Individual Responsibility for the Common Cause? Everyday Preservationism in the Interwar Russian Émigré Newsmagazine *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*

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Individual Responsibility for the Common Cause? Everyday Preservationism in the Interwar Russian Émigré Newsmagazine *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*

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ABSTRACT

This article considers the approach of the popular Russian émigré newsmagazine *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* [*Illustrated Russia*] to so-called preservationism — simply put, the tendency to preserve prerevolutionary Russian culture in exile. More specifically, this article studies preservationism in the everyday life of the Russian interwar diaspora. Due to its long run, broad scope, and large readership, the magazine is a unique and invaluable document, offering significant insight into the social and cultural life of Russian émigrés. In order to gain an understanding of preservationism in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, a close reading of the periodical will be conducted, centred around questions such as whether the magazine covered any aspects of prerevolutionary Russian culture at all, and, if so, which and how?

Focusing on three key elements of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s editorial content, this article demonstrates that preservationism in popular and everyday culture as presented in this periodical differs markedly from its high-culture counterpart (such as highbrow literature and visual arts, for example). What stands out in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s approach is that prerevolutionary Russian life and culture are rarely covered and, more importantly, never truly glorified. Instead, coverage of the Russian émigré community itself makes up a central part of the magazine's content. When it comes to preserving Russian culture and identity, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* pleads for finding a middle ground between preserving the home culture and adapting to the host culture. In doing so, the magazine frequently stresses readers' individual responsibility to seek connection with their Russian identity instead of relying on leading émigré figures and institutions.

KEYWORDS

Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya, Russian interwar emigration, preservationism, cultural identity, popular culture

Illustrating *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*

The Russian-language newsmagazine *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* [*Illustrated Russia*][1] was one of the largest and most widespread periodical publications in the Russian diaspora of the interwar period.[2] It was published weekly in Paris from late 1924 until 1939, resulting in 748 issues of about twenty-five to thirty pages each.[3] The magazine was led by three consecutive editors: journalist Miron Mironov (1924 to mid-1931), renowned realist writer Aleksandr Kuprin (mid-1931 to mid-1932), and wealthy émigré businessman Boris Gordon (mid-1932 to 1939).[4] Furthermore, from early 1936 until early 1937, the cover listed prominent literary names such as Ivan Bunin, Zinaida Gippius, and Dimitri Merezhkovsky as members of the editorial committee.[5]

Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's content is best described as 'something for everyone'. The magazine treated a wide array of topics, ranging from fine arts and literature to sports, and politics, in a multitude of genres and media, both verbal and visual. It did not limit itself to émigré and Soviet topics, but also printed Western and prerevolutionary Russian items. Moreover, both highbrow culture (such as fine arts and high literature) and middlebrow entertainment (such as fashion, sports and more popular literature) were represented. This very diverse content made *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* an idiosyncratic form that stood midway between a literary, lifestyle, and newsmagazine.

This mix of topics and genres arguably appealed to émigré readers, as *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* was widespread throughout the Russian diaspora. Although the magazine was published in Paris (and from March 1926 also in Berlin, under the editorship of A. G. Levenson), its readership extended well beyond these cities and even beyond the borders of Europe.[6] Selling points and distributors listed on the last pages of every issue include cities in various European countries such as Germany, Poland, and Turkey, but also Egypt, the US, and even China and Japan. What is more, by publishing letters and contest entries by readers from both central and peripheral areas of the Russian diaspora, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* indicated that the magazine was actively read and participated in throughout the émigré community.

Unlike many new periodicals, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s first issue did not contain any mission statement clarifying its aim or target audience. In fact, there was not even a foreword; the issue jumped right in with a short story by future editor Aleksandr Kuprin, called *Poshchyochina* [*Slap in the Face*].[7] On the occasion of *llyustrirovannaya*

1 Or *La Russie illustrée*, the magazine's French title which also appeared on the cover alongside the Russian title. A digitized version of the entire run of the magazine is available at lib.ugent.be/catalog/ser01%3A001643403. In this article, direct quotations from the magazine are given in Cyrillic; all other elements in the Russian language will be transliterated.

