude that Russian Diaspora's cultural and educational activities in Oslo, Norway, received an insufficient treatment in the up-to-date historical research. Therefore, the author sets the research **goal** as to bring to light the unique and original findings and to describe the educational efforts of Russian Diaspora and their objectives. Simultaneously, the research **targets** the following:

- to analyze the understanding of the term *Culture* that Russian emigrants had built upon and to look at different ways the Russian Diaspora in Norway and abroad was striving against *denationalization* of their children and youth;
- to define *educational efforts*; to provide descriptions of different forms of formal and informal education and to describe such activities in Oslo, Norway;
- to provide a basis for deeper understanding of the educational activities in Oslo placed into the context of the life of Russia Abroad and its historical development as described by other authors;

- to observe and analyze how the political situation around Russian Diaspora affected its educative efforts and to look for other factors that influenced the Diaspora's choices of educational activities;
- to contribute to the study of Russian Diaspora as a phenomenon and provide basis for future research².

1.1.2 Structure of the research

Cohen *et al* (2000:159) point out that no object “of historical interest can be considered in isolation”. One needs to investigate the socio-political background the object of study emerged upon, as well as “the ideas, movements or institutions” of the relevant time and place that affected the object and which the object had contributed to (*ibid*). Therefore, the researcher found important to place the Russian Diaspora in Oslo onto the bigger scale, comparing it with Russia Abroad and its pedagogical discourse, as well as the historical frame that affected the educational process in Russian Diaspora. Through scrutinizing both the literature on Russia Abroad and the manuscripts found in archives, the researcher came to the conclusion that the emigrant milieu in Europe, and Norway in particular, had gone through four stages of development, and their educational enterprises were reflective of these phases. These stages can be described in short as follows:

- *Dramatic escape from Bolshevik Russia with a random or a deliberate choice of a host-country (1917-1922)*. This stage is characterized by a desire for mere survival, physical as well as financial.
- *Considering the exile as a matter of several years, and hoping for a fast return to the homeland followed by reintegration into political, cultural and social life in Russia (1920-1924)*. During this period the importance of some special educative efforts directed to the younger generation's cultural affiliation was first realized, discussed and put into practice.

² The author of this study has initiated the Russian Historical Society in Norway, which also includes the Russian Émigré Archive, where the manuscripts, photographs, newspaper articles and books that deal with the Russian emigration are planned to be collected and preserved. Hopefully, this will awaken a broad interest in the topic and this research will be taken further.

- *The abrupt ceasing of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in Russia (1924) along with the stiffening of regime regarding collectivization (1929) as a breaking point.* Most of the émigrés realized that the Soviet Union would persist for an extensive period of time, and thus the Diaspora settled down for a longer stay. Therefore, the educational enterprises received almost a life-death priority, as the next generation was, in the émigré understanding, doomed to grow up in a “foreign environment” (e.g. Dolgorukov, GA RF F.5785, Op.2 D.18. Ll. 51-57). Their cultural identity was thus to be reinforced and supported, so that when their time to reintegrate came, they would repatriate smoothly and naturally.

- *Political and economical development in the world unfavorable to the Russian Diaspora (1936-1940).* The world was going through a hard economic crisis; political changes took place in Europe, splitting the Russian Diaspora along both financial and political lines. After World War II was over, the victory of the Soviet Union was a clear sign that the country carried on a new culture of its own, no matter how foreign and wrong this might seem to Russia Abroad, thus depriving them of any hope of repatriating. Therefore, the educational enterprises were to be cut to the minimum, and the ones that continued were done so only out of curiosity or practical thinking: it is always profitable to be able to speak another language. But there appeared no clear goal of maintaining the culture and language anymore, and thus at this point the young generation was left to the assimilation in the host countries, including Norway.³

In order to organize the data and findings as well as their analysis, the researcher structured her theses using the above stages as the ground frame. After discussing the literature on the émigré education (1.2), describing the research methodology (chapter 2) and dealing with the relevant terminology (chapter 3), the author takes the study further onto the framework of four historical stages of educational development of Russian Diaspora life (chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7). Due to the

³ The present study is too little an arena for discussing this topic thoroughly or studying the effect the educative efforts of the Russian émigrés had on their children and grand-children and whether a greater part of the descendants indeed had maintained their bilingual and bicultural roots. One would need to conduct a vast linguistic study in order to determine the level of their Russian language acquisition, grammar and vocabulary use and so forth. One could also devote a profound research to the cultural identity of the descendants of the Russian émigrés in Norway. However, this research is merely a study of different educational efforts that the émigrés themselves had used and tried out, whether the results could be consistently traced today or not.

nature of the retrospective investigation, the theoretical matters are not set aside as a separate assemblage but are addressed in the body of the study when appropriate. The author concludes the study with several illustrations, placed in Appendix, which are meant as a graphic depiction of the Diaspora cultural life and a vivid demonstration of its vibrancy.

However, before turning to the study of Russian Diaspora in Norway, one has to pay attention to other studies of the Russian emigration in the time period in question. This will be discussed in the next subchapter.

1.2 Analysis of literature on the émigré education

The phenomenon of Russia Abroad as a separate unity, that has consolidated people across geographical and political borders, social and economical status or educational level, on the basis of common culture and language, - had attracted attention of historians on both sides of the boundary line that isolated Soviet Russia from the rest of the world. Soviet historiography had been analyzing the cultural, political or psychological development of the Russian emigration exclusively from the class-conflict position aiming at its “unmasking” and denunciation. Among the very first works one can mention Belov’s *Beloe pohmel’e/ White hangover* (1923), which was defined as an “examination of psychology, disposition and everyday life of the Russian emigration today” and contained articles on diverse sides of the Russian émigré life, mostly pointing out the negative sides, ideological crisis and “moral and ethic degeneration” of the émigrés (Belov 1923: 6). The Soviet discourse demanded a complete devotion to the Bolshevik ideas and even vocabulary used in description of the phenomena was all but neutral. Even titles such as *White hangover* (Belov 1923), *White Guard is the incendiary of war* (Mikhailov 1932), *Wreckage of the enemy underground* (Golinkov 1971), *Collapse of the Russian monarchical counterrevolution* (Yoffe 1977) and similar, transmitted the required negative attitude to those who dared to disagree and “betray” the country by leaving. None of these monographs touched upon the question of education and the researcher was not able to find any Soviet research published before *Perestroika* that dealt with the education in the Russian Diaspora. One reason could be that the desire to besmirch the White Russians would not allow the Soviet reader to suspect that the emigrants had any social or cultural life and development. The same reason could be behind the fact that the Soviet officials rarely quoted or referred to an

emigrant source, and if they did, the quotation and the source would be bespattered. One of the last monographs based on the same discourse was published in 1986, had a similar title, *Agony of the Russian emigration*, and was devoted to the “unveiling the struggle between the political parties” and the “collapse of the counterrevolution” as the result of the disagreements inside the emigration (Shkarenkov 1986:3). At the same time one could detect a certain turning point where the study was somewhat more balanced and gave some justice to the activities of the émigrés devoted to prevention of the denationalization, however, the overall evaluation was quite negative.

Contemporaneously, the historiography abroad was not so homogeneous. The first years of emigration were characterized by the mere will to survive and to help the immediate needs of the émigrés, both adults and children. Thus the idea to create an archive in order to preserve the written publications and private stories of emigrants around the globe, or to try to study systematically the phenomena of Russian emigration, was not given high priority until around 1922, when the *Russian Historical Archive Abroad*⁴ in Prague was created. In his letter to Carrick, duke Dolgorukov describes the archive as a “depository purposed to contain at least one copy of all the issues of periodicals and books published in Russia Abroad” (Ms. Fol. 4199:29). Different documents and records made by Russian émigrés on their lives and aspirations as well as materials of congresses and conferences organized by the Russian Diaspora and devoted to different topics, pedagogical as well as social and political were also to be preserved there⁵. By the end of 1920-s Russian émigrés had started to publish manuscripts that contained analyses of different sides of émigré life, particularly, the educational efforts done by the Russians in Exile. The first work worth mentioning was by Zenkovsky (1924) *Vospominaniia 500 russkikh detei (Reminiscences of 500 Russian children)*. This book contained quotes from hundreds of the compositions written by children who fled from Russia in the first years after the revolution, either alone or accompanied by parents. More on this publication can be found in subchapter 4.3.

⁴ Unfortunately, the Prague Russian Historical Archive Abroad was lost to the public during the World War II when the archive was eligned to the Soviet Union in 1944 where it received the status of top secret documentation. This was a great loss because the former was the most embracive archive in Russia Abroad and a great deal of materials (manuscripts, records, letters, unpublished memoirs) was preserved only there. (Kovalevsky 1966:80).

⁵ By the end of 1930s there were around 30 different archives and museums devoted to the Russian Emigration (Pavlova 1990).

At the same time, numerous work connected to the history of emigration were published, and former generals of the White Army (P. Krasnov, A. Denikin, P. Vranghel) as well as professional historians and philosophers (I. Ilin, S. Melgunov, P. Struve) presented their views on the Revolution and émigrés' role in the future fate of Russia, in form of memoirs, articles and monographs⁶. Simultaneously, the émigré pedagogues, in their work, addressed foundation of education and bringing up Russian children abroad, problems encountered by the schools in Diaspora, didactics and factual contents of the subjects to study. They created textbooks and published these in different countries. A variety of pedagogical organs were started in order to maintain and develop the pedagogical science. Such were *The Russian Pedagogic Bureau abroad* in Prague (with V. Zenkovsky as chairman), *The Union of Russian academic organizations abroad*⁷ in Prague (led by A. Zhekulina) and others. These organizations published a number of periodicals which addressed the pedagogical issues: *Russkaia shkola za rubezhom/ Russian school abroad*, Prague, 1923-1929, *Russkaia shkola/ Russian school*, Prague 1934-1940, *Bulleten' Religiozno-pedagogicheskogo kabineta/ Bulletin of the Religious-pedagogic cabinet*, Paris 1928-1956, *Bulleten' Russkogo Pedagogicheskogo Buro/ Bulletin of the Russian Pedagogic Bureau* (1923-1927) and its successor, *Vestnik/ Herald of the Bureau* (1927-1932). These periodicals, together with the émigré pedagogic conferences, had discussed the school issues and gave advice to teachers and parents in Diaspora on how to bring up their children Russian, as well as why this was important.

A fascinating overview of cultural and pedagogical work in Russian Diaspora is given by P. Kovalevsky in his work *Zarubezhnaia Rossiia/ Russia Abroad* (1970). Based on a broad bibliography as well as on the author's wide personal knowledge of the subject, this monograph describes different sides of the educative activities in Diaspora, and thus is used in the current research.

⁶ The described monographs are mentioned and quoted when appropriate; unfortunately, the scope of this research is too small for discussing these otherwise fascinating materials.

⁷ By July 1st 1926 this Union consisted of Pedagogical organizations in 11 counties: Bulgaria, Greece, Germany, Great Britain, France and others. (Skliarova 2009).

By the third quarter of the XX century both the émigré historians and the researchers who were not ethnically Russian, turned to the Russian Diaspora in their enquiries. These works can be divided into two major groups:

- research that touched upon just one political or historical issue, one person or phenomenon (as Stephan (1978) on Russian Fascists, Pipes (1980) on Peter Struve⁸, or Kovalevsky (1960) on the role of Russian émigrés in the world science).
- research that described in some detail émigré life in a certain geographical location (as Johnston (1988) on the Russian exiles in Paris, Williams (1972) on émigré life in Germany, or Morken (1984) on White Russians in Norway).

In 1990 a representative of the second generation Russian émigrés, Marc Raeff, published a monograph that became a “Bible” for all subsequent researchers, as it contained a vast variety of facts, and attempted to unite the segmental information under one umbrella. Raeff addressed questions of education, publishing, culture, church and religion, as well as émigré history work, considering the Russian Diaspora to be “a country beyond state borders” (1990:3).

The collapse of the Soviet Union awakened a great deal of interest in researchers, both in Russia and abroad, for the phenomenon of Russian emigration after the revolution (as Jovanović 2005, Andreev & Savicky 2004; a few periodicals, as *Berega/ Coasts*, Informative analytical digest about Russian emigration, *etc.*). This can be explained partly by the fact that the topic had been a taboo in Soviet historiography (unless the purpose was to “unmask” and “uncrown”, as pointed out earlier) and thus was *terra incognita* of Soviet historical science; but also the archives became more open and many materials came to the surface⁹. Several scientific conferences, devoted to the education and pedagogical thought in Russia Abroad, were held in Russia (as in November 1994 and October 1997 in Saransk), and the materials of these conferences are a considerable source of knowledge. The

⁸ Peter Struve (1870 - 1944) was a Russian political economist, philosopher and editor. As a follower of the White movement, he emigrated in 1920, where he continued his active publishing and journalist work

⁹ At the same time some research done during the Perestroika romanticizes the Russian émigré life rather than gives its balanced account. One such emotional study is “Let us not curse the exile” (Kostikov 1990).

researcher relegates the reader to these materials for further study. This present work is also meant to become a contribution to the historical knowledge about the education in Russian Diaspora.

Working on the topic of Russia and Russians involves a great deal of translation as well as transliteration, because Russian language uses the Cyrillic alphabet, and the inconsistency in transliterating can create confusion. This issue is addressed in the next subchapter.

1.3 Transliteration and translating

All the translation from Russian and Norwegian into English is made by the researcher unless it is specified otherwise. The transliteration of the Russian names and titles is done according to the *Library of Congress system*, with the exception for individuals' names, where these are spelled according to the common usage in other sources, as in case of R. Goul (not Gul') or N. Heintz (not Geints).

Before the study turns to the findings it is important to address the methodology process the researcher went through in order to create a scientific frame for her data. This issue is scrutinized in chapter 2.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the theoretical and practical issues linked with the qualitative research methods chosen for this study. The chapter will explore the challenges that the researcher came across in the process of collecting and analyzing of data. The ethical considerations in the historical study, as well as the role of the researcher, will also be dealt with.

2.1 *Qualitative research methods in a historic research*

What is history? An echo of the past in the future; a reflex from the future on the past.

Victor Hugo

Historical research is a rather unique type of the social science study, mainly due to the fact that one cannot apply some of the usual research tools, such as direct observation or experimentation, to it. Cohen *et al* (2000:158) define historical research as “an act of reconstruction undertaken in a spirit of critical inquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of a previous age”, thus stressing the importance of the objective location and analysis of data in order to establish the factual information about past events.

A historical study in education can serve in many ways. It can assist in understanding how the present educational system has come about, and thus aid in creating a basis for future development; it can contribute to a holistic understanding of the roots of different educational practices, and shed light on specific topics connected to education in the past, *etc.* (Cohen *et al* 2000:159). This study has its aim to draw attention of the pedagogy today to the contribution of the Russian White émigrés in Norway to the idea of necessity of maintaining the native culture and language in the generations to follow; and to state the significance of their augmentation to the educational science today. The focus of the research, together with the nature of a historical study, defined the methods and sources the researcher chose for the purposes of collecting data. These include diverse *primary* and *secondary* sources that were used for the study, as well as the methodological issues the data collection rests upon. The overview of these sources is given in the next subsection.

2.1.1 Primary and secondary sources

Primary or original sources are defined as “evidence contemporary with the event or thought to which it refers” (Tosh 2006:61).¹⁰ Several original sources were used for this study: diaries, letters and other manuscripts found in private and public archives and libraries; hand-written magazine *Za morem sinichka/ Tot-mouse behind the sea*; *Skazki-kartinki/ Picture-tales* – published on a rotator small books for children by Valery Carrick; and interviews with informants who were children at that time and thus, with their memories, could contribute to the purpose of this study.

Several *secondary* sources, defined as “those that do not bear a direct physical relationship to the event being studied” (Cohen *et al* 2000:161), were also used. They included books and research reports on the history of Russian White emigration, both to Norway and to other countries; and interviews with the spouses or other relatives of the Russian émigrés who were children in the time period between the First and Second World War.

2.1.2 Strategies chosen for data collection

As stated earlier, this research began by setting up a historical frame around the object of study, placing it into a context. The review of literature was conducted (see 1.2). At the same time, the literature studied had itself served as a data source, inasmuch as some information found there was beneficial for reconstructing the events embraced by the research objectives. Documentary research strategy was applied to the materials found. The majority of the primary source documents were unpublished and often difficult to access; some were arduous to decipher due to unclear handwriting; others could be quite personal or biased against an event or a group of people. Nevertheless, after subjecting the data to the historical criticism, the researcher managed to synthesize and interpret the data, and the result is presented in this work. Due to data collection as well as validation reasons, several interviews were conducted and thus new information was gathered and the process of triangulation accomplished (see 2.2).

¹⁰ This definition raises the question whether one can count the interviews with the informants about the events they have experienced in the distant past as primary source. However, considering that, despite the selectiveness and often lack of objectiveness to the facts in the past, the informants indeed witnessed the events in question; one can safely place these interviews into the Primary source group.

In the following sections the data collection process will be described in detail and the challenges the researcher encountered will be stated and analyzed.

2.2 Validation of the data collection

History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon.

Napoleon Bonaparte

The discourse of validation of data often includes the discussion of the term “truth”, which has to do with the inquest of what actually happened in the past. There are, of course, philosophical issues that are tied up to this question, as whether it is at all possible to state precisely what had happened in the past, and why it did so; or whether the strife “to understand each age in its own terms, to take on its own values and priorities, instead of imposing ours” (Tosh 2006:7) is a foundational principle for any historical study, which the researcher believes it is. However, this section will bring us down to the more practical and basic matters of validation of data: the role of the researcher, as well as triangulation and historical criticism as two main tools for ensuring the accuracy of the data collected.

2.2.1 The role of the researcher

Cohen *et al* (2000:160) emphasize the role of the personality of the researcher in a historical study, implying that “the personal factors of the investigator such as interest, motivation, historical curiosity and educational background” (*ibid*) influence both the selection of the research object and the angle this object is being scrutinized from.

This present study is no exception. The researcher moved from Russia to Norway 15 years prior to this study, and today has three children born into a Russian family settled in a foreign country. As a result, the question of culture and language maintenance has been very important for the investigator. At the same time, her childhood was spent in a country which had done much to forget and wipe out all the memory of the Russian White emigration. This alone awoke both a great interest in her, as a human being as well as a researcher, and a desire to try and unveil this hidden chapter of the history of her country. On the other hand, one of the informants-to-be was her close friend, and this circumstance had become an amplificatory motivation behind the research in

question. Thus, one can state that the investigator did not enter this research as a neutral observer. Being aware of this lack of impartiality, the researcher, nevertheless, made all effort to maintain a neutral position during the process of collecting and analyzing the data. However, due to the fact that the collected data is in its nature sensitive and personalized, certain subjectivity, as well as the investigator's engagement and reflection, is inevitable.

Likewise, another issue important to discuss is the concern about the validity and reliability of this inquest.

2.2.2 Validity and reliability of the study

Validity and reliability are key issues in any research. A study that is not reliable or valid cannot be used by further researchers and thus is worthless (Cohen *et al* 2000:105). At the same time, Cohen *et al* (2000:160) claim that "one of the principal differences between historical research and other forms of research is that historical research must deal with data that already exists". This means that several challenges are tied to data collection in a historical research. The historian must examine the data and draw conclusions on the observations made by others, while the factual accuracy of the account could be distorted by the inexperienced or subjective observer upon whose words the historian must base the study. The collected data can in itself already contain some interpretation of the facts and events. Finally, the scope of the study is limited by the amount of written sources found as well as by the memory of the informants. Thus the constructed picture of the past might lack absolute accuracy.

However, the historical research as with any other social study should be conducted in such a way that would allow it to be used in future studies as well as to bring the pedagogical science a step further. Thus one cannot overestimate the necessity of triangulation of the data analysis, or the employment of multiple research methods when possible, as well as usage of historical criticism, or evaluation of the authenticity and accuracy of the data, in order to maintain and strengthen the validity of the study.

To ensure triangulation, the archival data that was collected for this research was carefully discussed with the informants, while the new facts that appeared in the interviews were circumspectly scrutinized through the documents and other written sources. The data was also compared to some

other similar studies conducted in Europe, and despite the fact that one should not draw conclusions about complete correspondence between the case studies in different countries, some parallelism could nevertheless be stated due to the correlation of many factors: nationality of the émigrés, time period of their flight, historical background for the escape, émigrés' desire to return to Russia as stated in their diaries and memoirs, and many other similar constituents. The latter work ensured the reliability of the research in as much as it provided a broader framework for the study and ensured the possibility of basing the future studies of the history of Russian emigration to Norway upon this research.

The principal of historical criticism was adhered to by establishing the authenticity of the data found in the archives. Many documents were acquired from Valery Carrick's archive in the department of written documents at the Oslo National Library, and are handwritten diaries and letters that Carrick himself had composed. The authenticity of the letters and documents discovered in private archives was confirmed by the owners of these archives. The credibility of the authors of these records was determined by the fact that all the quoted letters and documents were authored by people who were either educators, parents or other adults in the lives of the first generation of Russian émigrés born and brought up in exile.

Thus the researcher dares to claim this study to be a valid investigation that aims to illuminate a chapter of history of education in Norway that has never been thoroughly studied before; and, therefore, to have a certain value for the future investigators of Russian émigrés in this country.

2.2.3 Representativeness

History is a diary-writer's slave
Leo Tolstoy

Alongside validity and reliability, representativeness is an important issue. Bryman (2008:516) stresses that the researcher is obliged to address the representativeness issue by answering a question: "Is the evidence typical of its kind, and if not, is the extent of its untypicality known?" The documents this study is based upon can be divided into two major groups: published materials about the Russian émigré life in different countries, including Norway, and hand-written documents found in private archives as well as in the Carrick archive (more on the sources in 2.3). Unfortunately, due to the reasons described in 2.3.5 and 2.3.6, a certain amount of the hand-written

documents were lost. The remaining materials are apparently deliberately selected by the owners of the archives and the questions remain: what was selected, why, as well as what was discarded¹¹. Thus it is difficult to define the existing materials as representative. In addition, despite the fact that the majority of Russians in Oslo either belonged at one point to the REC (Russian Émigré Circle), were members of the Russian Orthodox Parish or were referred to by Carrick as well as the interviewed informants, many potential informants are not covered. Thus one can state that much of the history of the Russian Diaspora life is still to be discovered by future researchers, and other data will most certainly be unearthed, especially in the light of the development of the archive of the Russian emigrants in Oslo described in chapter 1. Nevertheless, the author believes that her study gives a sufficient overview of the educational activities of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo, and, therefore, her research has an initial scientific importance and can be used as a reference point for further study.

After establishment of the reliability, validity and representativeness of the data one is to examine the concrete steps the researcher made in order to collect the data.

2.3 Data collection

Due to many factors, data collection took more time than planned. A lot of hours were used in different archives; trying to locate and meet informants took time; several private affairs had delayed a few meetings, and a lot of challenges were met on the way. In this section an overview of the sources will be given, the process of data collection, from both written and oral sources, will be described and the challenges will be dealt with.

2.3.1 Planning stage of the data collection

The first mention of a Russian school in Oslo the researcher came across in the article by Teterevleva (2005) where the author quotes a *Purpose statement for a school for Russian children* found in Oslo archives. This became a starting point for further research and the investigator decided to look for traces the mentioned school might have left in the archives or memories of

¹¹ One reason for selecting of the materials given to the researcher was: the letters were preserved due to the beauty of the handwriting. Another reason stated was the stamps on the envelopes (which apparently saved the letters inside).

people. A set of documents was expected, such as proposals for the school, minutes from meetings of the founders, written exchange of ideas about the school agenda and so forth. Instead, the investigator unearthed dozens of documents about different informal educational activities that the Russian émigrés conducted, and but a few short documents about the school in question. It was discovered that most of the education in Russian language and culture was rather informal and was received at home, through the Russian Emigrant Circle (REC) or under the supervision of the Orthodox Church.

This discrepancy between expectations and actual findings made it necessary for the researcher to pinpoint how the term education was defined by the Russian émigrés. The Russian pedagogical tradition which framed the educational efforts of the Russian émigrés did not limit the term *education* to the school based learning of certain subjects or reading textbooks. K. Ushinsky¹², a leading Russian pedagogue of the 19th century, stated that education was not a *science* which studied something existing, but rather an *art* which created something new (1990 1:8). Having a human being as an object of educative creativity, a pedagogue had to define a set of goals toward which this creativity should have aimed. The most important goal, according to Ushinsky, was the development of human character through the anthropological sciences: philosophy, political economy, history, literature, psychology, anatomy, physiology. At the same time, the “national upbringing” was in Ushinsky’s eyes essential for a pedagogue who was aware of his impact on the posterior society through his educating of the contemporary children (1990 2:253). The Orthodox faith as a part of this “national patriotic upbringing” was also mentioned several times. In short, only through this harmonious development of an individual (physical training of child’s body; expanding of his intelligence and mind through study of science, history, geography, *etc.*; religious and patriotic development of child’s soul through literature and participation in religious activities, as well as developing social skills based on Christian beneficence, and so on) could one educate a human being (*ibid*). The prominent pedagogue of Russia Abroad, V. Zenkovsky, added that education was directed at the development of the child’s “individual uniqueness and of his personality and gifts”. “The school can and should become the organ of upbringing, not just learning; only then may the educational issues be seen in their fullness.” (Zenkovsky 2003:365 [1929]). “*Non scholae sed vitae educemur!* – Let them educate us not for school, but for life purposes!” This motto was to become

¹² Konstantin Ushinsky (1824 - 1871) was a Russian teacher and writer, credited as the founder of scientific pedagogy in Russia.

the slogan of the émigré pedagogical work (*ibid*). This view on education broadens the scope of the study. Therefore, following the Russian pedagogues' viewpoint, the researcher decided to include into her study both the formal (or direct) educative activities organized by the Russian Diaspora in Oslo (school-like situations directed to helping the Russian children acquire knowledge in Russian language, history, religion, *etc.*) and the informal (or indirect) educational efforts (*e.g.* Christmas celebrations, family outings, exchange of letters, *etc.*). These activities and their aims will be discussed in the following chapters.

Having this broad understanding of education in mind, the researcher planned to look for the possible data in form of documents in various archives and other written sources as well as in her interviews of both primary and secondary informants. These sources are discussed further.

2.3.2 Russian National Library

In order to create a framework for the inquiry, the researcher studied at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, Russia. There the published literature was scrutinized. This included both books and articles on education, written by Russian émigrés after their flight from the Bolshevik regime (*e.g.* Kovalevsky 1970, Zenkovsky 1929, *etc.*), and research papers of different sorts that were issued in Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union and dealt with the educational initiatives the Russian émigrés had taken in order for their children to maintain their language and culture (*e.g.* Chelyshev 2002, Semchenko 2002, *etc.*). A great deal of this literature was valuable for placing this study into a historical and social context, and will be referred to further in the work. Several pedagogical periodicals (*Istoria i obshchestvovedenie/ History and Social studies, Obrazovanie v sovremennoi shkole/ Education in the modern school, etc.*) published in Russia between 1992 and 2007 were systematically worked through, and articles relevant to the study were analyzed.

Another relevant source was a collection of documents found in the State Archive of Russian Federation (GARF). These contained a set of records from the First Congress of the Representatives of the Middle and Elementary School Abroad as well as other valuable documents that described many sides of the Russian émigré school, both the content of the studies, education, upbringing and mentoring the children, as well as practical problems the schools were dealing with, both

psychological and financial. Some of these materials were also published under one cover (Kuz'min (ed.) 1995), and they will be referred to in the course of this research paper.

2.3.3 Valery Carrick's archive

In her extensive research on Russian White émigrés in Norway, Morken (1984) had referred to a Carrick archive in the University Library in Oslo. Valery Carrick, a journalist from Russia, who fled from the Bolshevik regime already in 1917, had left his comprehensive archive in the Norwegian Library with a hope that these documents would be sent to Russia 50 years after his death, when, he expected, the Bolshevik regime would already be gone. Carrick died in 1943, and 50 years later, in 1993, the Soviet Union had barely dilapidated. Therefore, this archive, which included both his diaries, correspondence with the representatives of Russian émigré life all over the world, his *Picture-tales*, articles and different artifacts that all tell the story of Russian emigrant life in Norway, stayed in the University Library in Oslo. Apparently, the University Library and the National Library split up at a later point in time, and the Carrick archive is now found at the handwritten documents' department of the National Library of Norway. The Carrick archive had been roughly sorted out by a previous investigator. Nevertheless, one had to examine most of the documents found in this substantial archive, due to the fact that the topic of the research was rather narrow and it was necessary to dig for details regarding the educative activities of the Russian émigrés in Oslo. These specifics were looked for like pieces of a greater puzzle; some were come across in letters, some were unexpectedly uncovered in the morning thoughts and day descriptions found in the hand-written diaries, and some were unearthed in the notes scribbled down in a hurry. This source will also be referred to when applicable.

2.3.4 Asker museum

It has been made known to the researcher that Asker museum held, in 2001, an exhibition devoted to Valery Carrick and his life and work in Norway. The exhibition dealt mostly with Carrick's work as a caricaturist and illustrator of Folk-tales, but a lot of information about his biography and interests, as well as some details about Russian émigré life in Norway, emerged in the materials collected by the museum's archives.

2.3.5 Private archives

In the course of the research the investigator hoped to find relevant information in the private archives. Unfortunately, an unexpected challenge occurred. It became apparent that some of the potential informants had discarded much of the materials that their now deceased Russian relatives had collected. These materials may have included letters, diaries and notes, which were not considered important by the descendants, whereas printed matter was more likely to be preserved. Despite this fact, the researcher did come across several archives that were scrutinized and studied for the purpose of this research; only four of these archives were found relevant to the study.

Archive A is an extensive assemblage that has mainly not been sorted out, and consists of letters, post-cards, photographs and other artifacts connected to the family history of the informant s1.

Archive B is *inter alia*, a vast collection of materials associated with Valery Carrick and his life. The most surprising and exciting discovery was also made in this archive. A unique, hand-written magazine *Za morem sinichka/ Tot-mouse behind the sea* was created by the informant's family. All the issues are carefully preserved. The researcher hopes that the discovery of this magazine will be followed by its profound study, both as a literary masterpiece and a representative of the Russian Diaspora life in Norway. This magazine will be roughly dealt with in subchapter 6.7.

Archive C is a collection of letters, randomly chosen, but despite this archive being rather erratic, one of the most interesting findings was uncovered here: a Diary of the young Navy officer who had escaped from Russia on the ice-breaker *Kozma Minin* in February 1920. Unfortunately, the original of the document was lost and one has to deal with its ineffectual Norwegian translation.

Nevertheless, it gives some insight into the drama of the escape and the details around it. It will be richly quoted from in chapter 4.

Archive D is mostly a collection of photographs and artifacts which have to do with the history of Russian artistic life in Oslo in the time period in question. Some artifacts will be shown in the Appendix.

All the materials are used in this study with the permission of the owners. The archive is mentioned under each photograph or reference.

2.3.6 Other written sources and challenges

Several other significant publications are used in this research, one of them, *Den ortodokse kirke i Norge. Hellige Nikolai menighet 1931-2006*, was kindly presented to the researcher by f. Johannes Johansen, the priest of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in Oslo. A book *En reise i det russiske nord* was received by the researcher from its author Ø. Ravna. There are plenty of other monographs and articles that the researcher refers to in the study; all of these are listed in the literature and source list in the end of the paper.

At the same time, a lot of materials that could have been relevant to the study were lost beyond retrieval. A big fire of 1986 in the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in Oslo apparently destroyed the archives, including the parish notes written by Alexander de Roubetz. Roubetz had stated in his letters to Carrick that the education of Russian children had worried him to such an extent that he had devoted a big portion of his parish notes to the Russian families in Norway to the question of upbringing the children in a foreign culture (Ms. Fol. 4199:18). Not losing hope, the researcher called the Stockholm Orthodox church where Roubetz served as a priest, only to learn that he did not leave his archives there. The descendants preserved mostly the publicly published materials about Roubetz, and had no knowledge as to the whereabouts of his hand-written work. The answers from the University, Public and National libraries in Stockholm were also negative, thus the fate of these documents is unfortunately unknown.

Several newspaper and magazine articles are quoted in this work; all of these were found in the public libraries or the above mentioned archives, and are listed in the literature list.

At the same time, as Atkinson & Coffey (2004:67) argue, documents in themselves do not reflect social reality, but rather create a reality of their own, and thus have to be looked upon in the context of their reference to other realities and domains as well as to other documents. Thus it was important, both for the sake of illuminating the factual details and for the sake of letting other voices be heard, to turn to oral sources and carry out several interviews with informants who had first-hand

knowledge about the educational activities Russian children were involved in during the time period in question. These oral sources are dealt with in the next subchapter.

2.3.7 Challenges linked to the oral sources

Historic research has a big limitation: Time works against it. The events that are described in this study took place more than 65 years ago, which means that there are but a few witnesses today who can remember the time period in question and were a part of the educational efforts in the Russian Diaspora at that time. On the other hand, as Tosh (2006:318) stresses, the informant's memories "however precise and vivid, are filtered through subsequent experience", which means that the facts can become distorted or "contaminated" by feelings or attitudes involved. The interviewee's recollection of the past can be quite inadequate; some "memories have probably faded over the years"; while the constructed picture of one's past rarely corresponds to reality in its entirety (*ibid*: 320). It could be mentioned as an example that several informants, having academic background, were biased to the seeming simplicity of the subject in question. They were reluctant to go into details of their childhood memories because they did not see them as important for the interviewer's scientific purposes and it often took a lot of digging into the past in order to uncover more precise information about the factual side of their upbringing. Nevertheless, in order both to verify the information gathered in the archives and thus follow the principle of triangulation of data, and to gather new information about the Russian émigré life in Oslo, the researcher conducted several interviews. The next subchapter is devoted to this work.

2.3.8 Interviews

The researcher had planned to contact as many potential informants as possible. On the preparation stage the interview guide was made (see Appendix) and the ethical considerations described in subsection 2.4 were taken:

- the informants-to-be were contacted through the Russian associations and the Church;
- a written agreement was prepared, through which informed consent was to be obtained (see a copy of the Agreement in the Appendix);
- considerations about the language of the interview were taken.

Out of the contacted informants-to-be several persons refused to participate in the study, some explaining the refusal with age and health problems. In total, the researcher conducted 12 in-depth semi-structured interviews: 9 face-to-face, 3 over the telephone, with altogether 4 informants who could be considered primary sources and 4 informants who were close relatives (wives and descendants) of the Russian emigrants and thus can be counted as secondary source. The interviewees were chosen for their acquaintance to the area of study and thus gender was not an issue.

Prior to the initial interview the informants received brief information about the project and the researcher's background; this was important for creating a more open atmosphere for the interviews. The informants signed the written agreement where they expressed their consent to participate in the project and to allow future use of the interviews in this study. They were informed about the confidentiality rule: all the data that were to be gathered during the interviews were to be treated confidentially. The face-to-face interviews were taped on a tape-recorder.

Even though the interviewer "is responsible for the course of interview and should... directly and politely break off long answers that are irrelevant to the topic of investigation" (Kvale 1996:134), the latter was not easily done during these interviews. Some of the informants got carried away by the memories and their life stories unfolded undistracted in front of the researcher. Thus only the portions of the interviews that had to do with the topic of the study were transcribed. Another challenge was posed by the fact that the majority of the primary source interviews were conducted, at the request of the interviewees, in Russian. Also a lot of the literature about Russian émigrés is written in Russian, thus a big portion of the work on this study was to transfer the written knowledge into the language of the study, English, and to translate the quotes used in the project into phrases that would do justice to the author of the quote.

The majority of interviews took place at informants' homes in a quiet tête-à-tête setting. The atmosphere of the interviews was very friendly, often reminiscent of a good afternoon conversation where a person tells her life story to an attentive listener. The researcher felt often deeply impressed by both the depth and variety of the informants' experience as well as their humbleness, when they more often than not were telling the stories of their relatives, considering these to be more exciting

and interesting than life stories of their own. It was important to set the answers in a certain context, thus the monologue was seldom interrupted by the interviewer, in order not to distract the informant, allowing him or her say exactly what was intended. In addition, at the starting point of the research there were gaps in the timeline as well as in the factual understanding of the period in inquiry and thus any new information about the childhood years of the informant could help eliminate these gaps. Most of the interviews turned out to be “self-communicating” (Kvale 199:145). They needed little further explanation and provided solid information to the topic of the study. However, the interviews varied in length and quality. The interviews that were conducted during the later stage of the project were more detailed and focused, in pace with the knowledge about the area of study that the researcher had gained; the personalities of the informants varied and thus their willingness to share as well as their interest for details and memories differed from one person to another; the primary source informants could naturally contribute more valuable information than the secondary source informants. Furthermore, the interviewer gained more experience in the process of conducting an interview and as a result, some of the interviews taken at a later stage of work became more relevant to the project.

Interviews conducted over the telephone could not be tape-recorded, and thus the researcher took notes which were rewritten and organized right after the interview. As a result, most of the information acquired this way is used as factual information, rather than as direct quotes from the informants. Although much of the information was collected during the initial data-collection stage, the researcher contacted two of the informants again in the process of analyzing the data and writing of the thesis, and conducted two secondary interviews that were necessary to clarify some of the facts.

Unfortunately, much of the data were discarded due to the limitations of the thesis. In order to stay focused and effective the researcher had to limit the materials to the relevant data set and thus a big portion of exciting and interesting information about the émigré life in Oslo in 1920-1940 was omitted¹³.

¹³ The majority of the data collected through the interviews and in the archives was omitted: *inter alia*, the details of personal lives in Norway; activities in the Diaspora organized solely for the adults (as *Ladies' Circle* led by K. Kormilitzine), Alexander de Roubetz as a spiritual leader of the Parish, his fellowship and conflicts with the émigrés; Valery Carrick and his active aid work for the starving in Russia in 1920-s as well as his biography, ideas, essays on Psychology and Mind, his lectures, his personal affairs; interpersonal relationships inside the Diaspora; history of the

2.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations played an important part in the conducting of this research. Cohen *et al* (2000:53) underline that “the relevance of the principle of informed consent becomes apparent at the initial stage of the research project” and thus the question of access to the informants was carefully thought through. Partly, the challenge was to find gate-openers who would be able to help locate the informants and to introduce the researcher to them.

- i. The investigator had visited the meetings at the *Norsk-rusisk kultursenter* (*Norwegian-Russian Culture Center*) where she met several informants-to-be and the owner of archive A. The researcher presented the information about the project to several visitors of meetings of the Center and met both interest and excitement in most cases.
- ii. The investigator also asked the leader of the *Norsk-russisk forening* (*Norwegian-Russian Association*) to present her to one of the key informants, and through the latter the researcher became acquainted with two other informants-to-be, including the owner of the archive B.
- iii. The researcher talked to f. Johannes Johansen, the priest of St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in Oslo, who referred the investigator to several other representatives of the Russian Diaspora.

Another consideration was the sensitivity of the matter in such personal topics as memories of childhood, bilingual and bicultural upbringing and a possible insecure feeling of the informant about proficiency in Russian and thus own “relevance” to the study. In order to avoid these uneasy feelings, the researcher planned the interviews to be conducted in the language (Russian or Norwegian) that was preferred by the informant. At the same time, the interviews were planned as life-interviews and the informants had freedom to mention or not mention affairs and details that they felt were relevant and not too sensitive to be described in a research paper.

The anonymity of the research participants was another important ethical consideration. The present research project included a limited number of informants at a relatively small Diaspora setting. Some quite sensitive information was mentioned during the interviews and in the letters and diaries,

White Army officers who stayed together in Norway, supported each other across the ranks; *etc.* The hand-written magazine *Za morem sinichka/ Tot-mouse behind the sea* remains to be studied thoroughly as well.

having to do with personal relationships or internal conditions in the Russian Diaspora. While a few of the informants meant that anonymity was rather unnecessary, and wanted to be presented with their full names, others expressed apprehension in connection with their names being mentioned in the study. At the same time, the researcher is convinced that a general principle of confidentiality in presenting of findings would be worthless in a historic context. Men and women who used their time and energy to educate the next generation, to start the Russian school, to bring forth their thoughts and ideas, to create the hand-written magazine *Za morem sinichka*, deserve acknowledgement. Thus the anonymity of the interviewed informants is consistently preserved, while the identity of the teachers and other adults, whose endowment into education of the younger generation can be documented, are named in this study. However, any sensitive information referred to is also presented in such a way that no identity could be discovered.

All acquired data were sorted and analyzed. In the course of discussing some issues in the thesis, parts of the discarded data appeared in a new light and were used where appropriate; while other bits of information, which initially were considered relevant, lost their importance and were omitted, either due to emergence of a better quote or a more reliable fact, or just to lack of space.

The question of organizing and analyzing the data became very central. The information gathered was of historic character thus dependent upon a broader frame of political and societal changes which occurred around the Russian Diaspora. Therefore after several attempts to organize information in different ways, the researcher decided to use the historical approach and systematize the data according to stages or phases the Russian Diaspora was going through (the overview of these stages is given in 1.1.2). As a consequence, after discussing the terminology in chapter 3, the author will turn to the above mentioned historical phases and the relevant data will be discussed in the appropriate chapters.

Chapter 3: Russian Diaspora: Terminology and Dimensions

Motherland is not a conformity to territory, but inalterability of memory and blood. Not to be in Russia, to forget Russia can be feared only by someone who thinks of Russia outside of himself. The one who has it inside can lose it only together with his life.

Marina Tsvetaeva (1925)

Before discussing the historical development of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo between the two world wars, one needs to deal with terminology and the dimensions of the subject in question. Entering the manifold area of the study the reader will be presented with a range of terms connected to the subject, such as *Diaspora*, *Russian émigré*, *denationalization*. In addition, this chapter discusses Russian Diaspora, its extension both in Oslo and on a bigger scale, its forthcoming and composition.

3.1 Russian Diaspora as a peculiar case

The term *Diaspora* is used in reference “to displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration or exile” (Braziel, Mannur 2008:1). Further, *Diaspora* can serve as a means for “social construction of identity in relation to nationality, race, gender and sexuality” of an individual (*ibid*:5). The definition is further complicated by such factors as historical and geographical frames, political situation in the countries of departure and arrival, or by categories such as class, education or social and political affiliation of the diasporic subjects, thus making the Diaspora anything but a homogeneous group. As a result, the diasporic subjects develop a “hybrid form of identity” where they do not merely accept the cultural codes from either the dominating or minority cultures but mix them and “creolize” them “disarticulating given signs and rearticulating their symbolic meaning otherwise” (*ibid*). Such a hybrid identity is nothing unusual and is often desired by the Diasporas as a means of survival in a new environment. But the post-revolutionary *Russian Diaspora* became something quite different, trying to preserve the cultural roots and national identity of the children in the “purest” possible form. Moreover, the Russian émigrés considered themselves to be the only legitimate carriers of the Russian culture as opposed to the Bolsheviks and their abbreviation of what, for centuries, had been perceived as “the real Russia and the Russian”. Therefore, the Russian

émigrés found it necessary to fight, not only for the nostalgic homecoming, but for the political and cultural comeback in order to re-establish the true Russian government and culture in their beloved homeland. Thus the inevitable hybridization or “*denationalization*” of diasporic children was viewed as a national tragedy, something that could deprive their Motherland of its future. This governmental goal definitely puts the Russian émigrés in a category of their own. This study is meant to become a small contribution to understanding the reasons behind such an attitude, as well as the means the diasporic subjects used in order to fight the denationalization of children and youngsters of Russian origin abroad.

The uniqueness of the Russian Diaspora has equally been preconditioned by yet another factor. Among the “common features of diaspora”, Cohen (2008:17) mentions “dispersal from an original homeland”; “collective memory” and “idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance”; expectation of return; “troubled relationship with host societies” in fear for another calamity; “co-responsibility with co-ethnic members”, *etc.* Most of these features are relevant to the Russian Diaspora of the 1920-40s, yet one important characteristic makes it a unique case. Cohen (*ibid*: 141 ff) assigns the globalization (*inter alia*, globalized economy and cosmopolitanism) an important role in mobilizing and uniting diasporas. Diasporas today are, in addition, equipped with the latest technical achievements to make their communication accessible (e-mail or *Skype* are examples of free of charge communication tools which bridge people across the continents), and the spreading of the ideas and information is made easy through the new media sources as television and internet. Russian Diaspora of the 1920-40s, however, despite the lack of globalization or technical means of connecting people available today, nevertheless managed to create an unparalleled unity, where the individuals localized in their host-countries perceived themselves as subjects of a distinctive formation, “Russia beyond its borders” or “Russia Abroad” (more on this in subchapter 3.2).

As a conclusion, one can argue that the Russian Diaspora can be recognized as a peculiar case unparalleled in its historical frame. Defining exactly who can be considered a part of the Russian Diaspora, however, is intricate due *inter alia* to complexity of delimitation of national and cultural belonging, but some categorization is necessary to understanding of the matter of the current thesis. The next two subchapters are devoted to the question, what a Russian refugee in general is, and what

the limitations in regard to the determining of the contingent of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo, Norway are.

3.2 Russian émigrés and Russia Abroad

Raeff (1990:16) defines the term *Russian émigré* as the following: “A Russian émigré was a person who refused to accept the new Bolshevik regime established in the homeland” and who thus was deprived of citizenship by the Soviet authorities and was made into a *stateless person* or *apatride* in the categorization of the League of Nations. Some Russians left the country right after the Revolution in 1917, but most of the refugees emigrated during the Civil War and the first few years after, when it became clear that their lives were endangered, while the Russian borders were not yet sealed and were possible to penetrate. Among the refugees there were mostly Russians who escaped the persecution, who “were under constant threat of being imprisoned or shot” (Glenny & Stone 1990: xvi); those who chose not to live under the Bolshevik regime, who had their houses expropriated, were forced into hard physical labor and were given the lowest rations of food and necessary items (*ibid*); along with a small number of those who were expelled by the Soviet authorities during the softer years of the Soviet Union (between the end of the Civil War in 1921 and the death of Lenin in 1924) (Raeff 1990:4) .

At the same time, concerning the Russian émigrés, one often refers to them not individually, and not even as a part of a Diaspora in one specific country. One has to look at Russian émigrés as subjects of “Russia beyond its borders” (Raeff 1990:3), a somewhat better place than Russia inside the geographical limits of the U.S.S.R. “Russia Abroad” (Raeff:1990) or “The Other Russia” (Glenny & Stone:1990) are common terms used by the scholars who studied the Russian emigration during the time between the First and the Second World Wars. Thus analyzing the life and educational activities of the Russians in Oslo, one has to look at the broader picture, as Russian Diaspora in Oslo is but a part of a wide-spread “Russia Abroad”, which existed across geographical and political borders and limits, but incorporated people of different social status and political aspirations, of a wide financial range and educational background. All of these people, however, had something in common – they considered themselves citizens of a country that was real to them even though it did not exist on the geographical maps. Johnston (1988) describes this unique phenomenon as a “new Mecca, new Babylon”. Russian refugees who at various times left different parts of Russia and

ended up in different countries around the world, who “lacked common geographical territory, common political affiliation, common economical and social status”, who had differences in “educational level, religious standpoint”, sometimes even ethnic background, despite of this apparent lack of a common ground, these émigrés from Russia “considered themselves as a special formation: Russia beyond its borders, or Russia Abroad” (Johnston 1988:54). They did not try to merely preserve the past but to create a society that would compete with the country they left in the deepness of cultural development, in literature, science and education, and, therefore, to win this cultural battle over the Soviet Russia. Their motto was “I left, and took Russia with me” (Goul 2001:27 [1984]).

The activities of the Russian émigrés in the Diaspora were of various level of effectiveness due to the different number of Russian exiles in a given country, political attitude of the host-country government toward the refugees from Russia, as well as many other factors which are not to be discussed in this paper. However, one can clearly state that this country without borders had “a capital”, Paris, where 50,000 Russian emigrants settled down by the end of 1920s¹⁴ (Hassell 1991:11). The widespread political, cultural and educational life flourished in Paris during the years between the two world wars. There were Russian schools, churches, barbers and stores; Russian doctors and lawyers served the Russian Diaspora; Russian newspapers and magazines were published daily (Buslakova 2005, Johnston 1988). There were other “large cities” of this unusual country, whose centers were also quite active in the émigré life, but in many ways these yielded to the “capital” in importance of their political involvement and effect that their activities had on the Russian Diaspora as a whole. Among these cities one can name Berlin, Prague and Kharbin as the main ones (Andreyev & Savicky 2004; Fleishman 2006). As every state, this unique country, Russia beyond its borders, could be expected to have some peripheral regions, and Valery Carrick considered Norway to be such a “sleepy hollow” with all the provincial characteristics of such (Ms. Fol. 4199:29:1).

In discussing the Russian Diaspora of a given country one has to consider Russia Abroad as a whole and look at the general traits common for Russian émigrés around the world. However, it is the Russian Diaspora in Oslo that interests the researcher most, and therefore the local differences will

¹⁴ France in total hosted 40 % of all Russian émigrés (Smyslov 2004:35)

be of a large significance for the current thesis. The next subchapter describes Russian émigrés in Oslo, Norway.

3.3 Russian émigrés in Oslo, Norway

As stated in the introduction, the studies on Russian Diaspora in Oslo considered it to be the most remote periphery of *Russia Abroad*. “The Norwegian capital, compared to many other places, is just a sleepy hollow of Russian emigration”, where “the unimaginative everyday life of the few Russians who live here, who know each other so well, dominate over the relationships”, as Carrick put it (Ms. Fol. 4199:29:1). Despite this statement, and although one can believably count the Russian Diaspora in Norway among the smallest communities in Europe, the author hopes to prove that regardless of its size it would be unfair to treat it as marginal or insignificant. This subchapter will deal with the Russian émigrés in Oslo, Norway and the composition of the Diaspora.

The Russian community in Norway was not a homogeneous group. It consisted of several types of individuals, from different political and social groups, with various levels of education and religious backgrounds. At the same time, all these individuals shared Russian language, and their identity was closely connected to “*Russianness*”, which sometimes did not require ethnic affiliation, as in case of the Norwegians who were born and grew up in Russia, such as families Wicklund and Henriksen (Johannes 2006: 69, 77), or a British citizen Valery Carrick¹⁵. This present study considers the Russian émigrés’ educational efforts which were directed to the maintenance of language and cultural roots, rather than their political or religious activities or even their nationality as stated in their id-documents. Thus it is natural to include into this expression all individuals of Russian origin as well as the ones who were not ethnically Russians but who expressed their Russian cultural affiliation through their language of everyday use, their membership in the Russian Emigrant Circle, or participation in the activities that would promote Russian culture. The term Russian Diaspora would also include both Russian émigrés who chose to receive Norwegian citizenship and those who refused naturalization for a long time. Based on the published documents one can draw the conclusion that the Russian Diaspora in Oslo did not develop overnight, but went through several changes, both due to the fact that some individuals, who had naturally fallen into the

¹⁵ More on Valery Carrick in subchapter 6.2

category, left the country, as well as to the events of political and financial nature that scattered Russian émigrés across Norway. Morken (1984) divides the Russian émigrés into the following groups according to the time and fashion of their arrival to Norway.

- Individuals of Russian origin who came to Norway before the revolution (*inter alios*, representatives of the Imperial Russia (consulate workers), journalists, tourists and wounded and sick prisoners of war; some of the latter returned to Russia already in 1918 (*ibid*: 70)).
- Persons who came to Norway legally during the years of Revolution and Civil War (1917-1920) and received visas for shorter or longer stays. Some explained their desire to come to Norway by visiting relatives (*ibid*: 68), others were leaving the country as potential workers (as told by informant s1, whose mother in law had left St. Petersburg after being hired as a helper on a farm). However, as Morken (1984:68) points out, “in fact, the reason [behind émigrés’ arrival to Norway] was that they wanted to leave behind the circumstances created by the revolution”.
- Individuals and groups that fled directly from Russia during all the years of the Bolshevik regime, which included both refugees who came by land (mostly from Murmansk to Finnmark (*ibid*: 67)) and by sea. The latter includes the largest refugee group that came to Vardø on the ice-breaker *Kozma Minin* in 1920 (over a 1000 individuals, the majority of which used Norway as the transitional country and fled further (*ibid*: 74)), as well as several smaller flights. Carrick describes a story of a man who hid himself behind timber on a boat from Archangelsk to a port in Norway in 1930 (Ms. Fol. 4199:18:1). Morken mentions a few similar stories as well as the escape of a mother with three little children in a fishing boat in 1923 (Morken 1984:67).
- Emigrants who had left Russia for another country right after the revolution, but later came to Norway due to an economical crisis (as in the case of Turkey in the 1930s, 44 refugees came to Norway as a result (*ibid*: 140)) or to political considerations (as in Finland in 1918; only a few of refugees stayed in Norway, the majority moved further (*ibid*: 109). Some “traveled through Siberia, lived for years in Hong-Kong, Shanghai or Istanbul before they came to Norway as low-priority refugees” (Johannes 2006:29), others came after they found a job in Norway (for instance, parents of informant p2).

- Norwegians who lived in Russia before the Revolution. Morken (1984:72) includes the latter group into the term “Russian émigrés” on the ground of their “active participation in the Russian emigrant milieu”. She also describes one of her informants as “more Russian than Norwegian despite of the fact that she was a Norwegian citizen all of her life”. She apparently grew up in a Russian environment, spoke almost no Norwegian when the family came to Norway, and later married a Russian emigrant (*ibid*: 73). As a result, one could well consider these Norwegians to be a part of the Russian Diaspora, even though they were not included in the statistics that are given later.

Another side of this matter can be found in the letter by Valery Carrick (Ms. Fol. 4199:15:1, December 13, 1932). Despite his somewhat contemptuous view on émigrés in Oslo reflected in his letter: “our district sleeping region”, “the primitive indignation”, etc., Carrick gives some interesting details about the political axis along which the Diaspora was divided: “The Soviet elements here are completely cut off from the émigrés. If some wretched people have any commercial adherent points [with the former], they are silent about it. There were only two defectors; one had at once left for France (...)” This description helps to clarify that the Soviet citizens were naturally divided into two groups: defectors (according to Carrick, there were only two such cases by 1932) and those who were working for the Soviet government. The latter appeared not to have any affiliation with the émigrés¹⁶. One can suggest that the major explanation for this was that the Soviet regime forbade any association with the refugees apart from the spy-recruiting. But still another reason lay behind this seemingly airtight lack of relationship between the two groups: if caught communicating with a Soviet citizen the Russian emigrant would be suspected as a spy or a traitor because such communication would be “equal to acknowledgement of the Soviet regime as legitimate” (Ms. Fol. 4199:15:1, December 1936). Thus one can with great assurance state that the Russian Diaspora in Oslo did not include the Soviet citizens who resided in Norway at that point.

¹⁶ However, the émigrés, in fact, did keep contact with the Soviet representatives. *E.g.*, in the private archive C a correspondence with the Soviet representatives can be found. Two questions are raised: a possibility to return back to Russia and an application for a translator or a secretary job. Both inquiries received a negative answer. Another example is of a Russian emigrant who taught the children of a Soviet diplomat M. Diakonov, and presented to him her Russian translation of the book *Kristin Lavransdatter* by Sigrid Unset (according to informant p2). This book was later published in the Soviet Union, and Diakonov was stated as the translator.

In short, to be considered a part of the Oslo Russian Diaspora in this research the individuals should be of Russian origin (either born in Russia or abroad) or of Norwegian descent but brought up in the Russian cultural setting; upon their arrival to the country in a diversity of ways they have to have been settled in Oslo or its suburbs for at least a number of years rather than using Norway as a transit land. The Soviet citizens working in Norway are not included into the term Diaspora.

Preparatory to the account of the social and educational composition of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo, the researcher invites the reader to consider the quantity issue of the émigrés in Russia Abroad and specifically in Oslo.

3.4 Quantity of the Russian emigrants

There is no exact agreement as to the number of Russian emigrants in exile. The unbearable situation in their homeland forced literally millions of Russians to leave their homes and move further. The lowest estimate of 860,000 émigrés is given in the Encyclopedia issued in the Soviet Union in 1933 (Andreyev & Savicky 2004:199), while the highest number of 2,935,000 is calculated by the German historian Hans von Rimcha in 1921 (Raeff 1990:24). Glenny & Stone suggest that “Perhaps two million people (...) left in the first wave of 1917-21” (1990:xvi). Raeff (1990:24) quotes the American Red Cross report that estimates a similar number (1,963,500 refugees as of January 1, 1920). Based on these figures, most scholars agree that the estimated number of Russian refugees of the first wave was around two million persons.

Raeff 1990:23 gives the reasons behind this lack of accuracy in the statistical data:

- the fact that the “chaotic circumstances of escape and exile made accurate count and records quite impossible” (*ibid*);
- some entries were illegal and thus left no record;
- the “administrative machinery both of refugee institutions and of the lands of asylum was relatively primitive and as yet unaware of the value of accurate and complete numerical-statistical data” (*ibid*).

This lack of accuracy also applied to Norway. The first numbers of Russian émigrés are very high. As the *Statistics Norway* states, in 1920 there were around 1,184 individuals of Russian origin (see figure 3.1); while Kjeldstadli (2003:405) informs that the population census counted to 1,411 Russians. Around 1,000 of these came to Norway with the above mentioned ice-breaker *Kosma Minin*. Most of the Russian refugees, however, used Norway as a transitional country, whereas by 1930 one can state that

the Russian Diaspora had developed to its fullness. At the same time, as the statistics show no sign of the Russian émigrés by 1946, one can speculate that by that point in time all of the émigrés had received Norwegian citizenship and thus were no longer counted in the statistics.