2 Tatyana Marchenko, 'Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya', in *Literaturnaya entsiklopediya Russkogo Zarubezhya, 1918–1940*, ed. by Aleksandr Nikolyukin (Moscow: Inion Ran, 2000), pp. 282–91 (p. 283).

3 There is no starting date specified, presumably the first issue was published mid-August.

4 Leonid Yuniverg, '*Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* kak zerkalo emigrantskoy zhizni 20-30-kh godov', in *Evrei i kultura Russkogo Zarubezhya 1919–1939*, ed. by Mikhail Parkhomovsky (Jerusalem: Nauchno-issledovatelsky tsentr Russkoye Evreystvo v Zarubezhe, Vyp. 2, 1993), pp. 202–20 (p. 203–06). Unlike his predecessors, Gordon's name was never mentioned as editor on the cover. It is likely that Gordon's editorship was mainly business related and did not concern the magazine's content.

5 For more factual information on *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* and other periodicals of the Russian interwar emigration, I recommend the online bibliography emigrantica.ru.

6 As I was unable to compare the Parisian and Berlin publications, I cannot say if they differ. It thus is not clear whether Levenson's editorship was purely business related, or also concerned *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's* content.

7 For *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s readers the title of this story must have been reminiscent of *Poshchyochina obshchestvennomu vkusu* [*A slap in the Face of Public Taste*], the 1912 collection of poems by a group of cubo-futurist poets (among whom Velimir Khlebnikov and Vladimir Mayakovsky) as well as the eponymous manifesto attached to the collection, denying all previous existing aesthetic values and declaring a break with the existing literary tradition.

Fig. 1 Example of an issue, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, 27 (1930), 268

Rossiya's one hundredth issue in April 1927, its founder Miron Mironov stated that the absence of an editorial statement was a conscious choice. Contrary to many other émigré periodicals, which focused on a segment of the Russian diaspora (generally speaking following the contours of the divide between left and right, or, according to Mironov, between 'monarchists and republicans'), *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* opted for a politically independent course, focused on uniting the entire Russian émigré community against its common foe: Bolshevism.[8] As such, Mironov claimed, it was the magazine's aim to 'serve the needs of *the whole* diaspora, illuminating its everyday life and responding, where possible, to its joys and griefs'.[9] The fact that *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s content was consciously and deliberately apolitical, however, does not necessarily mean that its contributors were free of political convictions. Rather, it illustrates that the magazine aimed to maximize its reach and to unify émigrés around topics of common interest. I will not further discuss the political preferences of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s individual contributors, as this lies beyond the scope of this article.

Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya did not simply reflect émigré culture but was an intrinsic part of it and even contributed, in various ways, to its formation.[10] First of all, the magazine brought particular aspects of émigré culture to its readers' attention and, hence, influenced their consumption. Being a commercial product, the magazine also catered to its readers' wishes and expectations, for example by devoting sections to specific target groups, such as women and children, or by discussing significant émigré topics, such as the question of how to remain Russian or how to educate children (see below). These mentalities were occasionally made explicit in sections devoted to public opinion, as well as by means of readers' letters. What is more, with content such

8 'монархистов и республиканцев.' Miron Mironov, 'Sto nomerov' [One hundred issues], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 15 (1927), 1. All translations of quotations from *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* are mine.

9 'служить нуждам *всей* эмиграции, освещая ее жизнь и быт, откликаясь, по возможности, полнее на ее радости и скорби...' Ibid.

10 See also Lyn Pykett, 'Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22.3 (1989), 100–08 (p. 102).

as editorial notes, opinion pieces, and journalists' essays, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* engaged in the public debate, shaping émigré mentalities. Finally, the periodical exerted a formative force in the émigré community as it published announcements of charitable organizations, actively promoted charity and solidarity, and purposefully sought to unite individual émigrés by means, for example, of a section devoted to readers' letters (see below). Midway between an institution and a forum for popular émigré culture, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* is an invaluable source for a more complete understanding of interwar Russian émigré culture in general, and of everyday life and popular culture within that community.