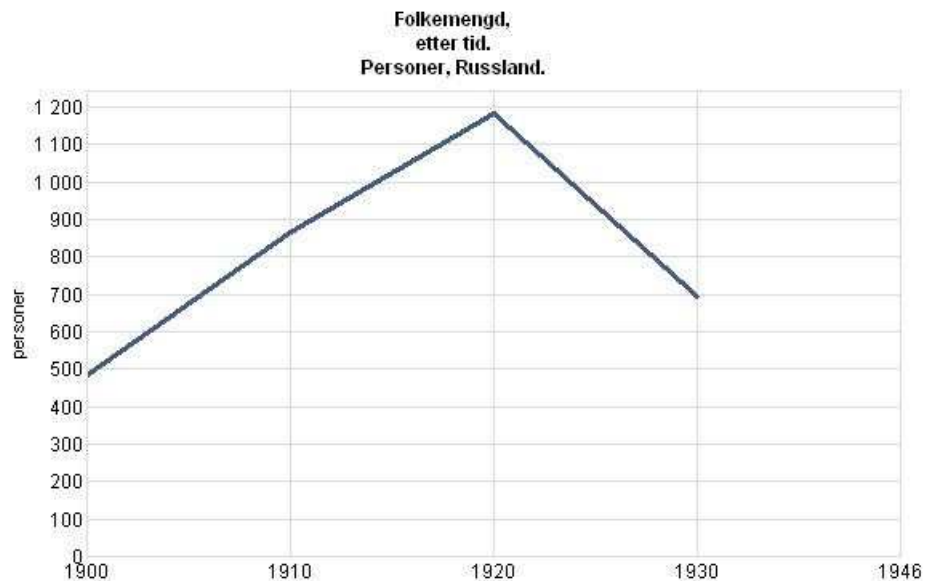


Figure 1. Immigrants from Russia to Norway 1920-1940 (Adopted from Statistics Norway)

Population, by country of birth and year				
	1910	1920	1930	1946
	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons
Russia	867	1,184	693	0

Figure 2. Immigrants born in Russia and settled in Norway (adopted from Statistics Norway)

Morken (1984:59) comes to the same number, around 700 Russians in Norway in 1930, however into this number she includes the refugees without citizenship, émigrés of Russian origin who accepted Norwegian citizenship, and those who had not held Russian citizenship but nevertheless felt Russian (as Carrick who held a British Pass, or ethnic Norwegians who were born in Russia and lived there most of their lives). *Statistics Norway* gives an exact number of 693 individuals living in Norway in 1930 who were born in Russia. (Again, this probably would not include the Norwegians or second generation Russian émigrés born in Norway). Further, Morken states: “53.9 % of

Russians in Norway in 1930 were settled in Oslo or around” (Morken 1984: 64). In case the geographical distribution of the naturalized Russian émigrés was the same as of the refugees who chose not to accept the Norwegian citizenship, there is all reason to suspect that there were at least 375 Russians in Oslo and suburbs. This number might sound very little, but the anonymous author of an article in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* wrote in 1929:

Possibly only a few know that Oslo has more Russians than Englishmen, and that the Russian colony here in town concedes in number only to the Swedish, the Danish and the German colonies. There are not that many hundreds, but there are enough, so that we all are acquainted to one or several of the Russian emigrants. And there are enough so that many Oslo-Russians don't even suspect each other's existence. (*Aftenposten* 08.06.1929).

The latter sentence supports the researcher's suggestion that the modest interest in the Russian Diaspora and the somewhat neglectful attitude to it by the historians is based upon a lack of information. As stated in chapter 2, unfortunately, the majority of the Russian émigrés did not publicly preserve any written manuscripts that would help to enlighten the question of their educational efforts or of the life of the Diaspora in general, thus the need to trust the sources that are available today. The major source used by past historians is the only archive available publicly, the documentation written and collected by Valery Carrick, who despite his great role as a public figure and cultural steward, might nevertheless have had a somewhat deficient knowledge about all sides of the Diaspora in Oslo, or even about the exact number of Russians in the Norwegian capital. The latter statement is confirmed by the fact that Carrick's estimation of the number of Russian emigrants in Norway was much lower than shown statistically: “There are very few Russians in Norway, in the town of Oslo there are around a hundred, and in the whole country around 250 people” (Ms. Fol. 4199:15:1; July 22, 1934). This conservative estimation might also be the reason behind Carrick's low appraisal of the Diaspora activities.

Having estimated the number of the Russian emigrants in Oslo, the researcher devotes the next subchapter to the composition of the Diaspora, which will help to better comprehension of its activities in the further work.

3.5 Composition of the Russian Diaspora

There are certainly many different ways to categorize and scrutinize a given group of people. However for the purpose of the thesis the researcher chooses to look at the composition of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo from three major points of view: social, ethnic and religious composition of the Diaspora. The social composition is important to consider as the social status of an individual in the beginning of 20th century in Russia correlated directly to his or her educational level (Raymond & Jones 2000:10). Additionally, the educational and cultural attainments of parents often have some influence on their efforts to educate their children. Ethnic and religious factors are also essential, as they might play an important role in the content of the children's education.

3.5.1 Social composition

Andreyev & Savicky (2004:x) suggest that “this wave of émigrés represented the political, social and intellectual elite of Imperial Russia”. Hassell (1991:1) adds that among the refugees there was a “high proportion of upper and middle class, many educated and professional”. Glenny & Stone (1990:xvi) state: “The great emigration just after the Revolution consisted disproportionately of the educated classes, plus some simple soldiers, peasants and Cossacks”. Andreyev & Savicky (2004: xi) indicate that among the Russian émigrés less than 10 per cent were aristocracy, while a large portion could be considered as “members of intelligentsia with a broad spectrum of political opinion”. Around one-seventh of the refugees were university graduates and two thirds completed secondary education (Raeff 1990:26). Besides the educated, there was a large group of “urban bourgeoisie”, skilled workers and peasant elite (Cossacks) (*ibid*).

In Norway, the situation was slightly different. Morken (1984:194) suggests that apparently Russians of the higher social class did not choose Norway as the goal of their escape, mostly due to the “coherence between the social milieu and cultural activity. Norway lacked the cultural traditions that most of the European countries had. For a cultivated Russian the Norwegian milieu would have appeared hopelessly provincial.” (*ibid*). Another reason behind the relatively small number of representatives of higher classes who settled in Norway mentioned by Morken was the fact that most of the refugees came to Norway from the Northern Russia, and the “social elite was not that well represented there” (*ibid*:196). Concurrently, the Norwegian visa policy and the financial requirement resulted in relatively few refugees from the lowest classes entering the country legally

or settling down here, inasmuch as the Norwegian government considered them to be “economical burden to the Norwegian society” (*ibid*:193).

Goldin *et al* (1996: 128) also point out that the social composition of Russian emigrants in Norway differed from Europe, partly due to the fact that the “old tight connections with Northern Norway had contributed to making the country known among many common citizens in Northern Russia”; the tickets to Norway were also cheaper and it did not take long to get there. Thus the first émigrés who decided to come to Norway right after the revolution included individuals of “common professions” such as nurses, teachers, port workers and lower status officials (*ibid*). At the same time, the majority of men who entered the country with *Kosma Minin* were Navy Officers (around 70 %) (Morken 1984:200) and men outnumbered women by far. An article in the newspaper *Nordlys* from the February 23, 1920 stated that out of the 1000 individuals on board of the ice-breaker *Kosma Minin* there were only 300 women and children, and 700 men.

Thus one can conclude that compared to the Russian Diaspora in Europe, the social composition of the Russian emigrant milieu in Norway was slightly narrower and consisted mainly of the middle class citizens, something that allows for suggesting on average a quite high level of education in parents as well as explains the general interest in educating their children.

3.5.2 Ethnic composition

Another issue that could contribute to the study is the question of nationality. In subchapter 3.3 we agreed to include into the term *Russian Diaspora* both the people who were ethnically Russian and those Russian-speaking émigrés who considered themselves as belonging to the Russian cultural setting, but did not hold Russian nationality. The latter group would certainly include ethnic Norwegians (this was already considered in 3.3), as well as some other nationalities. No written sources could shed light on this issue, but some indirect information was nevertheless possible to gather. Even though family names are not to be relied upon as the positive proof, nonetheless one could speculate that certain names do allude the Ukrainian origin (Gunko, Stetsenko) or Jewish descent (Gilinsky, Bronstein) of the émigré (list of Russian speaking émigrés in Oslo, Ms. Fol. 4199:15:1). This was supported by the interviews, when the informants p1 and p4 mentioned their parents’ friends who were Jews or Ukrainians; these were also a part of the Russian cultural life: they participated in the concerts, were active in some activities and were accepted as being of

Russian origin, at least up to the time close to the German invasion. In 1936, however, at least one of the members of Russian Emigrant Circle (REC; described in chapter 5) was expelled only on the ground of his ethnic affiliation (he was a Jew) (Ms. Fol. 4199:15:2). About what had happened to the Jewish family friends during the World War II the informants did not have any information.

Another representative of the Russian Diaspora, Valery Carrick, a British citizen and a descendent of a British father, nonetheless saw himself as Russian and at a point had to defend his Russianness in the eyes of an inquirer who accused him of not understanding the “real” Russians:

Why do I find it possible to have a right to call myself a Russian? The word “Russian” is a term of national-cultural kind (...). Except for the last years in emigration, I have lived in Russia, my native tongue is Russian. All this not only gives me the right to consider and call myself Russian, but also deprives me from the right to assign myself a title that would determine affiliation to any other nationality. (...) I have considered myself to be Russian even without a formal stamp in my passport. (Ms. Fol. 4199:73; Feb. 24th, 1929)

The issue of *Russianness* as a cultural identity marker that would unite different nationalities under its wings is discussed in chapter 6. But in conclusion one can state that even though some émigrés who partook in the life of the Russian Diaspora did not formally belong to the Russian nationality *per se*, nevertheless, together with the ethnic Russians they expressed their will to develop *Russia abroad* and contributed to the upbringing and educating of the second generation of Russian émigrés.

3.5.3 Religious affiliation

As well as most of the Russian émigrés around the globe, the majority of the Russians in Oslo belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church, with a varying participation level there. Even the individuals who did not consider themselves an active part of the Orthodox Church, nevertheless baptized their children and let them serve in the church as altar boys (brother of informant 1) or sing in the church choir (informant 4). Many of these received Parish letters from Father Alexander de Roubetz, where he often wrote about the upbringing of children in “foreign environment”, as stated in the letter to Carrick (Ms. Fol. 4199:18:4, August 15, 1934). Others were “seekers” (as Carrick has referred to himself in the correspondence with Roubetz (Ms. Fol. 4199:18:3, 4, 5), yet others stated openly that they were atheists. A few found the State Church of Norway as their religious (or often only cultural) home; they baptized their children Lutheran “so that they can feel Norwegian

when they enter adulthood” (informant s1). However, despite of the fact that the above mentioned groups had placed themselves on the vast scale of Christian faith from devoted Orthodox believers, to Lutheran adepts, to seekers and atheists, the absolute majority nevertheless celebrated Easter and Christmas the Orthodox way, this fact all the sources are unanimous about. Even if worship service in the Orthodox Church with a priest blessing Russian Easter food was out of the question, the cooking of special treats, singing the Orthodox hymnals (along with folk songs) and possessing and even reading of an *Evangelie* (New Testament), preferably in the Church-Slavic language, were all a part of Russian cultural life as well as a matter of national pride.

Thus the Russian Diaspora in Norway, despite being quite a heterogeneous society, nonetheless can be considered a cultural phenomenon and therefore can be analyzed as such in the historical perspective. At the same time, Russian Diaspora abroad is to be viewed as a unique case, a country without borders, but with its capital (Paris), big centers (Berlin, Prague) and provinces (Oslo, Buenos Aires and Constantinople, to name a few). As a result, it is essential to study the Russian Diaspora in Oslo as a part of the bigger picture on the international scale, and even though one cannot expect the émigré life in Oslo to be a direct reflection of what was happening in Europe, one nevertheless has to consider the global Russian Diaspora, as it largely affected the former. The Day of Russian Culture, concerts of Russian Cossack Choir, lectures of pedagogues, philosophers and politicians, described in the next chapters, are just a few examples of this flow of cultural events that both connected Russians and renewed the Diasporic relationships of the émigrés both inside a given country and across country borders. As a result this present work discusses the educational efforts of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo as a phenomenon closely related to the pedagogical thought of Russia Abroad, though its local specialties are also dealt with.

Simultaneously, the next chapters deal with the Russian Diaspora in Oslo throughout various historic stages, where its educational activities are closely related to the self-determination of the Russian émigrés and their hopes of return for them and their children. The researcher will analyze these educational activities and the development of attitudes towards such activities within the emigrant milieu, and will place these efforts into the broader context of educational philosophy of the émigré society in *Russia Abroad*. The above mentioned historical stages are: the dramatic escape from Bolshevik Russia, the first years upon arrival, semi-settlement, and final loss of hope of return, followed by naturalization.

Chapter 4: Escape from the Bolsheviks

“This was the time when someone was always shouting “Hurray”, someone cried, and the cadaveric smell was hovering over the town.”

“We decided to flee. Mud everywhere, it’s raining, it’s cold, we are tired and hungry, but we need to flee: the Bolsheviks are at our heels. We scarcely rest and dry up when we need to flee again.”

**From compositions by Russian children who fled from
Russia (Reminiscences of 500 Russian children)**

As stated earlier, the political development of events in Russia at the beginning of the XX century had driven millions of refugees away from their Motherland, their loved ones and their possessions. The bloody revolution and Civil War had deprived people of a future, and children of normal childhood. A great human tragedy is hidden behind the dry historic facts. Chapter 4 deals with the circumstances behind the dramatic exile from Russia as well as the children’s escape experience and the pedagogical efforts which focused on these children.

In addition, in order to set the time frame for the *Russia Beyond its Borders* it is essential to look at the historical background for the exile and thus define the earliest point in time when the exodus became urgent and inevitable.

4.1 Historical background for the escape: Revolution and Civil War

Die Revolution ist wie Saturn, sie frißt ihre eignen Kinder
(Revolution is like Saturn, it devours its own children)

Gerard P. Knapp (1835)

The history of Russian Revolution has many sides, and any attempt to deal with this topic on a small scale would lead to oversimplifying of the subject. Plenty of political movements and events had a great effect on the course of the Revolution, and the author relegates to further reading on this subject (*e.g.* Smith 2001, Figes 1996, *etc.*). However, one trend should be definitely mentioned: it was the Russian intelligentsia¹⁷ that actually stood behind the philosophical and political substantiation of the revolution. The romanticism of the French revolution of 1789-1799 with its

¹⁷ Smith (2002:9) states that Russian “intelligentsia” is a group of people “defined less by its socio-economic position than by its critical stance towards autocracy”. Ehrenreich (1989) gives a broader meaning to the word and uses this term in regard to the upper-middle class professionals, whose main task is to create and produce knowledge. It is the broader sense of the word the researcher uses in the thesis.

attractive slogan “*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*” (Liberty, equality, brotherhood) had had a big impact on the Russian thinker Alexander Herzen, who had written several works (“*Who is to blame?*” (1847) and “*Le Monde russe et la Revolution*” (1860-1862)) which, in turn, affected the thought and political life in Russia. After the subsequent emancipation of the serfs in 1861, which was only a part of the liberal reforms launched by the tsar Alexander II, a new middle-class movement emerged: *Narodniki* (“*Peopleists*”, later transformed into a party “*Narodnaya Volya*” (“*People’s Will*”). The *Peopleists* focused on class distinctions between the bourgeoisie and the peasants, and were responsible for the first revolt in 1877, supported by the peasants, but swiftly overpowered by the government. A sequence of events followed, including terrorist attacks and murders of the tsar and other members of the government as well as imprisonment and execution of the party members; several other revolts were brutally crushed; new political movements amongst intelligentsia and students emerged; new terrorist attacks supervened. But it was the First World War that became one of the main triggers for the revolutions of 1917. Imperial Russia, along with the allies, had fought against Germany for the first three years of the war (1914-17) and “had sacrificed three million lives and millions of casualties” (Stephan 1978:5). Both the liberal and the radical political forces in Russia had used this war as the reason for the necessity of societal change, and thus the February revolution¹⁸ of 1917 had started. It resulted in the fall of the monarchy, establishment of a Provisional government, demoralization of the army and planning for withdrawal from the War. The goal of the political struggle, the liberation of the Russian people and overthrow of the monarchy, had been reached; therefore the intelligentsia welcomed the February revolution. Valery Carrick, for instance, “embraced the February Revolution of 1917 enthusiastically” and “considered its victory to be the triumph of the ideals of liberty and justice” (Teterevleva 2001:2). However, the revolutionary machine could not be stopped at this point. The Bolshevik party gradually took over, proclaimed the class struggle to continue, and began a bloody war against those who were not included into the term “*proletariat*” (working class and peasants). This resulted in the October Revolution, closely followed by Civil War (1917-1921) between the Bolsheviks (the Red Guard, named after the color of “the proletarian blood”) and the opposition (the White Guard, after the color of the monarchy). This war claimed new millions of victims, a great number of which were

¹⁸ Up to 1918 the Julian calendar was used in Russia, while Western Europe employed the Gregorian calendar. The difference between the two calendars is 13 days. Despite of the fact that the Bolsheviks introduced the Gregorian calendar in 1918, they continued to call the march revolt “February Revolution”, while the final overthrow which occurred on November 7th-8th 1917 was recognized as “October Revolution”. Thus in the current thesis these events are referred to as such, whereas all other dates are used according to the Gregorian calendar.

civilians (Andrew & Mitrokhin 1999:28)¹⁹. The class struggle had suddenly turned against the intelligentsia itself, for its representatives were not the members of the “masses”, and thus became the enemy of the revolution they so eagerly desired. Carrick in his diary states that the choice the intelligentsia faced was either to leave the country, submit under the Bolsheviks, or be killed. And many who remained in Russia right after the Revolution chose to submit, trying to stay loyal to their former convictions with hope for the regime indulgence:

In Russia there is a big category of people who are “forever obliged” to its yesterday. This is a special knot of intelligentsia, who on one hand resents the Bolshevik malefactions, while on the other seeks reconciliation with them and is ready to serve them. (...) They are bounded by yesterday’s words, yesterday’s slogans and attitudes. They lack courage to admit that their yesterday’s opinions were wrong; they lack ingenuity to find the formula that would guard their moral purity despite of the rejection of yesterday’s aberrations. (Diary 5, Ms. Fol. 4199:16).

Unfortunately, this submission gave them only a temporary delay of the fate they were to face. Only two years after, at the climax of the Civil War, many were forced to flee under a great danger of being killed.

This loyalty to “yesterday’s aberration” can thus be the reason why even during the turbulent years prior to the October revolution of 1917 only the revolutionary elements left Russia. Lenin himself spent a number of years in emigration due to the threat of imprisonment in Imperial Russia.

Whereby, as Raeff (1990:16) states, “with the exception of the few individuals who left Russia in 1917, and a few more (mainly from St. Petersburg) who left immediately after the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917, the Russian emigration was the direct consequence of the course and the outcome of the civil war”. This statement helps to set up the time frame for the exile’s start phase: 1918 as the beginning of the flow, and 1920-21, the last years of the Civil War, being the years when the refugee stream hit the highest point.

Before discussing the question of the pedagogical enterprises that were set up for the Russian children abroad, it is necessary to understand the needs of these children during this first stage of the emigration; hence, in the above pinpointed time and historical frame for the escape, to consider the details of the flight and the traumatic experience these children had acquired.

¹⁹ Andrew & Mitrokhin (1999:28-29) claim that 15 mln people died during the Civil war; only 1.5 mln of these were soldiers, the rest of the victims were civilians on both sides, either murdered or killed by diseases and starvation.

4.2 Escape channels and circumstances

Glenny & Stone (1990), Raeff (1990), Williams (1972) and other scholars vividly describe the exile from Russia. According to these accounts, some émigrés filtered across the Western border, through *limitrophes* or Border States (Estonia, Latvia, Poland) with the retreating German army, yet others moved further and further to the east of Russia in hope of finding peace there, and thus ended up in China (mostly in Kharbin, a Russian city built as an economical center for the Eastern Chinese Railway, a Russian Enterprise) (Raeff 1990:22). A great number of White Army officers who fought during the Civil War, as well as their families, evacuated in 1920; this includes both the dramatic escape from Arkhangelsk on the ice-breaker *Kozma Minin* in February (Morken 1984) and the Southern evacuation that consisted of the chaotic escapade from Novorossiysk in March and from Crimea in November (Glenny & Stone 1990:xiv).

The summation of the different ways the Russian refugees came to Norway was presented in the newspaper *Aftenposten* (1929). It stated that most of the Oslo-Russians were those who evacuated on the ice-breaker *Kozma Minin* from Archangelsk,

if not only they were the ones who with danger for their lives and in all kinds of disguise followed the old Archangelsk-Norwegian Guttormsen on his tours through Karelia; or were among the lucky ones that escaped already under Kerensky-revolution and sat around in the prayer-houses along the Oslo-fjord and swore that the revolution would be over in a few months. But all the time people leaked from the large bloody human sieve named Russia; they used thousands of ways and many of them have surely been not more than a paper wall from death. (*Aftenposten* on June the 8th 1929).

One of the earlier dramatic flights is described by Heintz (2001 & 2003). She tells about her grandmother, Olga Heintz, with her two children in their early twenties, Nina and Anatol, who left St. Petersburg almost at the last possible moment, in the end of January, 1919. They had been invited by their relatives who moved to Norway earlier due to health conditions of a family member, but hesitated in hope for the situation in Russia to become more bearable. Unfortunately, this was not the case, and the family was to leave the country in a hurry, leaving everything behind, and crossed the border to Finland on foot. “They knew that if they met any patrolling Red Guarders they would presumably be shot at once” (Heintz 2001:44).

The striking flight from Archangelsk on the *Kozma Minin* portrayed by Morken (1984) as previously mentioned, contributed the biggest group of the Russian émigrés to Norway. In a diary found by the researcher in Private archive C, a young Navy officer, father of one of the informants, gives an account of the escape together with his family (a wife, two children age 7 and 5, a 2 month old baby, a Nanny and himself). He states: “While we were going along the shore, past the city and port of Solombala, they shot at us with machine-guns; the admiral’s hand was injured and colonel Korotkin on *Yaroslavna* was also wounded. (...) Terrible nightmare.” (Diary, entry of February 21st, 1920.)

Some of the Russian émigrés came to Norway in a less dramatic way, but also they left behind most of their possessions, family members and friends. Several Russian families had come to Norway before the Civil War, as did Valery Carrick and his wife Olga who moved to Norway already in December, 1917 (Teterevleva 2001:3). Others managed to leave Russia after the War, some even with an official permit. Informant s1 gave an account of her husband’s grandmother (“Baba”) who applied as a farm worker to Norway and came thereafter in 1923:

If she had mentioned that she was to reunite with her son and daughter-in-law in Norway she would not have gotten the permission to come here. But she left to become a maid at a farm in Norway, so she left to work. Then she got the permit. And then she also got the Nansen passport. So she had all the papers in order, she was not a refugee. But she was allowed to take only three spoons, three teaspoons, three forks, one icon, an album, a book of fairy-tales, small memorabilia, not much. (Interview with informant s1).

Thus one can state that even when the circumstances of the escape were not as dramatic, the emigrants nevertheless suffered a great loss both financially and socially. Leaving the country where they had spent all their lives, where family, friends and life possessions remained, was all but easy for the emigrants. A moving story is told by informant p3: her aunt, a young lady in her 20s, already dressed and ready to leave, cast a last glance over the belongings and grabbed her dear talisman, a little frog, paperweight that had no value if sold, but was a dear memory of her home. This story is not just a curious account of a tense escape or any sign of lack of rationality in the decisions of the refugees, but rather an indication of their disbelief at what was occurring, of their hope of soon awakening from this “bad dream”, and of a rapid return home.

The Russian émigrés came to Norway in various ways, more or less dramatic, some as refugees, others holding an official permit or even as a citizen of another country. But inasmuch as this study has not been purposed to exhaust all the different ways of exile, the researcher relegates to the detailed account of the Russian escape to Norway given in Morken (1984) and Goldin *et al* (1996). Yet the experience of the children who went through the tragic circumstances of Civil War and traumatic flight is to be described further.

4.3 Russian children under the escape

As stated earlier, the traumatic circumstances of the Civil War deprived the youngest generation of Russians of their childhood. Many lost their parents to disease, some saw their loved ones being killed by the Bolsheviks, and all experienced the disasters of the war, blood, sufferings and distress. Thus the pedagogues in Europe were preoccupied by the necessity to treat the psychological needs of the children who went through terrible circumstances, witnessing starvation, disease and murder. In 1924, a book *Vospominaniia 500 russkikh detei (Reminiscences of 500 Russian children)* was published by the émigré philosopher, historian and pedagogue, professor of the Pedagogical Institute of J. A. Komensky in Prague, Vasilii Zenkovsky. In 1925, a sequel followed, *Deti emigratsii/ The émigré children* (the latter was reprinted in 2001). The books contained fragments of 2,403 compositions written by Russian emigrant children, first on December 12, 1923 by initiative of A. P. Petrov, the principle of the largest secondary émigré school, located in Moravská Třebová (Czechoslovakia), followed by the similar chore taken up by 14 other primary and secondary émigré schools in Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The authors of these recollections were between 8 and 24 years old. They were asked to write a two-hour composition about their memories of 1917 and the time prior to the day they started at their émigré school. 521 of the children wrote in their composition about the loss of one or both of their parents to calamities and executions (Zenkovsky 2001:32), whereas practically every essay contained the tragic details of the war, famine, shootings, diseases, murders, plundering, arrests, chaos and, finally, escape. The calamities these children witnessed had affected them severely, awakening the thirst for revenge and ossifying their souls. Therefore one of the main goals of the pedagogues in Europe during the escape stage and the first years thereafter became “nursing the children’s mutilated souls” (*ibid*: 136). Giving psychological characteristics of the essays Zenkovsky underlined that the painful memories haunted the children, depriving them of normal psychic development, and, even despite

the frequent self-preservative memory gaps, the children ached deep inside. As a 17 year old boy had put it, “in my heart the past left only large voiceless pain” (*ibid*: 139). Further, Zenkovsky pinpointed the major problem the émigré pedagogues faced:

We are talking about healing excruciating wounds inflicted on the soul, about the fatal ballast [of memories] that burden the soul and deprive it of freedom. Our children are psychically poisoned. They have experienced extreme injuries and wrenches, which have paralyzed and silenced some spheres of the soul (...). The history of the child’s soul today is the story of its commotion and deepest fracture, story of the fighting for the possibility of the healthy progress, its self-preservation and healing of its wounds. (*ibid*: 140).

Zenkovsky suggested the warm embracement of the child by the family or a group of friends, kind pedagogues and classmates if the child was an orphan, as one of the main mediums of healing, while the religious upbringing, as the other. “There is a great longing for love, the love that would fill the empty spaces in their souls, (...) they need to be cherished and warmed by the Sun of Eternity, which alone can help the soul to spread and straighten out”, he stated (*ibid*: 160). Russian boarding schools for the orphans and children with financial needs were organized as a specific means of help for the above mentioned problems. These schools were called not only to solve the material problems of the children but also to educate them, give them Russian Orthodox upbringing and occupy their spare time with vocational training and different duties, thus helping the students to “look forward instead of the past” as well as “protecting them from criminal influences” (*ibid*: 7).

Unfortunately there is no trace of such activities in Norway despite the fact that the children who came to this country had experienced many of the same events and had also witnessed some dramatic incidents, as the next subchapter will show. The question of whether the adults followed Zenkovsky’s ideas in private will also be dealt with.

4.4 Russian children on the way to Norway

The researcher has been struck by the silence in the documents about the fate of children. The majority of the written documents in the archives as well as the historical research of Russian Diaspora in Norway up to this point completely lack information about the children’s experience or feelings, concentrating on the adults and their perception of the events. There could be two

explanations for this unfortunate fact. One could suggest that the children's psychological problems were less common in Norway, where most of the children had their parents by their side and could feel more secure than their counterparts in the rest of Europe. The researcher indeed could not detect elsewhere any information on the children who entered the country unaccompanied and thus suggests that there were none or few such refugee children in Norway. At the same time, as stated in chapter 2, most of the Russian émigrés in Oslo had not left any written traces and thus their stories remain untold. Thus the problem of any specific psychological help to orphans or children whose families were left behind as well as to children with memories of hardships during their flight from Russia, was apparently not a common issue in Norway, and there was found no record of such activities in Oslo. Nevertheless their escape from Russia brought a lot of suffering to their souls, and their lives during the first years in Norway were difficult both in the economical and social sense.

Informant 1, scarcely a 2 month old baby at the time of flight, reported that children on board of *Kozma Minin* were unwelcome. An official on the ice-breaker feared the infant's death and thus suggested her parents to leave the baby behind, and her father had to firmly refuse. "Either we go altogether, or none of us go", he is quoted to have said. Thus the informant was taken aboard together with her older siblings.

Varvara Isaksen (Olsen) (Ravna 2000:110) in her emotional narrative tells about the same journey she took as a child, as well as about the years prior to the escape. She describes the suffering and death that she witnessed, where the life in safety and abundance came to an abrupt and brutal close. Despite the fact that her mother did all she could to protect her children from hardship under the revolution, Isaksen remembers both shortage of food and the sensation of dismay and fear in her relatives and their friends. But it is the memories of the February days of 1920 that became "imprinted in the mind of a 7 year old girl" (*ibid*). The Bolsheviks stood right outside Archangelsk and it was vital for the family to escape as it belonged to the wealthy upper class and thus was otherwise doomed. Therefore Isaksen's stepfather, a Navy officer, arranged a place for the family on the ice-breaker *Kozma Minin*. As the ice-breaker stood behind another ship, one had to ascend it by poising over two planks that bridged the boats. "There was a woman with a baby, - remembers Isaksen. - She lost her balance and let the baby go. A sailor jumped down in order to try and save

the child, but ice masses crushed them both” (*ibid*). To be a witness to such a tragedy alone can be devastating for a young soul, but that was only the beginning of the tragic escape.

The ship was certified for 125 persons but had around 1000 people on board, 300 of these were women and children, and over 40 men were wounded, as stated in the newspaper *Nordlys* (1924). The sight of the wounded and dying people laying tight on the deck and in the corridors, Bolsheviks shooting at the ship while it was at range, the coldness, the fear are among the memories still vivid for Isaksen. She admits: “The journey has haunted me as a nightmare all my life. I don’t know how many nights I have recreated it in my dreams” (Ravna 2000:110). An article in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagsposten* (1930) animatedly describes the escape, with the terrible sounds of fire, screams of children and with a sudden realization that the third ship, *Canada*, which was supposed to evacuate many refugees, was taken over by the Red and “the refugees there could await only a sure and painful death”. All these facts together with the psychological stress Isaksen describes were apparently a common trait for the children who came to Norway through the grid of revolution and civil war. Unfortunately, there is no record of any official assistance which the Russian children might have received in order to help them cope with the past, or any educational enterprises set up for them, but this is not surprising. The time was very traumatic for adults as well as for the children, and the mere survival was the main goal, supported by an assurance that the families would soon be returning home.

Nevertheless, as a Navy-Officer states in his diary (private archive C), the parents, no matter how unbearable the circumstances were, tried to continue their lives as close to “normality” as possible. Their baby girl was baptized by a Russian Orthodox archpriest Nikolai I. Podosenov just a few weeks after the ship had come ashore, in the interment camp in Værnes where the refugees were held at that point, and joy of doing the only right and important thing is seen in the lines:

Yesterday we baptized Nusia. (...) There were of course no utensils for the baptism. A basin that we usually use for washing of laundry replaced the baptismal font; instead of the holy oil, father Nikolai anointed Nusia with godmother’s fragrant oil. But I am delighted that I finally could organize the baptism. (Diary, entry of April 2nd 1920).

Another religious event, the first Easter Mass, was performed in Værnes camp by the archpriest Podosenov, and a vivid description of the Easter celebration is given in the newspaper *Stjørdalens Blad* (1920). Neither the tragic circumstances of the recent flight nor lack of equipment could stop

the Russian refugees from observance of the most important holy day in the Russian Orthodox tradition. “It was touching to see the joy of the participants”, the journalist states and gives a detailed account of the “fully-packed” mass, where in spite of the hardships, the Russian refugees tried to “celebrate the Easter the best possible way here in the foreign”. As the Russian Orthodox tradition demands, the children were also present and even the smallest ones participated in communion as a part of the service.

This devotion to tradition can be well attributed to the desire of the Russian refugees to hold on to something that was familiar, dear and reminded them of the better times. As Williams (1972: 5) underlines, the emigrants from the very beginning were going through “a tragic and involuntary state of isolation produced by moving from an old and familiar homeland to a new and not always receptive place of exile”, and thus every reminiscence of the past was important and brought both joy and hope. This tragic state that the parents went through had certainly a big impact on the children, despite of the fact that the adults were doing their best to live their lives as close to normality as possible and build some kind of a protective barrier between themselves and the surrounding tragedy. Thus it becomes clear that some parents were striving to accomplish exactly what Vasili Zerkovsky stated as the best medicine for the children’s aching soul. They tried to keep close together as a family as well as to expose their children to the Russian Orthodox Church as a safety harbor. Some parents baptized their children Orthodox, making them a part of the traditional Russian Orthodox Church; while all tried to protect them from the tragedy around them.

Nevertheless this artificial safety oasis could not last forever. The escape, in spite of being a dramatic experience, was nonetheless successful and the émigrés reached their expectedly temporary destination. But the political situation in Russia was not changing and the emigrants faced the question of what to do next. Some left Norway in a continuous search for a better place. Some stayed. Informant p1 explains the decision her father made: “Father said that we stayed in Norway because it would be easier here, because this is a small country and there are not that many refugees here (...) He thought it would be easier to find a job”. In other words, a new stage was faced by the refugees: the emigration. The next chapter deals with the first years of émigré life, the emerging of Diaspora, the first pedagogical issues Russians in Oslo faced, as well as the hopes and aspirations of émigrés are discussed.

Chapter 5: First years upon arrival

During the turbulent years prior to and after the October Revolution in Russia both people who directly feared for their lives, as well as the ones who did not share the Bolsheviks' values and politics, had been leaving the country in a steady flow. The very first months, even years, after the flight the émigrés were literally “sitting on their trunks” (Raëff 1990:4). “At first the exiles organized their lives to be ready to return and to reintegrate into the political, social and cultural activities of their homeland the moment Russia would be freed from the tyrannical Bolshevik regime.” (*ibid*). This chapter is devoted to those years.

5.1 *Expected swift return*

As stated in Chapter 4, the main pedagogical concern Russian émigrés had during the very first months upon arrival was the restoration of the children's psychological health and healing of their wounds after the traumatic experience of the Revolution, Civil war, escape, often loss of relatives and witnessing of the tragedy around. In addition there were some educational institutions that functioned without ceasing after evacuation. These will be mentioned also in subchapter 6.2. The main goal of these institutions was to preserve continuity in education for the evacuated children in such a way that would make it easier for them to return to the normal schooling in their homeland as soon as the situation would permit.

The economical circumstances for many were however quite hard, and some parents were mostly concerned about the financial needs of the families thus letting their children develop their relationships with the host country reality on their own, having in mind the shortness of the expected stay in the country. This lack of concern for the Russian language maintenance among some families received criticism from the émigré pedagogues already in 1925:

Many Russians are under a threat of loosing the living feeling of Motherland. Especially it is already redounded upon a significant part of our youth who is not embraced by the Russian school and those who left Russia in their early childhood. Their intimate memories about Russia tarnish or even disappear. Many lose their mother tongue (...). How then can these people fulfill the dream of the majority of Russians abroad: to return to Russia and to work on its reconstruction? That is why this lack of national upbringing in the Russian

environment abroad is flagitious. (*Appeal to the Russian people abroad* by Pedagogic Bureau, Prague, 1925, Ms. Fol. 4199:29)

The first years of the exile are characterized by the fact that some of the émigrés could not apprehend the length of their forced stay in the foreign land and thus the pedagogical needs of the children were not largely organized or systematized. The educational efforts of émigrés were “spread to all Europe, scattered to its outlandish corners, the schools did not communicate with each other and lacked the unity that lightens any task and gives it the leading ideas” (A note of the Zemgor committee of help to the Russian citizens in Finland on the plan of development of Russian school Abroad, September 6th 1923, GA RF F. 5785, Op. 2, D. 48, Ll. 144-150). At the same time, some families took care of the educational needs of their children, especially in countries where the number of Russian émigrés was modest and where the ambition of starting a Russian school was unachievable due to the lack of both the financial capacity of the parents and of the qualified full-time teachers for such a school to fulfill the educative requirements in the host-country. Norway was a country which also could fit this description.

In addition to the described common traits, the situation in Norway was slightly different because the majority of the exiles came as late as in 1920, and thus their hopes of return were still fresh when, for instance, in Paris and Prague the émigrés had started already to see the inevitability of a prolonged stay. Many émigrés continued to communicate with their homeland. Carrick in his archives describes the aid the Russian émigrés together with some Norwegians sent to Moscow and Petrograd, where even the bare necessities were deficient and many starved²⁰. This campaign had in mind the impermanence of such condition and the possibility to help the recipients survive this “brief adversity”.

Another of Carrick’s project intended to expedite the homecoming, was connected to preparation of the Anti-Bolshevik uprising in Russia. In the petition to the Russian émigrés in Norway Carrick wrote:

²⁰ In 1921-1923 Carrick started “Help to friends”, where the financial aid would be provided to the Russian scientists and intelligentsia, as well as the parcels with food and necessities were sent to Russia. One can find many letters addressed to Carrick with both thankful notes and cries for help (Ms. Fol. 4199). Unfortunately, this campaign was not met positively by the Soviet Government. The high taxes on parcels as well as the fact that the addresses became endangered and repressed for having connections to West had put a stop to this project.

In Russia, the forces ready to overthrow the communist party regime are being matured. Among the workers, soldiers, students, not even mentioning peasants, every attempt to replace the party power with governmental power will be met with joy. We do not and can not know this preparative work that is being done in Russia for advancement of the new power; but we believe that this work is being done, and I don't have a doubt that there are people who are able to take the task of leading the country immediately after overthrow. (...) The uprising should happen in Moscow, and (...) in order to prepare the Moscow population to support the uprising against communists, which can burst out at any moment and be triggered by a slightest occasion, the Muscovites should receive different and truthful word against communists. Such a word can and should be directed to them from the free Russian people abroad. (Ms. Fol. 4199:15).

This somewhat naïve campaign included sending the anti-communist literature to Moscow as well as leaflets addressed to the “known streets but random house numbers and fictitious addressee names” (*ibid*) or to schools, universities, dormitories, factories and plants. Carrick's diaries confirm that he was aware of the possible failure of the project as well as of endangering the addressees, but he stated that “the overthrow in Russia is absolutely necessary and inevitable, and it will anyway put many into hardships” (Diary, entry of July 19th 1923, Ms. Fol. 4199). Little did Carrick and “the three men involved here in Norway” (*ibid*) know that these “hardships” would almost certainly include execution. In the early 1920s the CheKa (Bolshevik Secret police) postal surveillance system was launched as a part of the *Red Terror* as the campaign of mass arrests and executions conducted by the Bolshevik government. Started and officially announced by the Bolshevik party leader Yakov Sverdlov on September 2nd, 1918, the mass repressions continued until the end of the Civil War in 1922, only to start again after the fall of New Economic Politics in 1924 (Melgunov 2008 [1924]). Thus the mere coincidental correspondence of the fictitious name on the letter and the real addressee's name and even the wrong name but real address endangered the receiver of such counter-revolutionary mail. Nevertheless, despite the damage it might inflict and the obvious lack of intended results, this project buoyed up the optimistic aspiration of émigrés' expeditious return.

Another demonstration of this hope, found in the diaries of Carrick, was his recurrent expectation that each year had to be his last one in Norway, and the subsequent year his plans were “to move to Finland in order to organize the retreat camps for the Russians who were exhausted by the Bolsheviks. And then the plan is to return to Petrograd to a normal life”. (Ms. Fol. 4199:29).

The described facts support the suggestion that, during the first years of exile, the émigrés in Norway were expecting the possibility of the Russian government overthrow to emerge at any

moment and thus their attitudes to the life around them as well as the activities directed to children were characterized by a feeling of temporariness of their residence in the host-country. Therefore the above mentioned warning of the Pedagogic Bureau seemed too strong to some. Carrick was convinced that “the object of such work [the maintenance of Russian cultural traditions] should not be just a child”; if one started with some cultural activities for adults, the children would just follow along and “the care for children would become subsidiary and easily fulfilled task” (Carrick’s letter to Duke Dolgorukov, Ms.Fol.4199:29).

Nevertheless, despite of Carrick’s thoughts, some family-bound and Diasporic activities became common at this time period in Norway, as a natural part of the expected stay, no matter how short. But before one can concentrate on the particular activities it is important to consider the factors that play a role in language and culture maintenance and are relevant to this study.

5.2 Factors of language and culture maintenance

The modern scholars have colligated the question of language and culture maintenance in the immigrant communities and suggested that different factors should be counted as encouraging or discouraging this process. Baker (2006:76-77) divides the factors encouraging language maintenance into three groups:

- **Political, social and demographic factors** (large number of speakers living closely together; recent and/ or continuing in-migration; close proximity to the homeland and ease of travel there, preference to return to homeland; homeland language community intact; employment available where home language is spoken daily; etc.)
- **Cultural factors** (mother-tongue instruction in schools, community organizations, mass media, leisure activities; cultural and religious ceremonies in the home language; ethnic identity strongly tied to home language; nationalistic aspirations as a language group; mother tongue as the homeland’s national language; emotional attachment to mother tongue giving self-identity and ethnicity; emphasis on education in mother tongue schools to enhance ethnic awareness; emphasis on family ties and community cohesion; etc.)
- **Linguistic factors** (mother tongue is standardized and exists in a written form; use of an alphabet which makes printing and literacy relatively easy; home language has international

status; home language literacy used in community and with homeland; flexibility in the development of the home language; etc.)

Some of these factors had played a significant role in the language and culture maintenance in the Russian émigré families in Norway, while others were not relevant. Only a few of the **political, social and demographic factors** were applicable to the Russian Diaspora. The Diaspora was not large in number and was quite dispersed; travel to the homeland was impossible and employment which involved Russian language was rare. The factor of recent in-migration is limited by the time frame and could be relevant as long as one can count several decades as *recent*. The main socio-political factor therefore remains the preference to return to homeland. This factor is described profoundly in 5.1 and in chapter 6. Some **linguistic factors** were important for the Russian language acquisition: literature and periodicals were available in a standardized written Russian language; through writing of letters to family members across the world, children could exercise their literacy (see 5.3.2). Among **cultural factors** relevant to the Russian Diaspora in Oslo, on the contrary, one can mention quite a few elements, and these are to be counted as the most crucial for the émigré community in Norway. Lack of mother-tongue instruction at schools was largely outweighed by the rest of the cultural factors, the ethnic identity strongly tied to home language as the most important one. Carrick stresses the connection between the Russian language and culture: “Russian language is beautiful. It is extremely rich in words, which contain one’s soul; which through communicating of thoughts and feelings (...) brings up incomparable idealism, incomparable Christian height of Russian spiritual culture in people” (Diary Ms. Fol. 4199:18:117). Such romanticizing of the mother tongue is one of the explanations why losing of Russian language skills was perceived of as tragic by many émigrés. Nationalistic aspirations and ethnic awareness was another essential element in the “battle against denationalization”. Zenkovsky (2003:380 [1929]) stresses national education as a means of bringing up a “Russian child” where the former should “awaken national Eros” and lead to a strong desire of serving the Motherland:

The highest point of the national Eros (...) is the feeling that the homeland is the Mother, and we are her children, her creation (...). My Motherland is both incomparable and irreplaceable, so that my soul devotes to it its purest fire, its best and most tender movements. And when the soul becomes aware of this feeling, it will never forsake its Motherland, for it will realize that apart from the Motherland its whole life becomes void and worthless. (*ibid*).

Certainly, not every family was fully aware of such goals, nevertheless, the very nature of their forced emigration as well as the strong desire to return to Russia as swiftly as possible served as factors in their educational efforts (which are dealt with in the following subchapters). These enterprises were either the **indirect** educative activities, including family time-spending, customary in Russian families, or the **direct** educative efforts, where a school-like situation was created and teachers engaged. The next two subchapters deal with these efforts.

5.3 Indirect educative activities

Russian émigrés in Norway did not organize themselves as swiftly as they did in bigger communities such as Czechoslovakia, France or Germany. The first reference to a Russian organization in Christiania²¹ can be found in the newspaper *Tidens Tegn* on August 9th, 1919, where an article was written by “count Perovsky-Petrovo-Solovovo, a president of the Russian Association”. The Russian Association (*Russkoe sodruzhestvo*) functioned until the 1930s and was a politically conservative and socially very exclusive organization started by the representatives of the tsarist diplomacy in Christiania who did not return to Russia after the revolution. The members of this organization, from late 1919 led by Consul Christofor Kristy, were of the high social class and the émigrés of a lower social status were not welcome there (Morken 1984: 216). Thus the majority of Russians in Christiania were not organized in the years described in this chapter. Besides, there is no mention of the Russian Association’s activities related to children in the sources available to the researcher. Thus it is fair to suggest that the only activities available for the children at this point were the family organized ones. Next subchapter concentrates on the informal activities mentioned by the informants²².

5.3.1 Family structure and strategy as the educative approach

Mackey (2000:38) suggests that the “attitude of a bilingual towards his languages and towards the people who speak them” is an important factor in the language acquisition, where some bilinguals can develop disrespect or admiration to one or another language they speak. In case of the Russian

²¹ Oslo, the capital of Norway, founded around 1048 by King Harald III of Norway, was destroyed by a fire in 1624. The Danish–Norwegian king Christian IV rebuilt the city as Christiania (later spelled Kristiania). Oslo, then an alternative name, became official again in 1925.

²² One has to stress that these activities continued through all the years of emigration and can be applied to all the periods of Russian Diaspora in Oslo.

Diaspora, the close family ties and family structure seem to have influenced the children's desire to speak their mother-tongue. Family structure where both parents were Russian (as in most of the cases) or when one parent was Norwegian, but a Russian grandmother or an aunt were actively involved in the upbringing process, set the tone for a successful learning environment, where children naturally acquired the Russian language and culture (more on what is Russian culture in émigré understanding see in chapter 6). In addition, several families had a Russian Nanny living with them²³. This family structure can be one of the reasons why, despite of the fact that informant p1 was only two months old when she came to Norway, and all three other primary informants were born in the West, all four referred to themselves as Russian and insisted on using Russian language during the interviews (even though informants p1 and p4 had sometimes a need to turn to the Norwegian language for support).

A few children not only maintained the language skills, but also received a romantic attitude towards the Russian language of their parents. One example worth mentioning can be found in the p1 informant's statement that she had inherited after her parents a somewhat "better Russian language" than the one spoken in Russia today. "Russian language is beautiful, it flows like Volga, this full of water wide beauty of a river..." , - said this lady, who had actually never seen the quiet and wide Volga, even though she visited the Soviet Union as an adult when the regime appeared to be not as threatening anymore. "Oh, Volga, my cradle, is there anyone who loved you as I do", - she quoted the Russian poet Nekrasov and continued: "Papa spoke beautiful Russian! His Russian language was like Volga, it was slow, full of comparisons and beautiful expressions... But today they speak like a machine-gun – tra-ta-ta... It's hard to follow and it's ugly!" This illustrates well the Mackey's (2000:38) suggestion that a positive attitude to one's parents can create an admiration and a romantic feeling for the language they speak.

Another important factor in language acquisition is parents' language choices as a learning strategy. Baker (2006:101) states that parents make language educational choices "in terms of conscious, subconscious and spontaneous decisions", and the level of their majority language proficiency plays an important role. Three primary and two secondary informants stated that their families developed a conscious strategy of using only Russian at home. "Our father was very strict," – states informant

²³ In his letter to Carrick, Roubetz pinpoints the positive effect Russian speaking Nannies might have on the cultural upbringing of the émigré children, where these were called "not only to care for children, but rather to teach them Russian language" (Ms.Fol.4199:18:1).

p1. “He insisted that we all spoke Russian when no Norwegians were around”. Some of the parents never learned Norwegian well; and this also became a motivation behind the necessity of learning to speak Russian: “Mama spoke Norwegian very poorly, and we always talked Russian when she was around. And Nanny did not learn Norwegian at all”, - pinpoints informant p1. “We spoke only Russian at home, - adds informant p2. – My parents spoke Norwegian quite poorly and I used to tease my Father. He felt aggravated”. Three informants stayed at home with their respective mothers in early childhood, up until they were to start at school. One primary informant had often visited her relatives who lived not far from the family and at first they spoke Norwegian to her, thinking that the child did not comprehend Russian. “But one evening my grandmother said in Russian: It is time to put *N* to bed. And I looked at her and said “*net*”.²⁴ (...) From this time on they spoke only Russian to me” (informant p3).

This family strategy of speaking only Russian at home as an overall principal was common to many families. In addition, the families of the informants had often followed the tradition of family activities customary to the Russian intelligentsia families as described both in the émigré sources (e.g. articles in *Za morem sinichka*) and in the post-Soviet historiography (e.g. Dembo 1998). These activities are dealt with in the next subchapter.

5.3.2 Family activities

It is often stated that the best way to a successful maintenance of language is creating a significant language environment around the subject as well as an opportunity to both use the language orally in a peer group and to be literate in it, which is easiest to reach through a “heritage school” (e.g. Hasegawa 2009). As stated, during the first decade of emigration, Russian Diaspora in Oslo did not have such formal heritage schools or courses, and Russian families used their creativity in order to help their children feel Russian and speak the language, functioning often as the most important or even the only linguistic environment for their children. Informant p2 tells that during his early childhood he was taken by his parents, who were professional performers, on tours around Europe. The informant had not met any Russian children to befriend until the age of 6, when the family finally settled in Oslo²⁵. Up to that point, the language environment the informant was exposed to consisted only of the Russian speaking adults who taught him reading and writing in Russian at the

²⁴ “net” – “no” in Russian.

²⁵ The informant stresses that even in Oslo his communication with peers was rather rare.

age of three, and considered him as a part of the group, not as a little child. The informant's emotional attachment to his surrounding, and to the mother tongue through it, became very strong; and reinforced by the early literacy and grown-up vocabulary, the Russian language maintenance became a natural part of the informant's life. This example supports Mackey's suggestion that even in a less fortunate environment, where neither a heritage school nor a peer group is available, the factor of emotional attachment to the people around the subject can be a strong enough factor in language maintenance (Mackey 2000:38).

The cultural factor of emotional attachment to the mother tongue and its speakers was also fulfilled in the family life of the other informants, where family traditions helped to develop strong ties between family members and helped children to feel a part of a bigger environment. Dembo (1998) describes different types of family traditions customary to intelligentsia families in Russia in the end of XIX – beginning of XX centuries. These traditions can be divided into several groups: “educational, religious, family-bound, esthetical and others” (Dembo 1998:12). Among the educational traditions one can mention oral communication and reading aloud as the first means of language acquisition and development. “We read aloud, sang songs and romances, memorized poems and performed them for everyone, played games as a family. (...) We did it in such a way, that Dad would say: this week you read, another week another child... We would read a book that interested us and would have to kindle the others' interest in it.” (Informant p1). “In our free time, and that was seldom, Father told us of Russian history, literature, about his life as a child on the bank of the Moscow river, in the Silver Bor” (informant p4). “We went for a lot of walks, and we talked... She [informant's aunt] told me a lot about her childhood, told me stories, and we had invented a woman who was a robber, her name was Meschini... And we had dolls, we endlessly played with these dolls and made up stories about them” (informant p3). In all these examples the mother tongue became a natural communicative tool through exercising of the educative family traditions. At the same time the creative usage of games as well as reading and other activities played a significant role as a linguistic factor in the process of language acquisition.

The cultural factor of ethnic identity strongly tied to the language was manifested in the Russian folk tales which were very popular as another educative means of Russian upbringing: “The Nanny used to tell us Russian tales, sometimes so scary that we would lie in the darkness and stay afraid, and we talked to each other until we fell asleep” (informant p1). “Baba [grandmother] took the

Russian folk tales book with her. She was not allowed to take much with her when she left Russia, but she took the book!" (informant s1). Other children's books in Russian language were also read aloud, most of these were published in *Russia Abroad*²⁶. Singing Russian folk songs and romances was also a common tradition. Informant s1 tells about the Russian celebrations: "a lot of food, Russian food, songs and music, piano, they played Russian romances and sang in Russian... All the family was present; they enjoyed themselves very much and did this as often as they could. The whole atmosphere was Russian, even though Norwegians were also present". Children who grew up in this atmosphere of mutual enjoyment in their mother tongue had developed a strong mental and emotional connection between their cultural identity and Russian language.

Acting out drama pieces or playing with puppets as well as writing journals and "books" as an educative family activity were very common traditions in families in the pre-revolutionary Russia, as described in numerous articles in the hand-written magazine *Za morem sinichka* (more on this magazine in chapter 6.7), and these activities were also important factors in simulating the Russian environment. Informant p3 describes the children's theater that her Father and his cousin had made. They drew and cut out wooden puppets that could be used in acting out fairy tales, as *Little Red Riding Hood, Cinderella*. "They played these international fairy tales, not any typical Russian tales", - pinpoints the informant. Another activity her aunt had done together with the informant was making fairy-tale books, where the tale was written and illustrated by the child. Such activities both increased the child's creativity and taught her to use resourceful language at proper times.

Some parents had other creative ideas on how to interest their children in Russian language, subconsciously nurturing the linguistic factor of usage of home language literacy in communication:

Father had an idea: he wanted to start correspondence between me and a girl in another country. Writing Russian that is. Well, it never worked. No, we even found a girl in Switzerland, my third cousin, she was a couple years older than me, and this made a big difference. She (...) wrote two or three letters to me, all of them about boys (...) I think she just used me as a sort of a Diary... And my answers were simple, just a couple of lines: "I am well, don't know what else to write, bye". And she stopped writing. Not that I was sorry about it at the time. I was not. Later I was. Mostly because of the boys, he-he... Wanted to get advice, you know... My mother was strict and Father I could not even dream of asking such things... But we never picked up writing to each other. (Informant p4).

²⁶ It is interesting to note that these books were published in the pre-revolutionary orthography. See an example of such a book in the Appendix.

In spite of the fact that this activity did not seem to work, it is still a treasured memory, something that created a positive attitude to the native tongue and thus became also the cultural factor of emotional attachment to the mother tongue.

Most of the informants agree that friends and families gathered together on a regular basis, something that also helped creating the language environment, which in turn made it easier for children to acquire and develop Russian identity and language. The relatives visited each other; children were allowed to spend several days at the relatives' and friends' houses. Sometimes it led to curiosities. Informant p2 tells: "My parents were to take a performing tour to Bergen and I was placed into the (NN) family. And there I adopted Archangelsk dialect, and my Mother was horror-stricken when she picked me up. She did not like it at all!" This anecdote suggests the sentimental and idealistic attitude the parents of the informant had to their language as to something static and frame-bound. At the same time, this opportunity of hearing other variations of Russian language helped the informant to add to his mother-tongue capital, developing the language understanding and vocabulary in an alternative way.

The moments spent together as a family celebrating something or just enjoying each other's presence can be best summarized by the words of informant p1 who says in Norwegian:

When one looks back, one thinks about the most important things, as when we all were gathered as a family, when father was at home, and mother too, and when we could have some fun together, even if it was just walking in the woods, or sharing the thoughts and ideas and trying to understand why the things are the way they are.

Such memories show very strong family ties which were essential for the children to develop the attachment to the cultural identity of their parents. These examples of the family activities and traditions reveal the warmth and closeness in the families which created strong emotional connections manifested in a wide range of emotions, such as fear (of scary folk tales), sadness (listening to the sentimental Russian romances) and joy (spending time with the members of the family and creating something together). Thus these family traditions and activities cannot be described as simply educative but also family-bound, as they indeed created a natural language and cultural environment for the growing up generation. Furthermore, they gave the children a feeling of belonging, if not to the faraway Motherland, then to the nation of their parents.

The religious family traditions were taken care of by some of the families through celebration of the religious holidays as Easter and Christmas, where the children acted out the Biblical stories, recited poems and sang festive hymns. “Our Dad was very engaged in celebrations of Christmas and Easter. He wanted us to carry on family traditions. (...) These celebrations were very ceremonial; we were supposed to do things a special way every year, the food was to be like this, the songs like that...” – tells informant p1.

At the same time some non-verbal esthetical traditions and activities also became a part of the Russian upbringing. National costumes made by parents or parents’ friends became a matter of national pride for some. Several informants have pictures on the wall portraying them and their siblings in Russian national costumes. Informant p2 narrates: “I was proud that I was Russian and I always wore the Russian shirt to the parades.”

Another non-verbal traditional culture communicator was food. Two of the informants showed proudly the classical culinary book by Elena Molokhovets “The gift to the young housewives or means for diminishing of household’s expenses”²⁷ and stated that their relatives used this book a lot. Informant p3 had also demonstrated a hand-written cook-book that contained the traditional Russian, as well as a few Norwegian, recipes. Cooking and consuming traditional food seemed to be a big part of the Russian émigré life. Informant p2 smiles: “Mother of NN had baked different delicious *kozuli* [traditional spice-cookies in different forms]; their Russian culture was more gastronomical”. All the female informants continue to cook Russian food and plan on carrying the tradition on to their children and grandchildren. Informants s1 and s2, Norwegian of origin, take joy in making the traditional Easter cakes and *Paskha*, the Easter cottage cheese dessert. These non-verbal means of cultural communication seem to survive even when the language had been forgotten and the assimilation process in the second and third generation Russian émigrés had won the battle.

Thus these family traditions played an important role in creating a somewhat artificial language and culture environment which, nevertheless, became the decisive factor in the mother tongue

²⁷ The original title of the book is: “Podarok molodym khoziaikam ili sredstvo k umen’sheniiu raskhodov v domashnem khoziaistve”. The book was published 29 times in pre-revolutionary Russia and is an extremely interesting study object because in addition to the recipes it consists of information on prices and types of food found in Russia in the end of XIX century as well as advice to the housewives on any problems they could have stumbled upon during their married lives in St. Petersburg or Moscow at the turn of the century.

acquisition and maintenance for the children of the Russian émigrés in the years in question. At the same time, during this stage of the emigration, where the return home still seemed to be near, the direct education of youth became an issue. As stated earlier, the necessity of educating children in such a way that they could easily glide into the school system in Russia immediately upon return was addressed by home-schooling activities. These will be described in the next subchapter.

5.4 Direct educative activities

As stated earlier, the activities described in 5.3 had started as individual initiatives during the first years of emigration and were meant as a temporary replacement of the language and culture environment left in the Motherland, called to be preparatory to the swift return. However, during the next stage, when it became clear that the exile is to be prolonged, these activities were continued and even became more widespread. But in order to systematize the material, these pedagogical efforts are described in this chapter, keeping in mind that they were applicable also in the next time period. At the same time, the first *direct* educative activities were started in Russian Diaspora in Oslo. These are described in this subchapter.