Despite *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s vast potential as a resource for insight into the life and mentalities of the Russian interwar emigration, there has never been an in-depth study of the journal, nor of similar popular Russian émigré journals of the interwar period, for that matter. The very few sources focusing on the periodical either provide a general overview of the magazine, or focus on one specific aspect of the journal and, hence, do not offer a comprehensive understanding of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* as a journal and its place in émigré society. Yuniverg and Marchenko offer a glance of the magazine by summarizing editors and contributors, and discussing its content at large, from literature and humor to photographs and news items.[11] The studies focusing on one specific aspect of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, in turn, tend to paint a very limited, and not rarely distorted, image of the magazine. Perkhin looks at *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s 'artistic position' by studying the artworks printed on its covers and links this position to the economic and political conditions of the time.[12] The short article by Bryzgalova and Ivanova looks into the graphic illustrations in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, especially the cartoons, and focuses on the process of 'creolization', analyzing the correlation between the verbal and the visual.[13] And other articles focus on specific contributors, such as satirical writer Sasha Chorny and his contributions to the magazine's humorist sections.[14]

By analyzing *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s content under its first editor Miron Mironov (i.e. from 1924 until mid-1931) and by discussing a number of particular cases, this article traces how *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, as a vehicle of Russian émigré culture, engaged with prerevolutionary Russian culture and identity.

The Russian Interwar Emigration: A Community Prone to Preservationist Tendencies?

The 1917 October Revolution and the ensuing Russian Civil War (1918–22) forced over a million Russians into exile. By far the majority of them settled in Europe, especially in France and Paris, which soon became the heart of the Russian interwar expatriate community. During the interwar period, the émigré community as a whole, also known as 'Russia Abroad', led its own social, political, and cultural life, with its cultural output reaching exceptionally high levels in terms of quality, quantity, and diversity.

11 Leonid Yuniverg, '*Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* kak zerkalo emigrantskoy zhizni 20-30-kh godov', in *Evrei i kultura Russkogo Zarubezhya 1919–1939*, ed. by Mikhail Parkhomovsky (Jerusalem: Nauchno-issledovatelsky tsentr Russkoye Evreystvo v Zarubezhe, Vyp. 2, 1993), pp. 202–20; Tatyana Marchenko, 'Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya', in *Literaturnaya entsiklopediya Russkogo Zarubezhya, 1918–1940*, ed. by Aleksandr Nikolyukin (Moscow: Inion Ran, 2000), pp. 282–91.

12 Vladimir Perkhin, 'Khudozhestvennaya pozitsiya zhurnala *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* (1926–1939)', *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta Kultury i iskusstv*, 1.18 (2014), 76–82.

13 Elena Bryzgalova and Irina Ivanova, 'Graficheskaya illyustratsiya i yeyo rol v yezhenedelnike 'Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya', *Vestnik tverskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: filologiya*, 3.62 (2019), 127–34.

14 Marina Zhirkova, 'Sasha Chorny kak redaktor i avtor otdela satiry i yumora *Bumerang* v parizhskom ezhenedelnom zhurnale *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*', *Vestnik RUDN*, 2 (2015), 67–74.

As Paul Thomson indicates in the preface to the edited volume *Migration and Identity*, identity tends to be a quintessential issue in diasporic communities.[15] Caught between the home country of the mind and the physical host country, émigrés are challenged to position themselves *vis-à-vis* those two worlds.[16] Hence, émigrés may — consciously or not — stress exactly those characteristics they consider typical of, or intrinsic to, their home culture. This practice risks downplaying or overstressing specific aspects, or even inventing them. In the case of Russian expatriates, there was a specific risk of what could be called 'self-orientalization': the shaping of Russian identity in correspondence with a biased Western image of 'the Russian' as non-Western or even un(der)developed. This process is reminiscent of what Said calls 'orientalism': a prejudiced and patronizing view of the 'inferior', 'un(der)developed' Orient based on the presumption of a 'superior', 'developed' West.[17]

Attention for the culture of the homeland seems to have been increased by the specific context of the Russian interwar emigration. Russian émigrés were not only geographically displaced and resettled within the new context of the Western host countries; they were also historically uprooted. With the Bolsheviks' rise to power, a new Soviet counterculture arose which seemed to eradicate everything prerevolutionary, and, thus, 'truly' Russian.[18] Furthermore, until the early 1930s the émigrés lived in expectation of soon returning home after the Bolsheviks' imminent demise.[19] Hence, to preserve for future generations what they considered 'true' Russian identity became an abiding concern for many émigrés. However, as Demidova indicates, their understanding of what constituted Russian identity to a certain extent relied on a curated and even mythologized image of prerevolutionary Russia.[20]