Baker (2006:77) describes literacy as one of the major factors that encourage language maintenance. Russian émigré families the researcher had been in contact with also valued literacy as one of the important factors of their children's language acquisition. At the same time, the variety in means of education is very vivid. Husband of informant s1 had learned how to read from his grandmother: "he could read, but had some problems reading handwriting. He could also write, but did not do it often. His older sister had Baba for a longer period of time; she learned how to write very nicely". Informant p1 and her siblings were taught Russian by their Mother. They could read books, wrote letters to each other and to the parents in Russian and even at a point wrote a Diary, as "no-one could read Russian and all the secrets would be safe in it", - stated the informant.²⁸ Informant p3 was taught to read by her grandmother, but the Norwegian school reacted negatively to this idea: "I had dyslexia and was suffering in school because of that. I told them that my grandmother taught me to read in Russian. And my parents received a letter that it would be unwise if I continued to learn to read both in Norwegian and Russian." This negative attitude from the Norwegian school

²⁸ Unfortunately after the parents' death the maintenance of literacy skills was apparently discontinued in the family, and the informant lamented that she had not been able to read "a decent Russian book in years".

side fortunately did not de-motivate the informant, apparently due to the fact that her attachment to the Russian culture bearers was so strong. Thus she continues: “I learned later how to write in Russian, but I write poorly, because I have not mastered grammar. But I can read, even hand-writing.” The informant had also used her writing skills in creating fairy-tale books together with her Aunt, as described in 5.3.2. Later she has also written letters to her Aunt and the latter “had corrected the writing, but not systematically enough”.

At the same time, there were families that were convinced that their children needed a wider education and thus had started a broad educative program. Informant p3 tells about a big family, who came to Norway from Archangelsk. The parents were interested in educating their children and had hired the informant’s relatives for this purpose:

They had six or eight children, of different ages, and my Dad had taught them Natural Science, Mathematics, Physics; my grandmother instructed them in Russian language, Grammar, German... She had a working knowledge of English, but whether she taught it, I don’t know. And NN [informant’s Aunt] educated them in History of Russian Literature and Russian Art. Grandmother also taught History. They had been employed there over several years; they came to their house three-four times a week, up until this family left for Belgium several years later. (...) There were other families whose children were educated by my relatives, but not as long and systematically, and my Dad had no time for that any longer. (Informant p3).

All the instruction was done in Russian.²⁹ The wide range and duration of the education indicate that the parents were preoccupied with the Russian education of their children and had an important purpose in mind. One can suggest that the described earlier longing for swift return and letting the children join the regular Russian school without problems.

Informant p2 had also been educated by both his parents and the qualified teachers living in the area:

The most important things I have received were given to me by my mother. She taught me through Gogol,³⁰ because she loved Gogol very much. (...) My mother decided that I began to speak Russian poorly and she sent me for private lessons to Alexandra Nikanorovna

²⁹ It is unfortunately not known to the researcher whether the children of this family had attended the Norwegian school in addition to the Russian home education.

³⁰ Nikolai Gogol (1809–1852) was a Ukrainian-born Russian novelist, humorist, and dramatist, considered to be the father of modern Russian realism

Beikhman who taught me twice a week both French and Russian Grammar. I have learned all my Russian Grammar from her. She ordered me to write the grammar rules down, to write compositions about history: about Peter the Great... I read also Platonov's³¹ history, I had it at home... She would give me something to read, for example, about Glinka³², Tolstoy, and then I had to write a composition about this person. (...) She had a lot of Russian literature for children and I have read all of it. French I also learned well from her.

In addition, the informant was educated in music and learned at early age to play piano as well as balalaika, the Russian folk instrument.

The clear distinction between the two educative approaches can be seen. In the first family the education had stressed Natural Science and Mathematics, though the humanities were also taught (Language and History). Informant p3 conversely had received a classical education, including Literature, Languages and Music. One can speculate that this differentiation is a reflection of the educative tradition in the pre-revolutionary Russia, where two different types of educative institutions were common: the *gymnasium* with its emphasis on humanities (classical languages and Russian literature and history) and the “*real school*” patterned after the German *Realschule* that gave priority to the sciences (Raeff 1990: 49). Simultaneously this distinction could be also coursed by the fact that the latter informant received formal Norwegian education, while the extent of the material covered by the first family suggests that the children might not have attended the formal Norwegian school and thus needed to be instructed in all the subjects.

After analyzing the educational activities conducted on a private basis during the first years of emigration (and continued further) we will turn to the next historic stage of the Russian emigration in Oslo, the semi-settled period, when the émigrés were finally aware of the fact that their return was not a matter of days and even months. However, the aspirations for the return in a generation's time were yet common. This stage will be described in the next chapter.

³¹ Sergey Platonov (1860-1933) was a Russian historian who led the official St. Petersburg school of imperial historiography before and after the Russian Revolution.

³² Mikhail Glinka (1804 –1857) was a Russian composer.

Chapter 6: Finally semi-settled.

As stated in chapter 5, for several years after the escape the exiles lived in a constant expectation of return at any moment. But the socio-political situation in Russia had not changed and thus this hope faded. The next subchapter draws the political frame around the émigrés' "re-evaluation of their position in relation not simply to Russia but also to the societies and countries in which they found themselves" (Andreyev & Savický 2004: 190); which in turn determined their educational efforts.

6.1 The return is postponed to an indefinite term

The New Economical Policy in Russia³³ (NEP) had been perceived as a sign of an indulgence of the sanguinary Bolshevik regime (Andreyev & Savický 2004: xiv). During the NEP period the borders between Russia and *limitrophes* were still transparent, something that helped many an individual to escape persecution and hardships by fleeing from Russia. At the same time, in spite of the devastating results of the Civil war, the New Economical Policy had open doors to free trade and it seemed from outside as if Russia was finally coming back to normal. But after the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924, NEP started to decline and was completely abandoned by 1928. The collectivization of the masses began. This included the forced delivery of all the crops to the state without consideration to the peasants' families, forced organizing of kolkhozes and armed suppression of peasants' revolts all around the country (in Central Asia and Volga regions alone, between 1929 and 1931, there arose "over 300 armed revolt attempts" which involved "around 80,000 people"; "by the decision of Troika OGPU³⁴ 5551 people were convicted and 883 executed" (Kozybaev *et al* 1992: 21, 26)). At the same time the fight against the "enemies of the people" with "open" processes started, where individuals as well as groups were accused of betrayal, espionage or asserted assassination attempts on the leaders of the country. The trials resembled theatrical

³³ The New Economic Policy (NEP) was an economic policy proposed by Vladimir Lenin and promulgated by decree on March 21, 1921; it replaced the policies of War Communism which attempted to obliterate any signs of the market economy in the Soviet Union. NEP allowed some private ventures and small businesses to reopen for private profit while the state continued to control banks, foreign trade, and large industries.

³⁴ OGPU (Joint State Political Directorate) (1923-1934) was the Soviet secret police organization which descended from the Bolshevik Cheka (1917-1922) and later reorganized to NKVD (1934-1946), MGB (1946-1954) and finally KGB (1954-1991).

productions, quite obviously directed by someone and acted out by all the participants. The executions were nevertheless real.

No matter how well the Soviet government tried to explain away these trials by the alleged crimes of the accused, to many Russians abroad these actions were clearly a sign of hardening of the regime. At the same time, it was believed that this tightening would create huge revolts. Little did the refugees know about the reality in Russia where, alongside with the big “trials”, ordinary people were taken away by night, judged by a group of just three OGPU members (so-called Troikas) and sentenced to execution or 10-15 years of hard work in a work-camp in Siberia for just a silly political joke told privately or for an insignificant disagreement with a Party member. Revolt attempts were without exception dealt with in the most cruel and gruesome way. The rare escapee who managed to flee from the Soviet Union at that point was often extremely scared, and the terrible stories that described the reality in the Soviet Union were looked upon as exaggerations. Carrick in his letter to Alexander de Roubetz described the escape of a Soviet citizen, a telegraph clerk from Feodossia (Crimea), who was sentenced to lumbering in Northern Russia and fled to Norway in 1930 in the lower hold of a trade ship under the timber (Ms. Fol. 4199:18). The émigrés in Norway apparently distrusted him, partly because of his “suspiciously bloody recitals of the Soviet reality” (*ibid*).

At the same time the information leaking from the Soviet Union was not any more optimistic, and thus the majority of the émigrés had, by the end of 1920s, realized that this hardness of the regime meant some prolonging of their stay in the host-countries. As stated in the *Aftenposten* article of June 8th, 1929, “when the Russian bear has gone to sleep on his left side, it will take a long time before it wakes up, say the Russian emigrants, who in majority have given up the thought of seeing their Fatherland again. And they have become Norwegians for life, many of our Russians. With their Norwegian passport in order”. The researcher, though, must underline that the informants would not agree with the idea that the émigrés had given up hope at that point. On the contrary, informant p1, born in 1919 and only two months old when she came to Norway, as an example, said at numerous times that “Father always reassured us: we were to come back to Russia!” Informant p3 states that her grandmother used to say: “When we return back home you will come with us and we

will show you everything, this and that... and we will go to this theater and that museum, and all of it... Actually, only after the last world war did they understand that they would never return”.

Andreyev & Savický (2004:190) suggest that the refugees from Russia had no intention of becoming immigrants; they “saw themselves as similar to the French émigrés after 1789 who had been able to return home within a generation”. Unfortunately, unlike the defeated French revolution, the Soviet one persisted for 70 years, something that the majority of the Russian émigrés did not perceive before the end of the World War II (WWII). They stated at numerous occasions that their mission was to educate the children in such a way that they could remain “Russian”, because they were to return back to their homeland and use their lives, knowledge and experience in order to rebuild the country. They were to become an active part of the Russian cultural and social life, as Raeff (1990: 48) stresses: “The émigrés were determined to preserve the children’s knowledge of traditional Russian culture so that they could acquire skills that would allow them to play a constructive role in future free Russia”. The émigrés considered themselves and their children “the salt of the earth” and “the memory bank” of Russia (Kosorukova 2004:95), the carriers of “real” Russian culture as opposed to the “internationalized” cultural values presented under the Soviet rule. The Soviet citizens were considered as lost to the “pure” Russian culture, with a “circumcised” knowledge of pre-revolutionary Russian literature, poetry, music, artistry. The émigré goal thus was “to maintain the national spiritual values and the traditions of Russian culture” (Goul 2001:27 [1984]), while in the Soviet Union the Russian culture was substituted by the “Soviet” one. The “Soviet culture” was shaped by the totalitarian regime where the animosity to individuality, to religion, to ethnic nationalism was striking. Kondakov (1997:177) insists that “the high ideals of equality and justice (...), when transferred into the sphere of culture, transform into the unification of creativity, neglecting of individuality (...) and degradation of culture”³⁵. B. Sedakov in an article “To the Day of Russian Culture” consolidates: “The famous Bolshevik Larin³⁶

³⁵ One example of this degradation is the fate of Russian peasantry who were often considered to be real carriers of Russian culture (f. ex. Carrick (Ms. Fol. 4199:29:3). Peasants were forced by the new regime to leave their religion and traditions as traits of the cultural development; the ancient Russian customs received forced replacements by the new “Bolshevik” ones; Christmas, Easter, baptism were forbidden and substituted with New Year, 1st of May (“The International Labor Day”) and “devotion of a new citizen”. Another striking example is printing of pre-revolutionary and translated literature in the Soviet Union, where the “politically incorrect” passages were omitted or replaced. The researcher owns two versions of the novel *L’Île mystérieuse* by Jules Verne, one translated into Russian and printed in USSR, another is the pre-revolutionary translation. The difference is striking.

³⁶ Larin Iu. (real name – Michail Zalmanovich Lurie) (1882-1932) – Bolshevik party member and statesman.

answering the reproach that Bolshevism kills education in Russia, answered: we need an organized lowering of culture level in order to bring it down to the masses. This organized lowering of culture (...) led to destruction of a whole class of keepers and transmitters of culture – the old Russian intelligentsia” (no. 6-7 (94-95) 1936 of *Znamia Rossii (Russia’s Banner)*).

Therefore it became essential for the Russian émigrés to devote their educational efforts to the maintenance of what was considered the “real Russian culture”. The next subchapter will deal with this question.

6.2 What is Russian culture in the émigré understanding?

Culture is an ethereal bridge between the land of the memories and
the land of the souls yet unborn.

Maurice Maeterlinck

In order to transmit further knowledge about something one has to define for oneself the frames and contents of the phenomena one wants to teach others. Thus it was important for the Russian émigrés to circumscribe the term Russian culture, or *Russianness*, and its characteristics, delimiting it to a point where it is possible to describe it comprehensively. Raeff (1990: 95) claims that “émigrés themselves never specified a definition of Russian culture”. But this claim, even though made by the most prominent scholar of Russian emigration, nevertheless can be challenged.

In connection with the sixth anniversary of the Day of Russian Culture (DRC) celebrated by Russia Abroad since 1924 (more on DRC see in 6.2.2), Valery Carrick was confronted with a question “What is culture, Russian culture in particular”. In order to answer this question he wrote an article with the same title (Ms. Fol. 4199:29:3). In this article he touches on the essential characteristics of the term culture as he sees them:

Culture generally is everything that a human being from the day of birth perceives and grasps from the outward world, from the surroundings and environment, both animate and inanimate. Culture is a tradition that is adopted by every one of us, the whole tradition, in big and small. How I sit on my chair, how I dress, how I hold my spoon when I eat my soup – all of it is tradition and culture. And how I treat people, relatives, strangers, compatriots,

foreigners; and even my attitude to a cat or a fly that flew in front of my nose – all of this is tradition, all of this is culture. And all that I have learned at school, all that I have read in books, every joyful and sorrowful moment that gave my soul an impression about what had been done earlier – all of this is culture. And the songs that I heard and maybe whistle myself, and the paintings that I look at in the museums, and the house that is in front of me – all of this is culture. Culture is all that unites me with the other people, what connects me to the endless chain of generations that lived before me, with every person of these generations, with everything these people introduced to the life, with what became their contribution to the surrounding environment even after they passed away. All of this is culture. (...) Culture is a form of human existence.

This passage might appear lengthy but it describes well the understanding of the term culture that some of the émigrés had. In their perception, culture was not just being able to speak a language or having some knowledge about the country. Culture was also more than a tradition or a set of customs. Culture was the whole atmosphere of upbringing that starts from the first word a child hears and ends with the last breath a person takes. I. Aikhenvald in his article “Our Russia” goes further stressing that “culture is a connection between the forebears and descendents”; “culture is memory, remembrance of the past (...) where every creative renewal is based upon the constant and indestructible foundation” of the “spiritual past of Russian culture” (*Rul’ (Steering wheel)* No. 1372, 1926). This understanding of culture might be very broad and impossible to grasp, and especially impossible to recreate in the situation of emigration, thus one had to delimit this broadness in order to find what would be essential for understanding a national (in particular Russian) culture.

Therefore Carrick continues:

Russian culture is a form of existence of a person living in Russia, who intermingles with Russian people, reads Russian books, looks at the Russian paintings, listens to Russian music. (...) And his evaluation of good and bad is molded under the influence of the attitude to the good and the bad of surrounding people. (...) And the more complicated life is, the more diverse and extensive juxtaposition of one person to the others, - the more impregnated his form of existence becomes, the higher is his culture. (Ms. Fol. 4199:29:3)

Of course, this understanding of Russian culture as requiring physical presence in Russia, was unachievable for the émigrés, and thus another delimitation of this phenomenon was to be presented. G. Butakov (1934: 5) writes: “Russian culture is all that the Russian people accomplished in the course of all Russian history. (...) The ideal of the Russian Culture is chivalrous service to the Tsar and the People.” The latter quote places the goals of cultural educating on a political platform, where the ultimate result of cultural acquisition was service to Tsar and People and recreating of

Russian culture by the new generations upon their return. While the monarchical viewpoint might appear alien to many émigrés, the idea of chivalrous service to the Motherland was well supported by the majority (*e.g.* Zenkovsky, Carrick, Roubetz, *etc.*). In addition, the contents of the educational efforts are stated in the Butakov's appeal: "The Russian cultural asset is also Russian art – Russian painting, Russian literature, Russian music. (...) To be a Russian cultivated person means not only to know and remember how our culture was created, but to feel the ability to continue, revive the victories of his forefathers" (*ibid*). Raeff (1990: 95ff) also lists the following major elements of Russian culture in addition to Russian language: literature, art, music, as well as Orthodox faith, folklore, philosophy and other humanities as history and geography. The implementations of these elements will be looked upon in the next subchapters.

6.2.1 Russian language

Raeff (1990: 109) describes Russian language as "the fundamental element" that "provided the essential ingredient of consciousness and identity of Russia Abroad". This language connected the émigrés to their past and united them above their political or social affiliation. Émigrés living in remote parts of the world nevertheless felt as a part of the country without borders, country that had its "national language", Russian. Émigrés read printed materials, wrote letters and diaries, conversed with each other across the state borders, Russian-speaking professors presented lectures in Russian and Russian summer camps for children were organized, so that despite the influence of the host-country, the language of the Diaspora remained intact. At the same time, in spite of the fact that the adult émigrés naturally used Russian language in all applicable contexts, the children who did not have a sufficient language environment started to "distort mother tongue, and even forget it" (Appeal to the Russian people Abroad, Pedagogic Bureau, Prague, March, 1925, Ms. Fol. 4199:29). Thus the primary goal of the émigré education became to promote the emotional attachment to the mother tongue and to "teach the children to speak Russian, to love and understand the Sacred Russia, to pray in the native tongue, which unwittingly slips away from them through the every day vanity of the alien life" (The speech of V. Muraviev-Apostol on the Russian education conference for parents, June 22nd 1934). In order to fulfill these goals, a methodology was to be developed. Drafting of the school programs was conducted by Pedagogical Bureau led by V. Zenkovsky; instruction in Russian language was based on the concrete goal of developing the correct Russian

oral and written speech, or reflection of thinking process of a child, making his language production effective and natural. Instead of mechanical drilling of grammar rules the children were “to observe the mechanisms of Russian language, its life” and later to deduct the rules themselves. (GA RF F. 5785. Op.2. D.33. Ll.9-20). As a result it was expected that children would “develop a conscious attitude to the formal structure of the language” as a foundation for the practical language use. But without the simultaneous development of “conscious attitude to vital Russian literature and its cultural, historic, ideological and social context” the language acquisition would be just a dead structural knowledge without any emotional involvement. (Rapport by I. Nilov “On changes in the Program of teaching Russian language and literature” GA RF F. 5785. Op.2. D.47. Ll. 96-110). Therefore teaching of Russian literature was considered an essential part of the fight against denationalization as well.

6.2.2 Literature

One of the elements of culture, where language is manifested, is literature. Russian émigrés, however, had a very specific understanding of which literature was worthy of a place in the curriculum. The socially accepted construction “national literature” included three major groups: medieval chronicles and epics, “classical” literature of XIX-s century and partly the literature of the “Silver Age” (Raeff 1990: 95ff), leaving entire blocks of written matter untouched. At the top of the pedestal was the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, who was considered to be “the sun of Russian poetry”³⁷. The first Day of Russian Culture³⁸ (DRC), a celebration called to unite all the Russians Abroad, was devoted to Pushkin’s oeuvre and set to his birthday date, June 8th³⁹. The following

³⁷ This phrase was first used in Pushkin’s necrology on January 30th 1837 by the Russian philosopher and pedagogue Vladimir Odoevsky and became so famous that it is common in modern Russian language as a paraphrase of Pushkin’s name itself.

³⁸ In Oslo, the Russian émigrés joined this celebration in 1928, and kept this tradition until the outburst of WWII. The emigrants held evenings where they sang, danced, performed different dramatic and comical plays and widely enjoyed themselves. The children were also present at the DRC. One other initiative was authored by Carrick who started a Greeting exchange, where people from all the places where DRC was celebrated sent their greetings to all émigrés around the globe. This exchange was not only bringing émigrés closer but also gave an impression of a well-functioning Russia Abroad as a country without borders.

³⁹ The Bolsheviks changed even the birth date of Pushkin in 1923, setting it to June 6th, due to an apparently deliberate mistake in the Julian to Gregorian calendar conversion. In Orthodox tradition, a child is named after a Saint revered on the child’s birth date, who would guard the child and intercede for him in front of God. The new conversion rules served to deprive the Russians born in XIX century of the correct birthday date and thus of the correlation between their names and the Saints’ ones, because the Orthodox Church continued to use the correct conversion rules.

Days of Russian Culture were also set around the same date, despite the fact that DRC-s in the following years were devoted to different representatives of Russian culture: Russian writers such as Gogol, Griboedov and Lermontov, epic literature and Russian folklore, Russian scientists and composers, etc. In 1937, a 100 years after the poet's death, a tremendous celebration was held in over 230 towns in different countries, including Oslo, Norway.

However, the reason behind this careful selecting of and educating in the "classical Russian literature" was not only to develop the language skills but rather to amplify the standard for the moral and ethical values. "Russian literature (...) created the exclusively good criteria for moral judgment" which in turn became the "foundation for the Russian societal consciousness" where a person does good to others not "out of the fear for punishment as the Western culture demands" but out of the desire to serve (Carrick's letter to Alexander de Roubetz, August 20th, 1932; Ms. Fol. 4199:18:2). Thus literature had both linguistic, cultural and national-ethical value in the eyes of Russians Abroad.

Didactically, this notion was reflected in teaching Russian literature in two steps: first, by teaching children the context in which the particular literary piece was written (historical, religious, cultural) and only then reading and discussing the piece, analyzing and commenting on it, emphasizing the ethical and moral dilemmas and discussing them in the classroom setting. (Rapport by I. Nilov "On changes in the Program of teaching Russian language and literature" GA RF F. 5785. Op.2. D.47. Ll. 96-110).

6.2.3 Art and Music

Another set of elements of the construction "Russian culture" was Art and Music. One characteristic of these components is that they are non-verbal and thus easily transferred to the local environment (this of course does not include architecture). Raeff (1990: 99) includes Russian painting of XIX century as expressive of national tradition. In music, one can mention the Russian "classics" of XIX century such as Tchaikovsky and Glinka, as well as national ballet, folklore songs, dance and church choirs. The famous Cossack choir led by Serge Jaroff, together with a manifold other folklore choirs and dance groups, performed around Europe, and from 1927 to the 1940-s held

numerous concerts in Oslo, Norway. Carrick had a large entry in his diary devoted to the first such event (Diary entry of March 27th, 1927). Carrick describes the emotional state of the Russian spectators who listened to the performance in tears, because this singing answered to the “longing of the souls”. Thus the music and art was also not of mere educational value but rather had an important role in creating an emotional attachment to the Russian culture.

Another important trait of teaching Art and Music was establishing a connection between the two. “Touch a beautiful artifact of the ancient Russian decorative art (...); listen to the ancient song of the Archangelsk *guslar*⁴⁰ or Ukrainian *bandurist*; and then (...) listen to a fragment of an opera by Rimsky-Korsakov or Mussorgsky; gaze at a Russian painting and you will feel the mysterious fluids connecting the Ancient Russia through the Petersburg Imperia to the new Russia being born in pain today.” (Kolodii O. Rapport on Russian Culture and the importance of the DRC. DRC 1927, Ms. Fol. 4199: 15). This approach to cultural education appealed to all sides of the individual, involving the child’s senses as well as the emotional and cognitive strings. Russian Culture was to be transmitted as a manifold phenomenon, as an organic whole, not dissected into meaningless fragments.

In addition, another aspect of Russian Culture was strongly appealing to the children’s emotional and spiritual realms: the Orthodox Church with its clear boundaries and norms framed in a somewhat mystical form.

6.2.4 Orthodox values

While the educative role of the Orthodox Church was strong, the emotional attachment to cultural roots also played an important role in shaping the upbringing of the new émigré generation. Special, somewhat mystical rituals and sacraments; ancient garments worn by the priests; sounds of angelic singing and church bells; smell of incense filling the room; taste of the Eucharist bread and wine; preaching, Bible reading and blessing in the Old Church Slavonic language which appealed more to the *soul* than to the *mind* – all these elements created a romantic emotional aureole around Russian

⁴⁰ *Guslar* is a narrative singer playing a Russian folk instrument *gusli* (a form for harp). *Bandura* is also a type of harp played by *Bandurist*.

spirituality, making it something unique and thus desirable, which in turn gave emotional attachment to it and thus supported national self-identity and ethnicity (Baker 2006:76-77).

At the same time, the Russian Orthodox Church played an important role in creating the cultural environment in Russia Abroad, being a carrier of a traditional Russian way of worship, through “spiritual sustenance for those who had lost so much” (Hassell 1991: 42) and becoming a social and educative center. The authority of a Russian Orthodox Priest was not only applied to the spiritual matters and rituals but also to the moral, ethical, educational and nationalistic dilemmas. The Orthodox traditional values included both the moral responsibility of an individual over the whole nation and selfless service to others even at own expense. Both of these values were essential in the émigré goal of repatriating and rebuilding Russia upon return. Youth, who came under the influence of what was considered Western individualism and materialism, had acquired a utilitarian attitude to life: “everything that has no profit is not real. Money had conquered the youth. (...) Idealism, parting from the world, ascetics are firmly denied by modern youth.” (Zenkovsky 1929:233 [1929]). Thus the role of the Orthodox faith in the upbringing of youth was not merely educative, but character shaping. This role is reflected, for instance, in the Note for the National upbringing of youth of the 1st Russian School in Kharbin, China:

Young men and women, believe in God and love the truth. Remember that you belong to the Great Russian Nation; with all your strength prepare to become its worthy member. (...) Learn the biographies of great Russian people and try to acquire the same love for Russia that filled their lives. Be worthy of your parents (...) and all your life must be devoted to the unconditional service to the Orthodox Russian Nation. Its interests and needs put higher than any others. If Russia needs your life, give it away with gladness. (Ms. Fol. 4199: 15)

This clear connection between the Orthodox faith and the strong nationalistic agenda⁴¹ is a reflection of the aforesaid expectation of return to homeland within a generation, and of the opportunity for the youth to become the builders and leaders of the new Russia. But in order to be able to rule their Motherland, the young people were to acquire knowledge of its past and present, something that would put the new Russia into a context.

⁴¹ The meaning of the Orthodox spirituality for a Russian individual is a topic for a serious study, and unfortunately, this thesis has no room for an in-depth analysis of it. Thus the researcher refers the readers to the works of Russian émigré philosophers Ilin, Zenkovsky, Berdyaev who imply Orthodoxy to be an essential and necessary part of *Russianness*, and thus the impossibility of bringing up children Russian without it. One can argue against this notion, but it is difficult to deny the results of the Orthodox upbringing, where the second generation émigrés indeed maintained the emotional attachment to the Russian roots, and thus their cultural identity was connected to their homeland.

6.2.5 History and Geography

Among all the other humanities, Russian history and geography were not considered to be any less culture-bound. While no-one would doubt the role of history in creating “national spirit” and “national romanticism”, one could wonder how the geography of a land can be a cultural factor. But in case of Russia, geography became a very important element of the cultural education of those in exile. Russia was a geographically unique country. It covered a vast territory⁴² and contained all the major vegetation zones with the exception of tropical rain forest; it was populated by many nations; it was extremely diverse in its landscape, there were 14 seas and numerous lakes, rivers, mountains, deserts, cities and villages. Understanding this vastness and diversity was considered essential as a frame for the studies of history and literature. “Historical facts and literature types loose their reality and become abstract, fabulous and improbable when the children imagine them in the geographical conditions of their host-countries” (Levitskaia in Geography Curriculum, 1933, YMCA-Press, Paris. Ms. Fol. 4199:15). Therefore the children were to consider the geography of their Motherland as a unique phenomenon in itself and in comparison with the geography of the host-countries.

Another important comparative study dealt with setting pre-revolutionary and Soviet Russia against each other. Prof. N. Mogilianski stated: “Russia of 1914 and of 1926 are two different states which differ from each other in territory, population, administrative life (...). It is the new Russia one has to study in detail”. The curriculum was to mention the changes that took place during and after the revolution and the Civil War as well as discuss ways to correct these changes upon the return. (GARF, F. 5785, Op.2, D.24, Ll. 143-145).

History of the Russian nation was also considered to be important. Article in the newspaper *Russkii kolokol (Russian bell)* no. 5-6 stresses the meaning of historical education in the battle against denationalization: “The Russian child should, from the very beginning, feel and realize that he is the son of a great nation with a dignified and tragic history, with great sufferings and breakdowns, but with even greater achievements”. Thus the choice of a historian who could describe the “right”

⁴² The Imperial Russia covered 1/6th of the entire world’s territory and thus was the largest country (territory-wise) in the world.

view on Russian history was essential. The XIX century historian Klyuchevsky⁴³ was not to be included into the curriculum as his work was considered too “sarcastic” so that his “wrong” attitude toward monarchy and Russian political achievements “had eroded the true national self-understanding in several generations of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia” (*ibid*) whereas a historian was expected not only to describe the past events, but to “stand between the past and the future of his nation, to love its fate and to believe in its Calling” (*ibid*). Thus the history curriculum formed by the Prof. Odinets and published in Paris by YMCA-Press in 1933 had as its utmost goal to “fight for the national self-understanding of the growing generation (...) and to instill love for their Motherland” (Ms. Fol. 4199:15). Romanticizing of the pre-revolutionary Russian history can also be seen in the quote by A. Pushkin which was used in the comparative part of the curriculum which examined Russian history on a world-wide scale: “Russia has never had anything in common with Europe: its history needs different thoughts and formulas than the thoughts and formulas deducted from the history of Christian West”. Thus the expected conclusion the children were to draw from this course had to do with the uniqueness of their Motherland, not necessarily superior, but definitely incomparable with anything found in the host-countries.

As a result, both history and geography could be used as means of political education, creating aspirations to return to the Motherland which the young people were to learn to love.

6.2.6 Critique of the common émigré understanding of Russian culture

The description of Russian cultural education in emigration would not be complete without mentioning the critique that emerged in the émigré circles to the narrowness of the common understanding of the meaning of the word *culture*. Much of the criticism was directed to the “disproportional role allotted to the Orthodox Church in cultural upbringing”. In July, 1929, at the Conference devoted to upbringing of Russian youth abroad, a heated discussion followed the two major lectures delivered by the Orthodox philosopher and pedagogue V. Zenkovsky and a Russian teacher N. Chernyshev. While the first lecturer called upon Orthodoxy as the major source for

⁴³ Vasily Klyuchevsky (1841-1911) dominated Russian historiography at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. He is still regarded as one of three most reputable Russian historians, alongside Nikolay Karamzin and Sergey Solovyov.

Russianness, the second doubted this notion and suggested that “the Orthodox upbringing should not be identified with the Russian national education”, both because the Orthodox Church was undergoing a rift, but also because the students did not necessarily share the Orthodox worldviews (Kuz'min 1995: 57ff). The latter was supported by several participants who underlined *inter alia*, the religious diversity of the students: “Our school should not be denominational, because there are even Buddhists [among the students]” (Tsurikov N., *ibid*: 61). “In Moravská Třebová there are Orthodox, Lutheran, Catholic students as well as non-religious ones. (...) Some students started discussions about whose faith was better. And as a teacher I had to step up to an all-Christian position.” (Dreier N., *ibid*: 59). “Are the Catholics living in Russia Russians or not? What would their national upbringing be if it is impossible without Orthodoxy?” (Astrov N., *ibid*: 61). Despite these critical utterances, the majority of the pedagogues agreed that the value of the Orthodox Church in national upbringing was essential. The resolution of the Conference followed: “National idea without religion is void. (...) The Russian ethnic upbringing should instill a love of Russia through illuminating the role the Orthodox Church has in Russia’s fate, through deepening of the national self-consciousness to its religious basis, and through exposure and strengthening of the idea of the Sacred Russia” (*ibid*: 62). As a result, the teaching of Orthodox values (“Law of God”) was seen as one of the most important ones by the majority of the prominent Russian pedagogues in Europe.

Among numerous other critical viewpoints the above mentioned Day of Russian Culture as a mere celebration of Russian literature, art and music, had awakened much criticism in the emigrant milieu. N. Bystrov in an article *Isporchenyi den' (Spoiled day)* states:

The old generation of Russian public understood the word “culture” much more narrowly than necessary. This word’s content was covered by art, philosophy and socio-political thought. All which could be called “material culture” was excluded. (...) But is it true that the Russian culture is exhausted by the past of Russian literature? The state and juridical activity of Speranski⁴⁴ and pedagogical and medical work of Pirogov⁴⁵ were both left outside

⁴⁴ Count Mikhail Speransky (1772 - 1839) was a Russian reformer and close advisor to Tsar Alexander I and later to Tsar Nicholas I of Russia. He was the head of the Law committee of the Imperial Chancellery which elaborated and published in 1833 Corpus Juris, the complete collection of the laws of the Russian Empire, which functioned in Russia until 1917.

⁴⁵ Nikolay Pirogov (1810 - 1881) was a prominent Russian scientist, doctor, pedagogue, public figure, and corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1847). He is considered to be the founder of the field of surgery, and was the first surgeon in Europe to use ether as an anesthetic.

of the Russian Culture, and it's not surprising that the genial representative of the Russian military art [Suvorov⁴⁶] also ended up overboard. (no. 6 (58) 1934 of *Znamia Rossii* (*Russia's Banner*))

Further, Bystrov underlines, that in addition to the great scientific, political, military and technical Russian cultural accomplishments of the past, there were modern achievements of both the émigré Russia and the Soviet Union, (as Nobel prize in Literature received by Ivan Bunin as well as the first in the world stratosphere flight conducted by the Soviet stratonaut G. Prokofiev in 1929) something that should quicken interest among the Russians Abroad and also should be included in the term "Russian culture".

Answering this critique in the following newspaper issue, N. Antipov rejects the claim to include technical and scientific achievements into the term Russian culture, explaining his opinion by their lack of uniqueness. "A non-Russian could not create "Boris Godunov" or "Dead Souls"⁴⁷ while Prokofiev's record can be tomorrow beaten by Piccard⁴⁸ or an American, so what? Will [such an event] then become a manifestation of Belgian (*sic!*) or American culture?" (no. 7 (59) 1934 of *Znamia Rossii* (*Russia's Banner*)). Antipov continues to underline that engineering is international while it is in literature the national spirit can be clearly seen. Even in Soviet Russia interest in classical literature grew, which could be the sign of the Soviet people's longing for their *real Motherland* which they, as well as the émigrés, had also lost.

This discussion is very typical for the Russian Diaspora of the 1930-s. It has its reflection in the correspondence and diary entries of the Carrick archive; one can detect this dichotomic "literature vs. science" discourse in the works of the Russian philosophers and pedagogues Ilin and Zenkovsky. The clear internationalization of culture which was praised by Bystrov seemed to increase the feared denationalization and thus was furiously rejected by many émigrés, who claimed the Biblical "In the beginning was the Word" to be the main reflection of what a culture should be about. Thus the

⁴⁶ Count Alexander Suvorov (1729 – 1800), was the fourth and last generalissimos of the Russian Empire. One of the few great generals in history who never lost a battle.

⁴⁷ "Boris Godunov" is an opera by Modest Mussorgsky based on the eponymous drama by Alexander Pushkin. "Dead Souls" is an epic poem in prose by Nikolai Gogol.

⁴⁸ Auguste Antoine Piccard (1884-1962) was a Swiss physicist, inventor and explorer who in 1930 designed a dirigible gondola which helped him to beat the Soviet record in reaching upper atmosphere in 1931.

attitude to the technical and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union as well as Russia Abroad was dividing the émigrés rather than uniting them.

Colligating the aforesaid one can quote Carrick: “Russian Community Abroad does not have any juridical foundation or any other asset that would unite it. There is only one asset, Russian culture, and only one characteristic, belonging to this Russian culture – the Word.” (Ms. Fol. 4199). No political, social, scientific or national characteristic could unite this vast and manifold Russia Abroad. But the majority of émigrés agreed that the language, literature, music, religion – all of these elements created a cultural environment which was to be reproduced in the growing generation in order to create in it a viable love for the country which most of the children did not know personally. The concrete educational ideas and efforts directed to create such an environment, common for Russian émigrés in Europe and Norway, are dealt with in the next subchapters.

6.3 Educational ideas and efforts in Europe

When it became apparent to the émigrés that their stay in exile was to be prolonged, a new set of goals emerged in the pedagogical thought. In the course of years of emigration, despite the educative efforts conducted in private (described in Chapter 5), the children started to undergo the process of assimilation into the host countries, rapidly losing their Russian identity. This forfeit of their cultural identity became the biggest concern of the Russian pedagogues and the term *denationalization* was introduced. As a result of these concerns, and with a uniting goal in mind, the Central Board dealing with the Primary and Secondary schools led by A. A. Kopynov was organized already in October, 1922. The goal of the Board was “to unite and regulate Russian schools abroad, in particular: to provide the theoretical framework to the program’s requirements; to set up and examine teachers’ qualifications; to prepare teachers through courses (...); to attend the teaching of the Law of God, Russian language, history and geography (...); to develop out-of-school activities; to create a serious organization of the subjects connected to the local language, history and culture acquisition” (Kuz’min 1995:177). Thus the very first concerns about the quality of teaching in the Russian schools, as well as which subjects to include in the curriculum, were addressed. This indicates that the Russian émigrés started to realize the importance of educating the Russian children, due to the fact that their homecoming might take longer than expected. Therefore the

question of training people who could become the actors in the political, cultural and religious life of post-Bolshevik Russia was seen as one of major significance. “The refugee teacher should understand (...) the colossal importance of his mission in preparing of the future cultural workers for Russia, and see it as his moral responsibility” (V. Grabovyi, “The role of teacher in the emigrant school, GA RF F.5772, Op.1, d.125, ll.14-25). Carrick in his article “Emphasis on Russia” consolidates: “In order to use our advantages [over the Russians living under the Bolshevik regime] to Russia’s good upon return, we need to return as Russians who come back to their home; not as foreigners, but as brothers who are recognized as brothers by the Russian people. Therefore, preservation of Russianness in exile and its connection to Russian cultural interests (...) is the main goal of the Russian work abroad.” (*Russikii v Argentine (Russian in Argentina)* March 7th, 1936, No. 292).

In April, 1923 the First Conference of the Teachers of Primary and Secondary schools abroad took place (Kuz’min 1995:176). Under the leadership of V. N. Svetozarov, the representatives of the teachers’ organizations from Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Bulgaria took part in the conference. The questions of denationalization as well as several other concerns and goals were discussed:

- financial needs of the parents and schools and impossibility of paying decent wages to the teachers;
- difficulty of combining the Russian programs with the local ones, as the amount of the material became unbearable, the number of hours in each subject was immense, and therefore the subject contents became an “enormous mass impossible to digest” for the children;
- problems of the didactics: the methods of teaching were based upon the exercising of students’ memory, while the new methods of teaching, with extended usage of visuals and “experience teaching” were not yet popular;
- “educating of the soul”, spiritual and religious education as an “important factor in bringing up children in an alien (*sic!*) environment”;
- national education and upbringing, “developing of the feeling of love for the Motherland”;

- “developing the atmosphere of unity, friendliness, mutual help”, living out the creed “one Russian is another Russian’s brother” (*ibid*).

Another important result of the conference was the creation of a new organ, Pedagogical Bureau of Primary and Secondary school abroad. Under its aegis a new magazine was started, “Russian School Abroad”. This organ played an important role in the systematic study of the educational efforts of the émigrés, as well as in help in the didactics and practical organization of education in the local communities. As a part of its work the Pedagogical Bureau helped the Diasporic organizations in different countries with ideas and materials, providing them with professional advice and challenging them to start new activities directed at youth. In his letter to Valery Carrick, Prince P. Dolgorukov suggests: “The minimal program in places where there is no need of organizing a kindergarten (...) or a summer camp, nevertheless, could be a Russian library for children, stationary or transportable, if the Russian colony is dispersed in the province. Maybe, a circle of parents could gather at your house?” (February, 1931, Ms. Fol. 4199: 29:1) This sincere interest in the educative situation even at the remote parts of Russia Abroad was a uniting element in the life of the Diaspora.

Another indication of this genuine selfless aspiration to give Russian émigrés opportunity to bring their children up in a Russian cultural setting is the fact that the organization “Motherland and mother tongue” had published a number of textbooks and manuals as well as methodology booklets adopted for work with children living abroad. These materials were distributed at the lowest possible cost, without making any profit on it. (Introduction to the “Program for Russian History”, Storehouse of YMCA-Press, Paris 1933, Ms. Fol. 4199: 15). The methodological materials were also sent to Valery Carrick in connection with his teaching at the Russian school in Oslo (more on this school in subchapter 6.4.4).

Before we turn to the Russian Diaspora in Oslo and look at the different educational enterprises started there, it is important to discuss the variety of enterprises organized by the Russian émigrés in Europe; and then to deal with the contents of the education, especially in light of the question “What is Russian culture according to the Russian émigrés?” which was answered in 6.2.

6.3.1 Types of educational institutions

The schools as the arena of the official educational efforts were of several types. Without describing these in detail (as there were no corresponding organizations in Norway), it is necessary to mention the types of schools in Russia Abroad. By 1924 there existed 90 official educational enterprises in Russia Abroad (47 Primary and 43 Secondary Schools) including some boarding schools (for example: military cadet corpses for boys as “Consolidated cadet corps-lyceum” (1920-1929) in Serbia led by lieutenant general B. A. Adamovich; girls shelters as “Russian boarding school named after princess Irina Pavlovna” in Paris started by Maria Golovina in 1925; or mixed boarding schools as “Russian Reformed Real Gymnasium” in Moravská Třebová, Czechoslovakia, started in 1920 by A. Zhekulina) as well as regular gymnasiums where students lived at home (for example, in 1922 there were two Russian gymnasiums in Berlin, eight Classical and Real Gymnasiums in Harbin, *etc.*). Here “the curriculum had to be acceptable to the local authorities (...) for professional licensing” (Raeff 1990:52). This meant that the full curriculum was to be taught, and in addition to the Russian subjects they had to include the subjects taught in the local schools, and the latter were usually taught in the local language, thus making these schools bilingual.

But due to financial problems as well as lack of qualified teachers, organization of alternative types of education became essential. As a result, a new type of educational institution emerged: so-called, “Sunday-Thursday Schools” (Kovalevsky 1970:63), small educational groups that gathered one or two times a week where a parent or another, often unqualified, Russian emigrant instructed children under the supervision of the Pedagogical Bureau. These were usually organized either by the local Orthodox parish or by the Russian Colonies. Kovalevsky goes on to describe some of the activities of these schools: “Most of the schools taught not only Russian language, Literature, History and Geography of Russia, but also singing. (...) These schools produced festivals and dramas, carried on extensive Russian cultural and church work. (...) Some schools organized Christmas and Easter plays.” (Kovalevsky 1970:64). Prince P. Dolgorukov stated: “the question of the denationalization of children outside of the Russian school intensifies each year and is addressed more and more on the pages of Russian émigré press. (...) Thus the question of the out-of-school, or school-like education of the Russian children who do not study at a school, or who study in foreign schools, is very critical.” (Report of Prince P. Dolgorukov on the denationalization of Russian children, July 5-11th 1925, GA RF F. 5785, Op. 2, D. 18, Ll. 51-57). Dolgorukov discussed different enterprises

mentioning Russian educational courses (such as Sunday-Thursday schools or the Russian Reading and Writing “schools” for Primary school students in New York City). One of the positive elements noted is that in addition to the educative goals, these “schools” gave the children opportunity to communicate which helped them to keep Russian language as a communicative means where otherwise the threat of losing the Russian language was real (*ibid*).

But even these types of directly educative enterprises were not available to the majority of the Russian children abroad. Rudnev (1929:12) claims that at the most optimistic account “only one tenth of all Russian children receive the minimum foundations of Russian Culture”. He continues that it is naïve to hope “that the lack of school education can be fully replaced by the family influence. At this point of emigrational life only a few families have enough financial means and spare time to give children systematic education in subjects of Russian culture” (*ibid*). Another reason behind this lack of even minimal form of formal education was the fact that the émigrés were scattered across the world and on the peripheries there were too few active members of the Diaspora who were able to start an educative enterprise of sustainable standard. However, Sukhacheva (1995:149-150) stresses that despite the lack of Russian schools, the Russian émigrés strived to create “cultural and educational environment that would slow down the process of denationalization”, “realize cultural needs of Russian emigration” and “bring up children in the national spirit”. In order to fulfill these goals the émigrés looked for alternative ways of educating the youth. In July, 1928 the First Congress of Russian Out-of-school Education Abroad took place, where it was stated that the out-of-school education was of primary importance. During the Congress the main typology of such out-of-school enterprises was set up. In the report by A. Arcishevski to the participants of the Congress (GA RF F. 5785, Op.1 D. 19, L.3) the different sections of the Congress were listed: library section; section of the national universities and of promotion of scientific and technological knowledge; section for the intellectual entertainment, youth organizations and physical training; section for the spiritual upbringing and section of the after-school activities. During these sections different organizations that were to start these activities as well as the forms of the informal out-of-school activities were discussed.

These institutions and associations created a somewhat artificial social atmosphere that was to substitute the normal national environment in a homeland, which would in a natural way cultivate the national feelings and religious affiliations in youth, their cultural identity. In the next three

subsections we will look upon the formal and the out-of-school activities of the Russian Diaspora in Norway.

6.4 Educational efforts in Norway

As discussed earlier, despite the fact that the Russian Diaspora in Norway was probably the smallest Russian community in Europe, the main cultural and educational goals of the Diaspora were shared by its representatives, and one can clearly state that the pedagogical activities in the Russian Diaspora in Oslo reflect the European ideas. Next subchapters will deal with this issue.

6.4.1 Russian Emigrant Circle

As stated in Chapter 5, the only Russian organization in Oslo in the beginning of 1920s was the *Russian Association (Russkoe sodruzhestvo)*, an elite club which most of the Russian émigrés living in Oslo could not join due to their social status (see subchapter 5.2 for more information about the *Russian Association*). At the same time, the longing for a possibility to gather in order to discuss news and share thoughts and ideas was strong. As a result, the first socially neutral Russian emigrant organization, *Russian Emigrant Circle in Norway (Russikii Emigrantskii Kruzhok v Norvegii, REC)* was finally founded on December 17th, 1927 (Morken 1984: 16)⁴⁹. In 1930s there were already between 80 and 90 members in REC. “It is a great joy to see that the few Russian emigrants in Norway managed to unite into a very tight-knit “Circle”, where every member – whether he used to be a civil servant, an officer or an ordinary sailor on a merchant ship – feels similarly respected and well.” (Letter to the editor, *Rul'*, No. 2289, 1928). There were two conditions for becoming a member of REC. The first condition was inclusive: One had to speak Russian, and thus the Norwegians who used to work and live in the Imperial Russia could also become members as long as they could communicate in the Russian language. The second condition was exclusive: One had to be an adversary to the Bolshevik regime; therefore the Russians

⁴⁹ Another Russian organization, *Russian national association (Russkoe natsional'noe ob'edinenie)* was started on March 17th, 1929, but just two months later, May 12th, 1929 the two organizations united. (Morken 1984: 216). In spite of the fact that the organization itself had placed both titles on its documents, its members and leaders had most often referred to their organization only as REC (Russian Emigrant Circle). Thus in this work we will also be referring to these two organizations as REC.

(or Norwegians) who did not oppose the Soviet state were not allowed to become members.⁵⁰ The REC organization charter states the circle's two goals as the following: "To improve the financial and legal position of the émigrés and to enhance their national feeling by cultural-enlightenment work" (Ms. Fol. 4199:15). The financial role which the REC played in the émigrés' life is described well by Morken (1984: 217). In addition, the subject of this thesis is the cultural and educative role of the Russian Diaspora. Therefore this subchapter is devoted only to the "cultural-enlightenment work" done by the Circle.

Informant p2 tells that when he was a child, the REC meetings were held in the building of *Handelstandens hus* (Karl Johan street no. 37, Oslo) and these gatherings meant a lot to the émigrés. "My mother's girlfriend, a young lady, told me that at first they met every week and they could not wait until the gathering day came. It was really touching,"- says p2 and continues: "This Circle maintained its Russianness and helped to bond the émigrés together."

REC was responsible for different and manifold events. These included **music and poetry evenings** held every Friday, where classical music was played, Russian romances were sung and the dance-floor was open for those willing to participate. After some criticism from the members (Ms. Fol. 4199:27) the evenings became more substantial. From February, 1928 the meetings were moved to a private home, and every Wednesday **lectures** of different kinds were delivered, followed by the family evening. "The lectures are designed mostly for children, but the Circle also expects the interested adults to be present." (*The program for REC meeting*, February 27th, 1928, Ms. Fol. 4199: 27: 1). The program also lists the following lectures:

Wednesday February 29th at 6 p.m.: V.V. Carrick "The life of a tale"

Wednesday March 7th, at 6 p.m.: D.P. Miller "Alexander and Napoleon"

Wednesday March 14th, at 6 p.m.: N.E Heintz "The roots of Russian literature"

Wednesday March 21st, at 6 p.m.: A.E. Heintz "Russians on Svalbard"

Wednesday March 28th, at 6 p.m.: D.P. Miller "The Time of Troubles 1584-1613"

⁵⁰ This fear of Bolshevism was sometimes exaggerated, and Carrick smiled in his Diary: "There is a rumor that K. said [about a musician]: "For pity's sake! He is a Bolshevik! They presented him a bouquet thwarted with a red band!" (Entry of August 21st, 1930).

It is interesting to notice that despite the fact that there were no formal educational enterprises in 1928, the lectures presented for children and youth were very educative and manifold. Two of the lectures were of literary origin (February 29th and March 14th), two had history as their subject (comparative history on March 7th and Russian history on March 28th), while the last lecture had a uniting content telling the youth about Russians in other parts of Norway (March 21st). Carrick describes his lecture in a diary entry of February 11th, 1928⁵¹: “Yesterday the first “Russian lecture” was held at S.’s, the tales with light pictures. Here I managed to use my pictures on glass-pieces, and could tell the tales in Russian as well. (...) There were only two small children and one older girl. Apparently they liked it.” The lectures were a success and each time more people came. Next entry describes: “Yesterday at the Russian Circle I told my tales with a “magic lantern”⁵², then delivered the first part of my lecture “The life of a tale”, and finished by telling a tale about storyteller Spiridon and tsar Berendei (after the Celtic tales)”. These lectures for youth were held at least until December, 1935 (Ms. Fol. 4199:18:4).

Another REC activity was theatrical work. Different **drama pieces** were put on stage, both classical, such as *Marriage* (by N. Gogol, in 1931) or short stories by A. Chekhov (in 1934); and self-written, as *Ivanof Paul in Exile*, grotesque opera in one act (by S. Rapoport and I. Hansen, 1930). The latter was vividly remembered by informant p1 who showed proudly a picture of the event where her father played a part. The play was very funny, she recalls, and all laughed, especially the children. The story was about a young lazy émigré student who was taught Russian as well as other subjects, but never could learn anything, because he was mostly concerned with social life. The cultural value of such theater productions was undeniable. They broadened children’s understanding of Russian theater tradition, helped to expand the youngster’s vocabulary and gave an emotional attachment to these plays as relatives and friends were a part of it. In spite of the fact that the informants do not recollect the children and youth to take part in these dramas, Carrick’s diary suggests that their participation was at least considered: The small children were encouraged not only to perform in some folk-tales dramatizations, but also to help with “preparing of the props and even to participate in the directing process”. The older children were called to

⁵¹ The first lectures were held on February 10th, 17th and 24th but these are not listed above since the program is dated by February 27th.

⁵² Magic lantern or *Lanterna Magica* was a type of a slide-projector where the narrator could project pictures drawn upon glass pieces onto a white wall.

dramatize longer literature pieces, “especially ones based on the folk material, as Pushkin’s tales, for example”. Carrick stresses, that “it is unacceptable, as common in some other places, to allow the children to perform in foreign languages, for the most Russian thing which unites us all is the Russian language”. (Ms. Fol. 4199:14). The researcher found no evidence that these recommendations were ever fulfilled, but the idea behind these descriptions fit well into the pedagogical thought of the time.

Yet another activity was the yearly **Christmas evening** for children. A note is found in Carrick’s archive: “November 25th, 1930 at 6 p.m. a private conference of a very limited number of persons about organizing of a Christmas celebration for children is held.” (Ms. Fol. 4199:27: 1). Informant p2 recalls these celebrations: “These Christmas feasts were interesting. We sang Russian folk songs, played different games, Father Frost⁵³ gave candy to children; finally I and G. [another Russian boy, 5 years older] came forward... It was 1936. He stepped – you know, danced, and I recited a poem. I remember, it was... [The informant recites a piece of a poem by F. Glinka “Moscow”]. And later we drew lots and I was lucky enough to win a big sailboat. He won a big chocolate fish.” The researcher was amazed by the informant’s detailed memory of this event, as well as by the poem he still remembered, having in mind that the respondent was 7 years of age in 1936, while the event happened over 70 years prior to the interview.

The conclusion one could draw out of the two above described episodes is that the educational efforts the émigrés organized indeed had the desired effect: the informants recalled the events and had a strong emotional attachment to them, something that created the mentioned in subchapter 5.2 factors which encouraged language and culture maintenance in children.

The initiative of **correspondence between children** in different countries suggested by Carrick in his journal *Svjaz*’ was also supported by REC. “One of the good approaches to maintenance in children the interest for Russian grammar is correspondence between children. Receiving a Russian letter from a far away land, and the desire to answer it may serve as a better motivation for admitting the necessity of Russian literacy than preaching of adults. (...) As an outline for such letters could be such questions as: Which country do you live in? Do you study at school? Which one? Do you

⁵³ Father Frost is a traditional Russian character similar to Santa Claus.

“speak Russian with the people around you? Are you a member of a scout organization? Do you collect stamps?” (*Sviáz*’ no. 14, 1936) Unfortunately there is no record of any result of this initiative, apart from the private correspondence described in subchapter 5.3.2.

Some other activities organized by REC would be the yearly **Day of Russian Culture** (this celebration is somewhat touched upon by Morken (1984: 217-218) as well as in the current study, in subchapter 6.2.2), and a maintenance of a small Russian **library** which contained at least 300 books (in 1930) for adults and children, some classics, some translations and some newly written (Ms. Fol. 4199: 15). At some point **reading aloud** of classical literary pieces was conducted during the REC meetings (as *Woe from Wit* by A. Griboedov, works of A. Pushkin, *etc.*) (Ms. Fol. 4199: 18). The first **Russian School** idea had also emerged in REC (more about this in subchapter 6.4.3).

In conclusion one can state that the treatment REC’s cultural and enlightenment work received in previous research is insufficient. The cultural and educative activities were manifold and had desired effect on the children in the Russian Diaspora. In addition, there were several other activity sources that directed their work at youth and children; these will be discussed in the next subchapters.

6.4.2 Activities organized by the Orthodox Parish

As stated earlier, the Orthodox faith was an important part of Russian culture in the eyes of the Russian emigrants in the studied period, but the Russian Diaspora in Oslo was comparatively small and thus only some episodic church activity was conducted in Oslo between 1921 and 1929. Nevertheless, the desire for a more stable church was strong, and therefore, on April 8th, 1931 under the meeting of the Orthodox believers in Oslo it was decided to start a Russian Orthodox Parish with Peter Rumiantsev as a senior Priest (Johannes 2006: 27). Only a few services a year were conducted, mostly in connection with the celebrations of Christmas, Easter, and the events of baptisms, weddings and funerals, as the priest lived and served in Sweden and only occasionally could come and serve in Oslo.

After the death of Rumiantsev in 1935, father Alexander de Roubetz became Oslo Parish’s beneficiary, following the similar pattern of visits. His involvement with the Oslo congregation

nevertheless grew very personal. He knew what was happening in the families, and was worried more and more about the fact that the Russian children in the families were not feeling Russian any more. In his letters to Carrick he expressed a deep concern about the mother tongue loss that the Russian children and youth were experiencing in Norway and Sweden: “The Russian language is vanishing; not the vernacular language which is spoken with the parents, but the real Russian language of our great masters of Word, i.e. literary Russian” (Ms. Fol. 4199: 29). He explained this situation by the fact that “the parents thought that children would not forget Russian, because soon, in 3-5 years, they would return, and the literary language and Russian culture would come back”. (*ibid*). Roubetz continued connecting the Russian literacy to the Russian mindset: “When the children cannot read and write in Russian, how can they be forced to think in Russian!” And the Russian thinking is a direct result of the Russian cultural upbringing, in Roubetz words: “[The reason behind denationalization is that] parents did not give the children a taste for culture, did not acquaint them with Turgenev⁵⁴ (he is difficult and not understandable for children), they did not plant “War and Peace”⁵⁵ into their minds, did not tell them what a real Russian soul is, did not give them understanding of Russian music, (...) did not familiarize them with theater, with the demands of spirit and thought.” (*ibid*).

In his desire to help Russian families in their fight against denationalization Roubetz started to write monthly parish letters entitled “Conversations between the priest and his congregation”⁵⁶ where he addressed different topics, both of educational, cultural, moral and ethical matter.

Carrick praised Roubetz for this initiative, saying: “A wonderful work you have started. (...) I understand the goal of each religious person in the world, and especially the priest, to reassure people that every deed must be done with the face turned to God. And here opens an endless opportunity to address even worldly topics – literature, art, even politics, (...) and you will gain more openings to adjourn the spirituality of other people by your own spirituality.” (Letter to

⁵⁴ Ivan Turgenev (1818 – 1883) was a Russian novelist and playwright. His novel *Fathers and Sons* is considered as one of the major works of 19th century.

⁵⁵ *War and Peace* is a famous novel by Leo Tolstoy.

⁵⁶ Unfortunately, these “Conversations” could not be located by the researcher. The only archive where they could have been preserved is the archive of St. Nicholas Parish in Oslo, but a big fire in 1986 had destroyed a major part of the church and thus the archives are not available today (as stated by the beneficiary of the Parish f. Johannes). Therefore all the information about their contents as well as the readers’ reaction was found in the Carrick’s correspondence with Roubetz.

Roubetz, December 1st 1933). Nevertheless, the appeals to the Russian people in Oslo did not always reach the addressees. Roubetz was often very direct in his advice, and his admonitions received a negative response: “I have to admit that no prophet is accepted in his own country. (...) They asked me to write how they could teach their children to pray, but when I wrote, they silenced up, for there was a demand on the parents to do something, and they hoped that everything would fall down from Heaven, without any work from their side” (letter to Carrick, March 25th, 1939, Ms. Fol. 4199). His frustration with the situation grew with the years, and Roubetz’ critique became more harsh; his accusations became difficult to handle for many: “[Parents] should have loved Russia more, in deed and not in name, they should have honored the spirit of Russian people without dividing between peasants and lords (...) [But now] the emigrant youth walks the alien ways after their peers, and their Russian parents become foreign for them”. Roubetz clearly puts the blame on parents, accusing them of not teaching their children to attend an Orthodox Church service, and thus the children choose the Lutheran church, where they can sit during the service and understand the service language⁵⁷.

At the same time, the Russian Orthodox émigrés in Oslo were not as passive as they were accused of being. It is true that some émigrés did not feel faith to be an indispensable part of their Russian culture, as in case of the family of informant p3. Others chose to baptize their children in a Lutheran church, due to their desire for them to adjust to the host-country. “The parents thought that then it would be easier for the children”, explains informant s1. Nevertheless, the émigrés did their best to maintain the Russianness in their children, and, in addition to all the above described activities, the Orthodox Russians organized several church-related educative enterprises. In January, 1933, Martha Eide started a choir for children. “She has begun to gather children and teach them singing; church hymns among other songs” (Carrick’s letter to Roubetz, January 1st, 1933, *ibid*). It is difficult to state how long the choir functioned, but the informant p1 remembers the choir, she even had a few rehearsals with them, but her other commitments took over and she did not continue there. In contrast, her younger brother had served as an alter boy at the church which gave him a broader understanding of the Orthodox Church service, developed his religious feeling, as well as provided opportunity for him to hear and use the Russian language. The informant also tells that they visited the church at every possible occasion (as stated above, there were but a few services a year): “They

⁵⁷ The Orthodox Church service traditionally was conducted in the Church- Slavonic language and required standing during the whole service, which could last for several hours.

sing so beautifully in the Russian church! *Gospodi pomiiilui!*⁵⁸ – recites the informant. The children were not allowed to stay up for all-night liturgies but they could come for a part of it, recalls p1.

Among the non-verbal church related traditions recalled by the informants were fasting before Easter and the benediction of Easter food. Fasting in the family of informant p4 was not an obligation, but for a teenager it was interesting to try, thus the informant fasted one year very diligently, which awoke some irony in her siblings. Children took an active part in coloring the Easter eggs, watched their mother make the traditional Easter cakes and cottage-cheese desert. Then the food was taken to the Church before the Easter morning service and there it was blessed by the priest. It was not allowed to eat any Easter food before the blessing was complete. These religious rituals awoke in the children a genuine interest, and served as a means of culture maintenance.

Thus one can state that despite the Roubetz' strong negative appraisal of the Russian Diasporic educative activities, the émigrés nevertheless had a relatively active religious life and some children received a religious upbringing as well as took part in the Orthodox services. Some representatives of the second generation Russian émigrés were very active in the Church life, especially after the permanent church was opened in 1940 (Johannes 2006: 29). In fact, after the events described in chapter 7, when the Russian emigrant organizations ceased to exist, the Russian Orthodox Church was left as the only place uniting the Russian émigrés and educating their children, until October 25th, 1990 when *Russian-Norwegian Club*, the first Russian Organization after the World War II, was registered⁵⁹.

But the Russian émigrés longed for more formal educational activities and thus the desire to start a Russian school in Oslo was frequently expressed. In the next two subchapters the two Russian school initiatives in Oslo will be discussed.

⁵⁸ *Gospodi pomiluj* is a Russian form for the Latin *Kyrie eleison*, or *Lord Have Mercy*, a part of the church liturgy.

⁵⁹ In 2010 there are two main Russian organizations in Oslo: Norwegian-Russian Association (former Russian – Norwegian Club) led by Eivind and Tatiana Reiersen, and Norwegian-Russian Cultural Center started in October, 1998 and run by Raisa Cirkova.

6.4.3 First Russian school attempt

The first ideas of starting a school emerged in the Russian Diaspora already in 1929. A REC notice No. 36 of December 24th, 1929, addressed its members with an appeal to sign the children up for Russian language studies by January 1st, 1930. The researcher found no record of this initiative's results, but indirectly, it is logical to suggest that the first Russian school attempt was the consequence of this appeal.

In 1930, a member of REC, V. Petrov, became actively involved in organizing a Russian school for children in Oslo. He advertised in the newspapers for starting a school and sent to all the REC members a *Purpose statement for a school for Russian children* where he wrote:

Here, in the alien land, a new, hard trial has emerged: a fight for the spirit and soul of Russian children. (...) If the Russian children abroad are threatened to be reduced to spiritual indigence, to become enervated, captivated by materialism and internationalism, likened to the soviet children; then the responsibility of each Russian emigrant before his Motherland, the responsibility that he is freed from only on his death bed, is to assist the upbringing of Russian children abroad in a religious and national spirit. (Ms. Fol. 4199: 27: 1).

Petrov announced the new Russian school in the newspapers where he pinpointed its goals as “lighting in the souls of Russian children a wonderful torch of firm faith in God and of faithfulness and love to our Motherland”. In this somewhat vague goal, Petrov saw the émigrés’ “historical destination” and “justification” as well as “redeeming of sins before our Motherland” (*ibid*).

The Russian school for children in Oslo was to teach several subjects. Similar to the educative enterprises in Europe, the Oslo school's first aim “of the foremost necessity [was] to teach them **Russian language**, because both our strength and our guarantee of house to the Great Russian culture are hidden in it” (*ibid*). Unfortunately the archives do not contain the information on what kinds of textbooks were to be used in teaching, but in his appeal Petrov indicates some connection to the Diaspora in Belgium, which can imply his intercommunications with the Russian Pedagogical Bureau. The desire to help even the smallest effort in fighting denationalization was great and thus one can speculate that the Bureau could have supplied the Oslo school with some materials.

Another important subject in which the Russian school in Oslo was planning to instruct was **Orthodox faith** (“*Law of God*”). A Soviet lullaby was quoted in the Appeal: “I’ll give you the portrait of Lenin. Don’t pray to God, my dear, there is no God”. This atheistic development in the Soviet Union was striking to the emigrant and the future role of the Russian youth became even clearer: they were to preserve the spiritual content of the Russian culture and transfer it back to the Soviet Russians upon return. The subject of religion was therefore planned as an essential part of the education. Asking the Orthodox priest Alexander de Roubetz to bless his new beginning, Petrov also requested “the methodological instructions for teaching Law of God” and Roubetz “with great joy sent him benediction”, gave him the bespoken instructions “and sent him a prayer book” (Letter from Roubetz to Carrick, February 25th, 1931, Ms. Fol. 4199: 18: 1).

In addition to Russian Language and Orthodox faith, it was planned to educate children in **Russian History**. In a lengthy passage the Appeal describes sarcastically the history of Russia which children might learn in the European schools. The lack of adequate information would lead to the “apathy, laziness and disgracefully flagitious indifference to everything connected to the Russian name, idea and culture”. Thus it was essential to educate children historically and amplify “their religious and national spirit” (Ms. Fol. 4199: 27: 1). All the above mentioned characteristics of the planned educative process in the Oslo school reflect the European pedagogical thought as described earlier in this chapter.

Unfortunately, in his wish to awaken interest for his school, Petrov had named several persons as already involved in this enterprise, without prior consultation with them, which was met with much ado. Carrick complained to Roubetz that he was announced as a permanent teacher in the school, while he himself did not intend to be connected to it on a permanent basis. “I have written to him [Petrov] that I step away from this enterprise for a while, but will return if it succeeds.” (February 21st, 1931; *ibid*). This negative attitude as well as lack of optimism for the school’s success had apparently asphyxiated the enterprise at the very start. “In fact, no school with the systematic studies is possible to organize here; at best one can start something like a children’s club where the adults would entertain and teach children” (*ibid*). These words of Carrick clearly were the reflection of the Diaspora’s attitude toward the new initiative, because two years later, in the first issue of Carrick’s periodical *Sviaz’* (*Connection*) in October, 1933 he states: “There is no organized Russian subject instruction for children [in Norway]” (Ms. Fol. 4199).

6.4.4 Second Russian School in Oslo

With the passing of time the situation with denationalization became more apparent. The necessity of formal education for the Russian children became clear to the REC members, and in January, 1937 the registration of children interested in learning Russian started, and 12 children signed up (Ms. Fol. 4199: 15: 2). The children were divided into three groups. The kindergarten had only 3-4 children, and the main idea was to play and communicate in Russian. Carrick's Picture tales for children (more on these in subchapter 6.5) were also used in the work with them. The second group contained about 7 children of school age, who could not read, and could not even speak Russian, but could understand a little: "The most important goal is to teach these children to speak, not emphasizing grammar so much, but rather helping them express their thoughts in Russian" (Letter to Carrick January 1st, 1937, *ibid*). The third group included 5 children between 7 and 14 years old, who could both read and speak, but desired to improve. This group was taught by Carrick. Alexander de Roubetz was also mentioned among teachers by the informant p2. Apparently, he taught during his infrequent visits to Oslo.

Several preparatory meetings were conducted in January, 1937, and in the first week of February, 1937, the school started to function. The teaching was conducted once a week, every Tuesday between 6 and 7 p.m. in Wergelandsveien in Oslo. Carrick describes his work at school as following: "I teach 5 children once a week in the Circle's location. (...) [A list of children follows]. Two other boys come irregularly" (*ibid*).

"The school was very irregular" – states informant p2. "I was in the group of children who spoke Russian well. There were books that we received from the teachers and I had to read them, and also wrote both dictations and compositions. I remember I wrote about Gogol, because my mother loved him so much. But the whole school was, so to speak, homespun, unprofessional."

At times the teachers had other commitments that hindered them from coming. A card from one student in Carrick's archive reads: "I am very sorry that you could not come last Tuesday, we, the oldest class, ended suddenly up without books, without a teacher or any visuals. I would be very glad if you could warn us beforehand" (*ibid*).

Carrick's archive also contains the curricula for the out-of-school education published in Paris by YMCA-Press and sent to him by the Pedagogical Bureau as help in his work. Carrick's pencil notes in these books suggest that they were used in his teachings. These materials include *Russian history Curriculum* by Prof. Odinets (1933), booklet *How to teach our children Russian Language (for those who lack Russian literacy)* by Prof. Kul'man (1932), *Russian Language Curriculum (for the children who can read and write in Russian)* by A. El'chinov, G. Lozinskii and K. Mochul'skii (1933), *Russian Geography Curriculum* by M. Levitskaia (1933) and *Law of God Curriculum (for the out-of-school education)* by S. Chetverikov (1933) (Ms. Fol. 4199: 15).

These materials suggest that the Russian Diaspora in Oslo was not only aware of the pedagogical ideas common for Russia Abroad, but was using them as a part their educational process.

After considering the organized educational efforts in Russian Diaspora (earlier in chapter 6) as well as the private family activities (chapter 5) the researcher would like to turn to some other types of educative and entertaining materials created by Russians in Oslo region.

6.5 Carrick's Picture tales for children

“A child's joy is the world's joy”

Valery Carrick's quote of Joseph Haydn

Scrutinizing of the Russian Diaspora in Oslo could not be done without honoring the work of one of the most well-known émigrés in Norwegian exile, Valery Carrick, who not only represented Norwegian Russia in many emigrant newspapers and almanacs (as *Rul'* in Berlin, *Russkii v Argentine* in Buenos Aires, *Vozrozhdenie* in Paris, etc.), published his articles and caricatures in Norway, Finland and many other countries, but also held a vast correspondence with notable politicians, religious leaders, philosophers, writers, educationalists, thus creating a bond between the Russian Diaspora in Norway and the rest of Russia Abroad.

Valery Carrick was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, on November 11th, 1869, and had a bilingual and bicultural background, something that later made him conscious of the needs of the Russian children and youth in Norway. In the late 1890s Carrick became a well-known caricaturist and painter and

was engaged by several satirical magazines (Teterevleva 2001). In 1909 he was suggested to illustrate several folk tales and adopt the texts for children, something that he did with tremendous pleasure, and this work resulted in 33 small picture books published before the revolution by publishing house *Zadruga* in Moscow, and the printing of 5-10,000 copies continued almost every year until 1922 (Carrick 1933). The easily recognizable illustrations were unceasingly being improved, in form as well as in expression, so that almost every edition of Picture-Tales contained new illustrations. These books became so popular that their translation into Ukrainian and Estonian was published before the First World War. Even after Carrick's emigration the reissuing of Picture-Tales continued, and *Gosizdat* (the Soviet State Publishing House) had reprinted several small books "in a burglarious manner" 50,000 copies each (*ibid*).

The emigration had put a stop to publishing of new Carrick's Picture-Tales in Russia, and in Russian language. Even though the British passport made it physically relatively easy for him and his wife to flee from the Bolshevik regime already in December, 1917, which put the Carrick couple among the first émigrés to Norway from Russia, the psychological effect this escape had on Carrick and his work can hardly be overestimated. Especially difficult for the artist was to accept the fact that his work was not being used by the children it was intended for. Despite the vanishing hope of return and possibility of seeing his books ever published in his native tongue, he kept working on his *Skazki-Kartinki* (*Picture-Tales*). The fact that these books were translated into several languages and published in England, USA, Norway and Holland could nevertheless not give him the "moral satisfaction which only the Russian edition could do" (*ibid*). He had created around sixty different picture books in Russian language with over 200 effervescently written folk tales from Russia and many other countries. In the Carrick archives in the National Library of Norway there are texts of 235 folk tales (Box 20), and all are richly illustrated (these illustrations are to be found today mainly in the private archives). At the same time, Carrick's dream to publish these books remained unfulfilled apart from four small picture books issued in Paris in 1932 (*ibid*).

Years past filled with zealous study in libraries and archives, with search for the most interesting and unusual Folk-tales, with work on adapting them, rewriting and often recreating them in such a way that the old tales became transformed into diamonds of deep fables often accurately and plenteously illustrated. In the letter to Mikhail Dolgorukov of February 3, 1937 (Ms. Fol.

4199:33:2) Carrick writes, that the paraphrase of Folk-tales is a natural thing, because “all the Folk-tales are written down by a particular person, the story-teller, who, of-course, has reshaped the tale with his personal variations. I consider myself such a story-teller, who transfers the tale the way he can, according to his own taste.” As a result, these tales were retold in a language that was easy to understand for the children living abroad. The vocabulary used for recreation of these Folk-tales was clear and precise, and the vividly expressive illustrations were intended to support the effect these stories would have on children. Unfortunately, publishing the books with illustrations in colour was extremely expensive and technically difficult, and thus the beautiful bright pictures that Carrick had created, had to be replaced by black-and-white drawings, nevertheless exceptionally lively.

Finally, in November, 1933, Carrick managed to buy a rotator, a stencil-printing machine, “a difficult to handle thicket of hand knobs, belts and chests”, which he put in his room and made his work-place for the 10 years that lay before him.

I am swallowed up by this work; I want to publish at least some of my books while alive. (...) I am filled with joy. Just imagine: the goal of my life, which I had lost all the hope to accomplish, now is being made possible right in my living room. (Carrick’s letter to A. Roubetz, November 11th 1933, Ms. Fol. 4199: 18 :3).

Excitement and joy was diluted with some problems, *inter alia*, the financial difficulties the artist had experienced. Scarce income had made it necessary to put a price on the published books, something that Carrick found quite repulsive, but inevitable, if he wanted to reimburse the price of the rotator. At the same time, more often than not, these Picture-Tales were spread among the children as Christmas gifts and friendship presents, and sold mostly abroad at a very reasonable price. Families who had no financial means to buy the books received them free of charge (Ms. Fol. 4199: 18: 3). Another difficulty had to do with the rather time consuming process of operating this machine, where all the illustrations were to be “transferred to special paper in such a way that it is not possible to see the drawing; there are a lot of defects and discards as a result” (*ibid*), but after a lot of practice, plenty of wasted paper and work and much gained experience, Carrick managed to publish the first *Skazki-Kartinki* picture tales for children.

The quality of the pictures was much lower than in the regular printed books. They were monochrome, and often had fewer details, which made them, by much, of less artistic value. Carrick wrote in a letter to M. Dolgorukov: “Concerning the artistry of the sketches, I myself hold it in a low regard. But I do not have even a slight doubt that children enjoy them nevertheless, probably due to their expressiveness. Children are very susceptible to this.” (February 3, 1937, Ms. Fol. 4199: 33: 2)

But regardless of the somewhat perfectionist attitude Carrick himself had on his work, these books were highly valued by the emigrant families and organizations. Lack of good literature for children in Russian was often mentioned by émigrés, and thus *Skazki-Kartinki* (*Picture-Tales*) were met with appreciation, as expressed in the Duke Mikhail Dolgorukov’s letter to Carrick:

The one who creates a good children book (...) deserves thankful immortality much more than all the inventors of machinery or conquerors of new lands. (...) It hurts my feelings to see that some Russians (of course because of their mindlessness) so carelessly look at such treasure as your *Skazki-Kartinki*. (January 25, 1936; Ms. Fol. 4199: 33: 2)

P.E. Kovalevski, a well known pedagogue and historian, the author of a foundational work on Russian educational efforts in emigration (1970) also gave an applaudive appreciation of Carrick’s work: “The Tales are charming, the drawings are admirable! Produced in such a way that well can substitute for press.” (Ms. Fol. 4199: 81).

Russian children in Oslo and around also sent him letters of admiration and thanks. One letter states: “Dear Mr. Carrick. My name is Tanya, I am 9 years old. Thank you very much for your books. My little brother and I are very happy to read them!” Another girl both wrote him letters and drew pictures; yet others sent their gratitude from around the globe (see the illustrations in Appendix).

Despite the high priority of this project, due to the above mentioned problems, Carrick managed to publish only 16 books out of hundreds well written and illustrated Folk-tales which he had collected and recreated. Uncertain of the future for the work of his life, the artist left a lot of materials connected to the Picture-Tales in the University Library in Oslo (Box 21 and 22 in Carrick archive) and in several private archives.

A great deal of almost archeological work awaits a future researcher, who decides to write a detailed story of Carrick's manifold and abundant life, his oeuvre and limitations, his correspondence with the literary, religious and political elite, his educative and journalistic work, his personal life and desire to connect the Diaspora, his prejudices, his philosophical reflections and strong opinions. In his letter to Alexander de Roubetz written on February 5th, 1936 Carrick writes ironically: "The Revel baroness is going to erect a monument devoted to me; but this requires fulfillment of three conditions: Russia must be freed, I have to die and in addition I have to earn enough fame for a monument. The first two conditions would not take long, but as far as the third one is concerned – there are some doubts about it." A circumstantial story of this accomplished person's life might become such a monument devoted to his talent and work. The researcher hopes sincerely that such a study will be conducted and Carrick will receive appreciation for all he became for the Russian Diaspora in Oslo and around the world.

6.6 Hand-written magazines

However, Carrick was far from the only talented émigré who settled in Norway. The Russian Diaspora representatives had a wide range of talents, both in music, singing and creativity. If the musical gifts were manifested in performing in concerts, cultural evenings and such, the creative thinking is evidenced by the hand-written magazines and newspapers. Already during their involuntary idleness in the camp in Værnes, several young navy officers started type-writing a newspaper *Galiunnyi vestnik*⁶⁰ (*WC Herald*), which gave a satirical account of the life around, reflecting at the same time the frustration the escapees felt. The twenty five issues (March – May, 1920) had the purpose of "bringing to light society's abscess" (Diary, pr. arch. 3, entry of April 15th, 1920). In reality it was perceived by some of the readers as "terrible pornography. They curse everyone in a very inappropriate way forgetting that this happens in the presence of ladies and children" (*ibid*). The way the information was gathered had not been considered as ethical; and the diary reveals that the "rascals" (magazine's composers) "walk around and listen to conversations

⁶⁰ The term "WC Herald" (or "Latrineparole") had emerged during the First World War in Germany and was described *inter alia* by Remarque (1984:43): „Nicht umsonst ist für Geschwätz aller Art das Wort „Latrineparole“ entstanden; diese Orte sind die Klatschecken und der Stammtischersatz beim Kommiß“. WC was the ultimate place of sincerity where nothing was hidden – neither physiology nor psychology; and fears, dreams and events were taken with a cynical humor which is intrinsic to people who face death at every moment of their lives. In many ways the grotesque situation the Russian officers found themselves in during internment was similar to the war zone and demanded the WC-humor as a means of psychological safety valve.

behind the windows, at night as well as during the day” both scaring women and irritating men. But the number of issues suggests that the magazine nevertheless was popular as emptiness and frustration was common to most, and the need to laugh at the situation and thus defuse the tension was enormous.

The second gazette, initially type-written, and then printed on a rotator, was also a satirical magazine *Zatkni fontan* (*Shut up the fountain*), which was similarly started and carried out by the young single men, members of the Russian Emigrant Circle in Oslo. The title was a direct quote from the ironical phrase by Kozma Prutkov⁶¹: “If you have a fountain, shut it up; let the fountain also rest”, meaning certainly the “fountain of eloquence”. This magazine’s purpose was also to address the activities in the Russian Diaspora in Oslo, reflecting them in an ironical and facetious way. Of course, somewhat malicious satire was not pleasant to the ears of the readers and this magazine was replaced by the rotator-printed newspaper *Blokha* (*Flea*) in November, 1930. The *Blokha*’s headline read: “Bites, but not painfully” and its purpose was stated as “to wake the reader up, to open his eyes, to bring him out of the dormancy, to open his fountain and... at least cause him to yawn if he cannot say anything” (*Blokha* 1930: 1). In many ways *Blokha* carried on the tradition of the satirical press. It was also published under the umbrella of the Russian Emigrant Circle, and even was on sale for 0,50 Norwegian kroner. It was less personal than its predecessor and if it touched upon a controversial topic, no names were mentioned, so that the reader had to guess the partakers of the event.

6.7 *Za morem sinichka* (Titmouse behind the sea)

All the above mentioned magazines focused on the adult readers or the older youth. But the most interesting and exciting finding the researcher made was the hand-written, hand-painted and self-created magazine for children and youth, *Za morem sinichka* (*Titmouse behind the sea*)⁶². In contrast with the many children’s almanacs in Europe (as for example *Russkaia zemlia* (*Russian*

⁶¹ Kozma Prutkov is a fictional author invented by Aleksey Tolstoy and his cousins, three Zhemchuzhnikov brothers, in 1850s-1860s. The four distinguished satirical poets used this pseudonym as a collective pen name to publish aphorisms, fables, epigrams, satiric, humorous and nonsense verses.

⁶² *Za morem sinichka* (*Titmouse behind the sea*) was often referred to as simply *Sinichka* (*Titmouse*), this title will be used further.

land) and *Russkii kolokol* (*Russian bell*)), which “displayed fervent national patriotism” (Raëff 1990:51), *Sinichka* had a very soft nostalgic spirit without any political or patriotic agenda.

Unfortunately, due to the nature of this study, there is no room for a detailed analysis of this magazine. Concurrently, the investigator hopes that *Sinichka* will awaken the interest of historians, and that a detailed scrutiny of the magazine will follow. Nevertheless, a short description of this artifact is presented in the subchapter.

Sinichka was founded in 1927 by the Heintz family (siblings Nina and Anatol) and provided the Russian speaking children and youth with reading material in their mother tongue. *Sinichka* lasted until 1936 and had 60 issues. The first three years the Heintz family created one issue every month, later the issues came out more seldomly, 6 issues a year in 1930-31, 4 issues in 1932 and 2 issues each year in 1933-36. According to the list of the readers’ addresses on the last page of each issue, the interest for *Sinichka* never faded. In addition to the political factor (described in chapter 7 of the theses), a reason for the decrease in frequency of the issues could be the lack of spare time. Anatol was no longer an undergraduate student, he married and his first child was born in 1930. Nina had also many commitments. Nevertheless, the issues which did see the light were always filled with many original articles, poems, tales or other materials, as well as pictures, mostly painted by the authors themselves.

Sinichka published its materials exclusively in Russian and the articles and illustrations placed there were authored either by the Heintz family (Anatol and Nina) or the “guest authors” – their relatives and friends. All the authors published their materials under pseudonyms or initials, which makes it hard to identify them today. The most frequent authors are nevertheless identified: Anatol Heintz (*Iks*); Nina Heintz (*Moresco*); Boris Borisov (*B.B.*); Valery Carrick (*VC*); Hélène Plusnine (*Elkina-Palkina*); Olga Mogutschy (*O.M.*); Eugen Hoffman (*E.G.*). These individuals authored 80% of all *Sinichka*’s materials. Unfortunately it was not possible for the researcher to identify the rest of the writers, one could only speculate on the matter. The owner of the archive, where *Sinichka* is preserved, was a young child in 1930s, and has no knowledge of the remaining authors’ identity either. But it is worth mentioning that both children and adults were involved in the creating of the materials. One author was a 7-year old girl, Nina, from “Petrograd”⁶³, other children had only

⁶³ The city was called Leningrad already since 1924, but it was systematically referred to as “Petrograd” in *Sinichka*.

pseudonyms (*Zvezdochka* (Little Star), *Liagushonok* (Little Frog) or *Trubochist* (Chimney-sweeper)).

The items were diligently copied into regular note-books by two “secretaries”. From the first issue of 1927 until no. 8 of 1929 the work was done by H el ene Plusnine, who in September 1929 left for Belgium. Anatol and Nina’s Mother, Olga Heintz, took over the copying of the materials and dedicatedly continued with the work until the last issue.

Sinichka was read by families in Norway, Belgium, Germany, USA and several other countries. The readers’ addresses were listed on the last page of each issue, so that the reader could forward the magazine to the next address on the list upon finishing reading it and sharing it with other Russian families around. Sometimes, the reading took longer time than expected, and the publishers finally asked specifically “not to hold an issue longer than for two weeks and then to send it to the next address on the list (see the last page) as a registered post package in a thick paper envelope” (Editor’s note. No. 5, 1930). Despite the considerable number of addresses, the issues were handled with care and diligently sent further, so that all the issues finally returned to the publishers. During the 10 years of *Sinichka*’s existence, the only issue lost in the post was *Sinichka* no. 2, 1931. Later at some point in time, the materials for this issue were rewritten by Olga Heintz, but most of the illustrations were lost beyond retrieval.

Sinichka contained a variety of items: original poems, authorial tales, stories of various length, scientific articles, travel accounts, sketches, jokes, riddles, crosswords etc.; translations from French, English, German or Norwegian; and folk songs or tales (both Russian and foreign), all richly illustrated. Interestingly enough, the setting of these items can be put into several groups: Russian setting, foreign (Norwegian or other Western) setting, fictitious (as in the poems about *Topsik*, a dog who traveled around the world and encountered many adventures) or unknown setting (as in case of poems about nature or of every-day life that do not unveil the geographical location). There is also a diversity of items’ themes with nostalgic descriptions of the past and memoirs of religious celebrations or childhood years in the home-country taking a significant place in the magazine.

A typical issue had a richly decorated cover page where the issue number and the year were stated. A short song, a poem or a proverb about a tit-mouse was used as an epigraph to each issue and put on the second page. Next item was an overview of the materials inside, including the types of the matter (poem, article, song, etc.), titles and the encrypted authors' and illustrators' names. A drawing always concluded the page. The rest of the note-book was filled with carefully selected and placed materials always making the reading exciting. The poems alternated with fairy tales, the natural science articles succeeded memoirs. Some materials were intended for the youngest of the readers. Some depicted Russian traditional holidays. The long stories were issued in smaller parts, so that the readers' interest was encouraged. Several educative articles were published in each issue, according to the interests of the authors. Anatol Heintz was a paleontologist, and thus many of his articles dealt with the pre-historic animals, described the exhibit items in Oslo Paleontology museum or the study tours the Oslo paleontologists took. Nina Heintz often wrote more general types of educative articles, describing animals or natural phenomena in an entertaining way.

A recollection "Our hedgehog" can be considered a typical *Sinichka* item (no 1-3, 1927), based on the childhood memories of the author (*Moresco*, i.e. Nina Heintz) and her brother. The children lived in a summer-house not far from Petrograd on the shore of the Gulf of Finland, where they found a little hedgehog and took it home as a pet. The story describes the behavior and habits of this animal, at the same time providing a great deal of small details of the everyday life common for middle-class children in the beginning of the XX century in Russia ("we put the hedgehog on the upper glassed balcony of our summer-house where we always had some animals"; "in our garden we had a modest but dense thicket of raspberry, chokecherry and other berries; we called them "jungle"; family dog *Shango* was held in a bathroom during the night; the children slept in the attic of the summer house, etc.). This information gave the readers an opportunity to compare their own childhood memories and contemporary surroundings to the pre-revolutionary life in Russia, something that could create a desire to visit the places left behind, to miss them, even if the reader was too young to remember them.

A typical *Sinichka* issue contained also some distinctively Russian items, such as folk songs, riddles, tales and jokes, rich in folklore language patterns, which stimulated language proficiency in the readers. In order to make these items more attractive, the authors illustrated them in a lively folk

style, portraying people in national costumes thus giving the readers a concept of a Russian folklore esthetics (see the Appendix for the illustrations).

The materials in *Sinichka* were both entertaining and educative, reflecting the pedagogical thinking of Russians Abroad, while at the same time revealing the deep desire for the return to the homeland the authors felt. One of such nostalgic poems by Nina Heintz, “*I want to go home!..*” (no.2, 1927) is used as an epigraph to this work and the researcher believes it mirrors the émigrés’ tragic longing for the lost past, for the home that might never be regained. And this deep love for their home-country was being transferred to the new generation through such poems, through memories, through the magazines such as *Za morem sinichka*.

The last issue of *Sinichka* came out in 1936, and even though the reason for the abrupt stop for *Sinichka*’s existence was not mentioned, the political and financial situation the Russian émigrés faced could not have left the Heintz family unaffected (see chapter 7).

The Russian Diaspora’s educative efforts described in this chapter hit their peak in the first part of 1930s, when the desire to return to Russia was strengthened by the expectations of the swift regime change, together with the sacred hope of renewal which the country would undergo upon the second generation’s repatriation. However, by the end of the decade the educative enthusiasm had faded away, and the breakdown of the Diaspora into groups along the lines of political affiliation became evident. This confrontation is analyzed in chapter 7.

Chapter 7: The end of organized Diaspora

A political confrontation among the Russian émigrés became apparent already as early as in the middle of the 1930s. The hard economical crisis which struck the world as well as the profound European political changes affected the émigrés even more strongly than it did the majority population due to the Diaspora's resistance to assimilation and its contraposition to the "foreign environment". The emerging Nazi movement had given some a vague hope of repatriating upon the German invasion of the Soviet Union, while other émigrés opposed the Hitler regime. In Norway, even such an apolitical celebration as the Day of Russian Culture was endangered by the differences in political opinions among the émigrés. In 1937 REC was even forced to call the émigrés to political neutrality while preparing for the celebration. The uniting of "all the nationally oriented Russian people in Norway despite their political affiliation and participation in any organization or party except for the communist", of the people who have "one thing in common: the fact that they are Russian and love Russia" was seen as necessary in order to "encourage the national spirit; strengthen and exalt the meaning and feeling for Russian culture" (Ms. Fol. 4199: 27: 1). This appeal supports the suggestion that the émigrés were already split politically, as it was seen necessary to find ways to unite them across these boundaries. Carrick, in his letters and diaries, mentioned repeatedly over the years the increasing of such confrontation along the line of Nazism which became a stumbling block in the Diaspora. "Decent people sing small, because it is dangerous to be decent these days, whereas rascals walk around with swastika banners and shout "Heil!" tempting the Germans to divide Russia" (1934, Ms. Fol. 4199: 33: 1). This confrontation was however comparatively dormant and hit the surface at the full scale only in April, 1940, when Germany invaded Norway, and, even though the Russian Diaspora, and REC as its representative, continued to function some time after the invasion, the inner contradictions became too great for the Russian émigrés to stay united. Some stood firmly on the idea that the infamous saying "the enemy of my enemies is my friend" should not apply to Hitler, whereas others had a clear picture of how the Russian émigrés could help the Nazi regime in order to destroy the Bolsheviks and thus gain an opportunity to return to their homeland. Several families split and stood on two different sides of the political "barricades"⁶⁴. Several émigrés openly collaborated with the Germans and the rumors

⁶⁴ The latter could become a topic for a study in itself, but is omitted in this work, both due to its little relevance for this study and to the confidentiality considerations.

of the Russian Jews being reported to the authorities by the named members of REC were spread among the émigrés (as told by informant 4), which awoke a diverse reaction.

During the very first weeks upon the Nazi invasion, Russian Emigrant Circle had sent out an appeal to all the Russian émigrés with the suggestion for everyone to unite under the REC wings:

The German authorities expressed the desire to set up a connection with the Russian “white” emigrants in Norway, both the ones who accepted Norwegian citizenship and the ones who did not do it. This communication with emigrants they would like to conduct through one person, namely, through the chairman of REC, expressing simultaneously a request that the “white” emigrants who are not members of REC should join it. This way the “white” emigrants-members of REC without citizenship will be exempted from police attendance. (Ms. Fol. 4199)

This appeal could suggest that the German authorities saw Russians in Norway as potential fifth columnists, which was not entirely wrong. Despite the fact that several Russian émigré sons were fighting on the German side in the WWII⁶⁵ and some emigrants openly supported the Nazi regime, several Russians fervently opposed them. At least one young Russian émigré was shot by the Germans after it became clear that he was a member of Norwegian resistant movement. At the same time, the researcher has found no evidence for pro-Soviet elements in the Diaspora in Oslo. One could suggest that it would have been dangerous to express support of the Stalin regime during the war, but the author believes that such adherence to the political system which caused their flight would be quite untypical for the Diaspora. Thus one can safely indicate that there were few Soviet supporters in Norway among the Russian émigrés, and the opposition to the Nazi regime was nevertheless anti-communist. The tragedy of this political worldview was that the émigrés were caught between the “two evils”: both regimes were vicious in their eyes and “abutting to any would be considered as treachery to the inner ideals” (Carrick’s Diary, Ms. Fol. 4199:18). Such anti-Nazi position did not allow the émigrés to expect the return together with their counterparts, who believed in swift homecoming as a consequence of rapid German victory over Soviet Union, while the anti-

⁶⁵ In a letter to all the Russians in Norway, REC invoked aid to the “Russian sons in the fight against Bolsheviks” and suggested sending small gifts (which might include warm clothing, hand-knitted mittens or socks), as well as personal letters of encouragement to the soldiers of Russian descent in the German army. (Ms.fol. 4199).

Soviet part of their affiliation prohibited them to look forward to Soviet victory.⁶⁶ Triumph of either side would be a disappointment for them. One of such individuals, Valery Carrick, did not live to see the end of the war; he died in 1943.

However, the situation turned around, and when the fate of Nazi Germany became clear, the Russians who supported Hitler experienced a hard blow of negativity from their compatriots. They were often despised, not invited home and were looked upon as traitors (informants p1, p4). Another factor that played a constitutive role was the fact that the Soviet Union had won the War, and the feelings of the Russian émigrés toward the Soviet regime changed. As informant p4 put it: “I felt our understanding of Russia Abroad had vanished. We saw the Soviet Union as a new Russia and us as the émigrés from a country that did not exist anymore.” Soviet Union clearly continued to carry on a culture of its own, and the émigrés were bound to accept this fact, abandoning the hope for repatriating.

In the Russian Diaspora internationally a big change occurred as well. After conquering Eastern Europe, the Soviet Army confiscated all the archives containing the activities of Russia Abroad and placed them into the closed archives in Moscow⁶⁷. The Russian émigré capitals of Prague and Berlin were also taken over by the pro-Soviet governments and this alone drove many of the first generation émigrés further to the West, mainly to France, the United States and Latin America, especially Argentina, where a relatively vast Diaspora was already settled after the Bolshevik revolution. Part of the second generation Russians in Eastern Europe had assimilated in such a way that the political and national struggle of their parents often did not appeal to them and they felt settled in their respective countries (Andreev & Savicky 2004, Jovanovic 2005). Some activists of the Diaspora died (General Anton Denikin in 1947, US, philosopher Petr Struve in 1944, France,

⁶⁶ One can mention that already by the end of July, 1941 a provisory government of a new Russia was formed in the USA with the head of Russian Fascist Party Anastase Vonsiatsky as the expected governor of the “Russian National Government, which will have its seat in Moscow (...) in about two weeks” (Stephan 1978:268). Several other claims for the future Bolshevik-free governments were made across Europe, and in the anticipation of this development REC’s representative addresses the Diaspora: “the German authorities asked me to announce to all the Russian emigrants regardless of citizenship that the entrance to Russia will be closed for all Russian emigrants, both the ones residing in Germany, and in other countries, until a certain order is set up in Russia” (Ms.Fol.4199). Thus one could expect in the near future an order which would allow all Russian émigrés to return to their home country.

⁶⁷ Such was the fate of the Prague Russian Historical Archive Abroad, the major documentary source of the émigré activities, which was “dispersed among over 20 special depositories – a very unfortunate decision, for it has destroyed the crucial character of the unity and purposefulness of its origins and provenance” (Raeff 2005:332). Only after *Perestroika*, the secrecy label was precluded and the researchers were allowed to study the materials.

poet Vladislav Khodasevich in 1939, France, *etc.*). The new emigration “waves” from the Soviet Union could be expected to bring life to Russia Abroad. However, the second “wave”, POWs and forced laborers, or so called *displaced persons*, who refused to return, was much too small and dispersed to make a difference. The consequent “wave” consisted of dissidents, who due to the nature of their emigration did not share the “white” émigrés’ repatriation hopes, while their Soviet legacy was often despised and distrusted by the “first wave” emigrants. “*Russia Abroad*’s sense of identity and cohesiveness were not to be revived” (Raeff 2005:319). Russia Abroad the way it functioned in 1920-1940s ceased to exist.

As a result, the organized educational activities had lost their relevance. Some families continued to communicate in Russian, as it became natural for them. However, the main socio-political factor of language and cultural maintenance, preference to return to homeland (Baker 2006:76), which was of major importance for the Russian Diaspora, had lost its relevance. The political situation forced the Diaspora to admit that the host-countries, including Norway, were to become its new home, and the assimilation became inevitable. Lack of a clear goal of maintaining the Russian language and culture had put an end to the striving for creating an intact Russian generation with a call to become the saviors of Soviet Russia upon repatriation. As far as the researcher could gather from the interviews, there were only a few second generation Russians who taught their children the language of their heritage.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ As mentioned earlier, the issue of the Russian language acquisition among the third generation is beyond the focus of this study as well as the further emigration “waves” and their attitudes toward Russian language and culture maintenance. But one can only mention that despite the fact that the émigrés continued to arrive (as a number of prisoners of war who chose to stay in Norway after the WWII or the “third wave” of emigration which included both Russian and Jewish dissidents who settled in this country), the organized Russian activities did not take place before 1990, and the Diasporic Russian school was started by the Norwegian-Russian Association only in 2003.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Upon the data collection and its analysis, the researcher was struck by the magnitude of the information about the activities of the Russian Diaspora in Norway. Unfortunately, due to the limited scope of the study, many of the findings were discarded. Nevertheless, the author strongly believes that this research will leave the readers with the realization that the Russian Diaspora in Oslo had a much more active cultural and pedagogical life than stated in the previous historic accounts. Both educational activities on a private basis (chapter 5) and the ones organized formally (chapter 6) had taken place. And even though some Russian families were not active in the processes of bringing their children up Russian (and, as stated in 6.4.4, some youngsters were not at all proficient in their heritage language), one can nevertheless state that the direct and deliberate educative efforts of the parents, other relatives and friends, as well as Russian organizations, resulted in certain numbers of second-generation Russian émigrés who up to this date maintain and improve their Russian language and consider themselves Russian. As informant p2 puts it: “My parents cultivated in me a strong love for Russia, Russia was *ne plus ultra*⁶⁹, so that when I was a little boy, and even now, I still feel Russian.” Thus one can state that the research had fulfilled its goal of bringing to light the findings as well as of describing the educational efforts of Russian Diaspora in Oslo in 1920–40s. The research targets are also reached as followed.

The research dealt with the terminology. The terms *Russia Abroad* and *denationalization* were explained in chapter 3; followed by the context the Russian Diaspora gave to the term *Culture* (subchapter 6.2). The terminology was analyzed from the theoretical viewpoint. The *educational efforts* the émigrés made to fight against denationalization were also discussed throughout the study.

In the course of her study, the researcher analyzed the historical development in Russia and Europe in the time period between the Russian revolution and the end of WWII, and thus placed the educational activities into the historic political frame, or *context*. She discussed the effect this *political ontogenesis* had on the pedagogical thought of the Diaspora and concluded that one can indeed identify the four stages of the progress of educational discourse, each conditioned by the

⁶⁹ Ne plus ultra – (New Latin, (go) no more beyond) – 1: the highest point capable of being attained; 2: the most profound degree of a quality or state. (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

aspirations of return, either fresh and vivid or vague and fading, according to the political atmosphere around (chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7).

Analyzing *other factors* which influenced the pedagogical choices of the Diaspora, the researcher concluded that the strong desire of repatriating, together with the expected role as saviors and rulers of post-Bolshevik Russia assigned to the second generation by the Diaspora elite, created a distinct pedagogical discourse which deliberately romanticized Russia and Russianness, contradistinguishing these to the “foreign” environment of the host-countries. The emotional attachment to Russian culture and language was encouraged. Most of the cultural factors of the language and culture maintenance described in subchapter 5.2, were manifested where applicable. As a result, a somewhat artificial formation, Russia Abroad, unique for its time country across state borders, managed to motivate Russians around the world, including those in Norway, to educate and bring their children up as Russians. Despite the short time frame (roughly two decades), the Russian Diaspora contributed considerably to pedagogical science and gave an illustration of the processes that might arise within minority communities in similar conditions.

Finally, the study can be considered a valid contribution to the study of Russian Diaspora in Oslo, inasmuch as the question of education among Russians in Norway has never been studied before, and the majority of findings described in this work are unique and original. Thus, hopefully, this research will serve to inspire other investigations into the various spheres of émigré educational enterprises, as new information is brought to the surface.

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⁷⁰ Some books by the Russian émigrés were republished in Russia during the last decade. At the same time, researcher suggests that it is important to note the original year of the first publication, as the émigré educational discourse as well as understanding of the historical situation in Russia and abroad would differ enormously from the contemporary discourses. Therefore, the original publication year is mentioned in the parenthesis where applicable.

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Appendix

List of appendices:

1. Interview guide
2. Agreement form
3. Illustrative material

Interview guide

Introduction:

- Short information about the projects objectives and goals
- The rights that the informant has
- Researcher's background and experience.

Informant's background:

- Family history on the topic of language and culture preservation;
- Knowledge and possible participation in the Russian emigrant society and Russian Orthodox church activities;
- Knowledge and possible participation in the activities of the Russian Sunday School for children in Oslo in 1926-1940.

To the informant's knowledge:

- What was the reason behind the organising of the Russian Sunday school for children in Oslo?
- What was the content of the education? What were the time and space frames for the school, who and how studied? Who taught and how the whole process was organised?
- What is the historical frame for such activities in Oslo, Norway? What kind of other efforts did the Russian emigrants make in order to make their children familiar with the Russian language and culture within the frame of the Russian-Norwegian society during the 1920-1945?
- What role in did the Russian Orthodox Church play in this process?
- How can the informant explain the breakdown of the Russian Diaspora?
- Is there more information on the Diaspora's pedagogical efforts the informant could add?

Informasjon om masteroppgaven ”The role of formal and informal education in language and culture maintenance among Russian immigrants in Oslo (1920-1945).”

Jeg, Lidia Chumak, er en student ved masterstudiet i flerkulturell og internasjonal utdanning ved Høgskolen i Oslo. I den forbindelse ønsker jeg å skrive masteroppgaven om den russiske diasporas arbeid rettet mot bevaring av sitt språk og kultur. I oppgaven min stiller jeg spørsmål om den russiske skole for barn som fungerte i Oslo fra ca 1926 fram til andre verdenskrig samt andre eventuelle tiltak som russere har gjort for å opplære sine barn i russisk språk og kultur.

For å få svar på disse spørsmål trenger jeg 1-2 timer av Deres tid til en samtale. Vi kan ha samtalen på russisk eller på norsk – avhengig av Deres ønske. Planen er å gjennomføre intervjuene i august – september 2008. Jeg takker Dem for Deres hjelp i arbeidet.

Med vennlig hilsen

Lidia Chumak

.....KLIPP.....

Jeg har fått informasjon om prosjektet ”The role of formal and informal education for language and culture maintenance among Russian immigrants in Oslo (1920-1945)”.

Jeg, _____, gir mitt samtykke til å delta i et intervju om russisk diaspora.

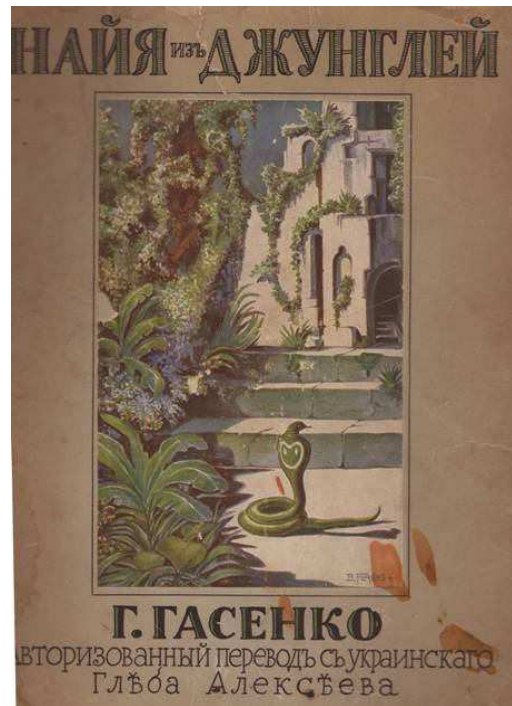
Samtalen vil bli tatt opp på bånd. Disse opptakene vil bli slettet etter at oppgaven er godkjent. Om De har spørsmål, så kan De ta kontakt med meg enten på telefon: (*tlf. nr.*) eller på e-post: (*e-post adr.*).

(Sted, dato)

(Underskrift)



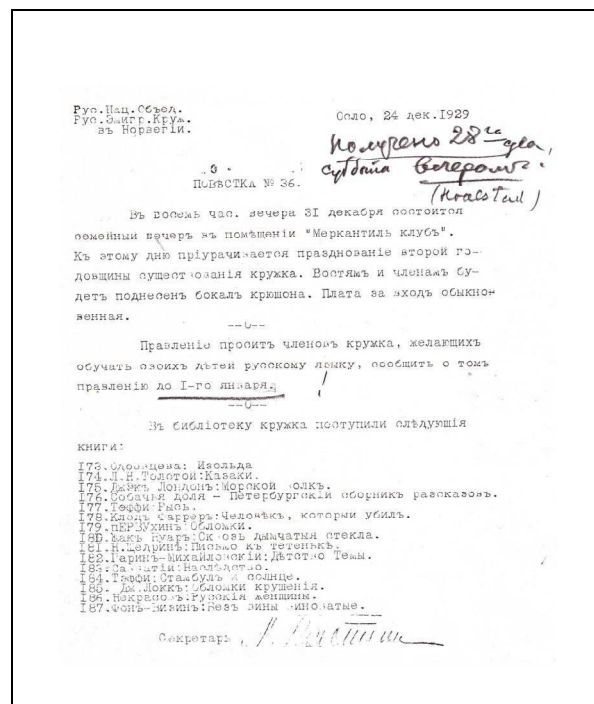
Pic.1 (3.4.3): The concert program for the performance of Cossack choir in Oslo, Oct.6th, 1927. (Carrick's archive)



Pic.2 (5.3.2): Family activities involved reading aloud. I.e. this book was written by an émigré writer G. Gasenkko and published in Berlin in 1922. (Arch. C)



Pic.3 (5.3.2): Traditional Easter food was on many Russian tables regardless of their affiliation with the Orthodox Church. (Cover of *Za morem snichka* no.4, 1927. Arch. B)



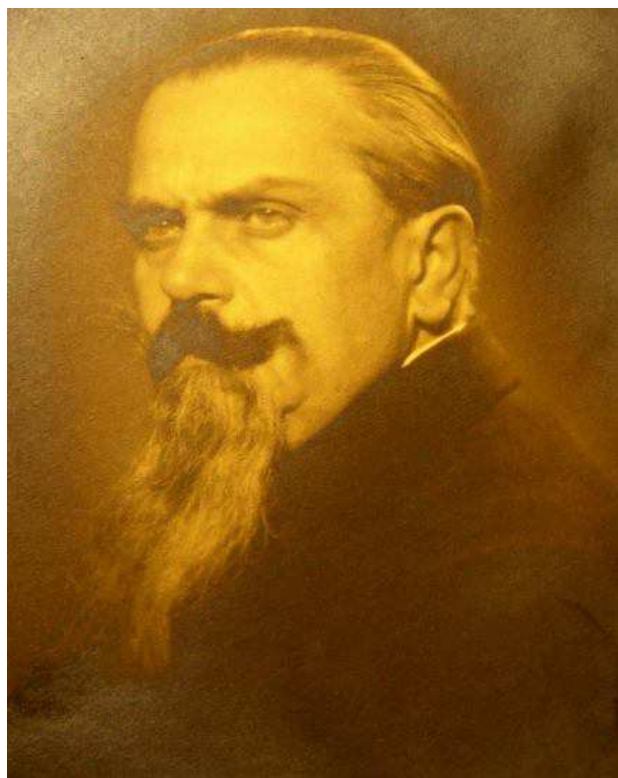
Pic.4 (6.4.1): Invitation to a family evening at REC and information about the new books in the Russian library. 1929. (Carrick's archive)



Pic.5 (6.4.1): A theatre performance organized by REC members. (Arch. D)



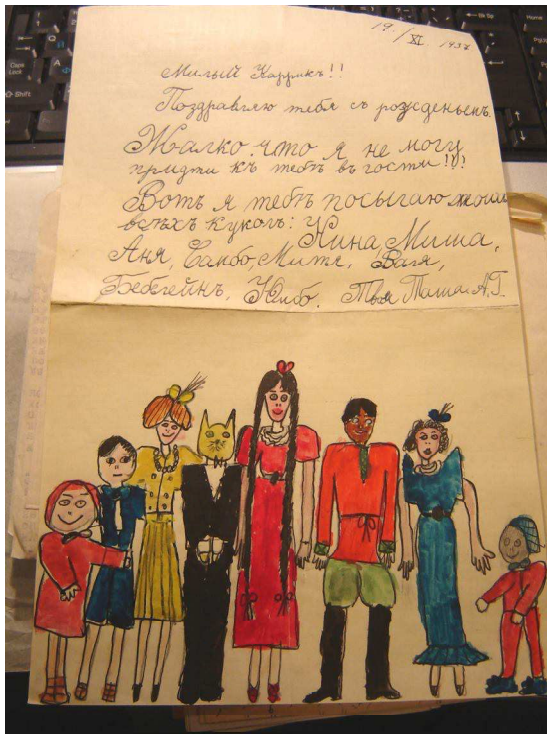
Pic.6 (6.4.1): Another REC performance. (Arch. D)



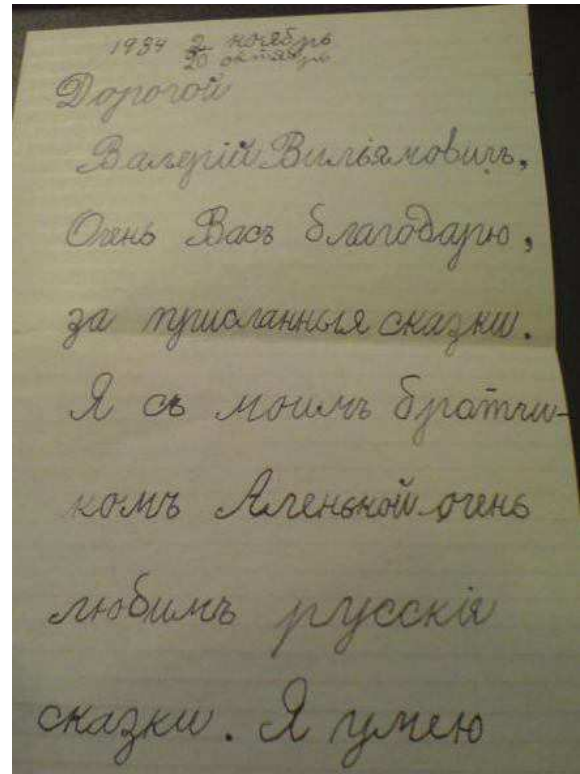
Pic.7 (6.4.2): The Orthodox Priest f. Alexander de Roubetz, beneficiary of the Oslo Parish (1935-1947). (Carrick's archive)



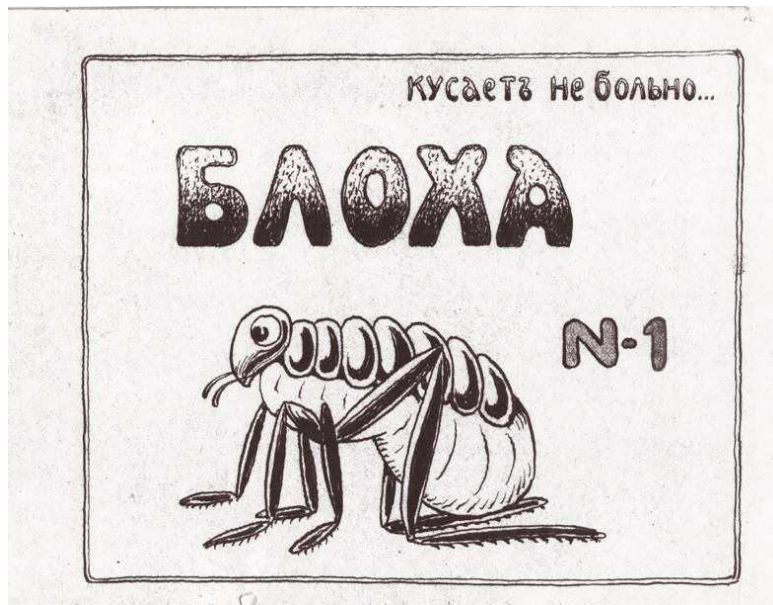
Pic.8 (6.4.4): Valery Carrick. (Carrick's archive)



Pic.9 (6.5): Russian children drew pictures to Carrick. (Carrick's archive)



Pic.10 (6.5): Other children thanked Carrick for his books. (Carrick's archive)



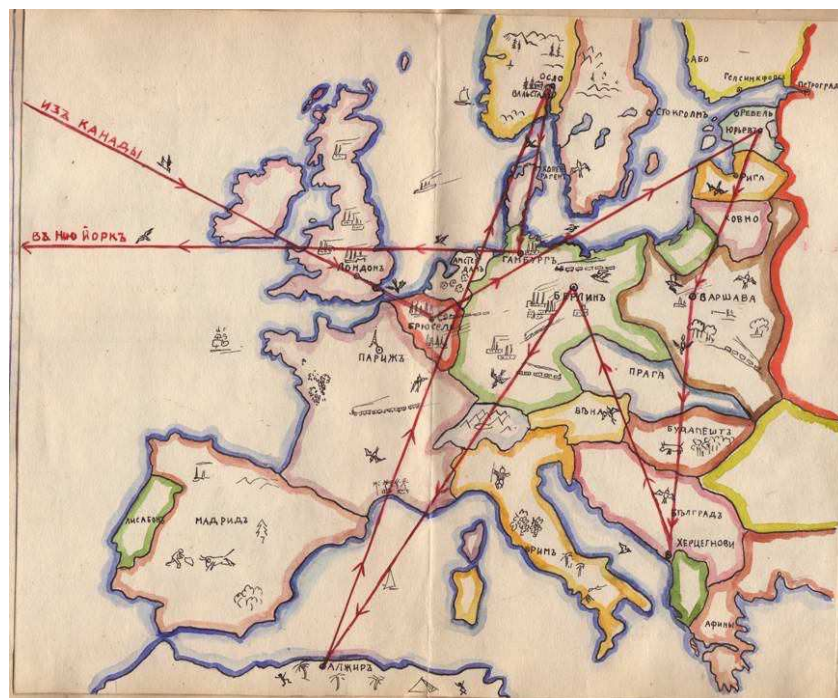
Pic.11 (6.6) One of the hand-written magazines, *Blokha* (Flea). (Carrick's arch.)



Pic.12 (6.7): The hand-written magazine *Za morem sinichka* (*Titmouse behind the sea*) was always richly decorated with original illustrations. (Arch. B)



Pic.13 (6.7): The materials in *Sinichka* were often culturally bound. “Boyar” by Boris Borisov. (Arch. B)



Pic.14 (6.7): A map of *Sinichka*'s travel around the world in 1930. (Arch. B)



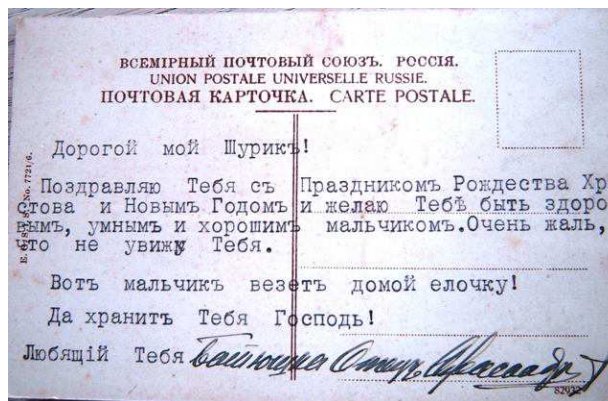
Pic.15: Invitation to celebration of the Day of Russian Culture (Carrick's archive)



Pic.16: A page from the *Skazki-Kartinki (Picture Tales)* by V. Carrick (Carrick's archive)



Pic.17: A Christmas card to a child in Oslo by f. Alexander de Roubetz (Arch. A)



Pic. 18: A Christmas card to a child in Oslo by f. Alexander de Roubetz, back side (Arch. A)