High Versus Popular Culture

Studies focusing on preservationism in émigré culture have generally focused on high culture. What is more, the common conception of émigré culture seems to be top-down. It is understood as a culture created by a cultural elite and supported by institutions, instead of actually experienced and formed more or less organically by the émigré community as a whole, bottom-up. Studies of high émigré culture demonstrate that the wish to preserve Russian culture and identity did considerably affect the cultural production of the émigré community. In literature, for example, a whole 'nostalgia industry' developed, in which life in prerevolutionary Russia became a central and even

15 Paul Thompson, 'Preface', in *Migration and Identity*, ed. by Andor Skotnes and Rina Benmayor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. v.

16 In the case of the Russian diaspora, in addition to the prerevolutionary Russian home country and the Western host countries, a third sphere of influence is clearly present: the contemporary home country, i.e. Soviet Russia. In my doctoral dissertation, I refer to this process of influence as 'triangulation', by analogy with the term Greta Slobin has coined as a founding principle of Russian interwar émigré literature. See Greta Slobin, *Russians Abroad. Literary and Cultural Politics of Diaspora, 1919–1939* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013); Phaedra Claeys, 'Safeguarding Russian culture as a cultural reality or as a cultural construct? The newsmagazine "Illustrated Russia" and popular Russian émigré culture in the interwar period' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ghent University, 2021), p. 7–8.

17 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1979). As Todorova demonstrates, Said's concept can also be applied to other non-Western cultures, such as the Balkans, or Russia, for that matter. Marina Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

18 Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 47.

19 Ibid., p. 16.

20 Olga Demidova, 'Mif kak fenomen (samo)soznaniya russkoy emigratsii', in *Kultura russkoy diaspory: emigratsiya i mify*, ed. by Sergey Dotsenko and Aleksandr Danilevsky (Tallinn: Izd. Tallinnskogo Universiteta, 2012), pp. 13–27 (p. 13–14).

sacred theme.[21] The works of Ivan Bunin, especially his most renowned novel *Zhizn' Arsenyeva* [*The Life of Arsenyev*] (1927–39), known for its numerous and elaborate musings on prerevolutionary Russian life and landscapes, typify this trend. At the same time, the rare attention paid to modernity and contemporary life in émigré literature was mostly negative.[22] Similarly, in the field of visual arts, Susanne Marten-Finnis indicates, traditionalist artists focusing on Russian subjects received much attention, while norm-breaking avant-garde artists were largely ignored because of their reputation as admirers of the radical changes in Bolshevik Russia.[23] An example of this phenomenon is the art journal *Zhar Ptitsa* [*Firebird*] (1921–26).

Popular, everyday émigré culture has received little attention within the field of Russian émigré studies. This is remarkable, considering its extraordinary richness and diversity. In order to fully understand the émigré community in all its nuances, it is essential to also consider its everyday culture, and to connect highbrow and popular émigré culture.

Literature in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*: A Two-Track Policy

Russian culture is generally considered a logocentric culture, centered around the word and literature.[24] Because of strict censorship in nineteenth-century Russia, literature became a crucial forum for developing and spreading ideas.[25] The significance of literature in Russian culture is certainly reflected in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's* pages, as from its inception the magazine devoted a significant portion of its content to literature and literary reviews every week.

Most issues contained several prose stories, predominantly by émigré and Soviet authors, and sometimes by Western writers. Significantly, prerevolutionary works hardly appeared in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*. This does not mean, however, that the magazine considered prerevolutionary literature as insignificant, quite the contrary. In 1929, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* began to offer literary works as supplements. Over the course of the year, it offered its subscribers a package of twenty-four works for an additional price in order to compose their own 'library of the best Russian and foreign writers'.[26] While 'Russian' was used in the broadest sense of the word, including Soviet, émigré, and prerevolutionary writers, from 1930 onwards the titles were predominantly prerevolutionary, including works by Pushkin, Lermontov, Turgenev, and Tyutchev, as well as children's literature by Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky.

By means of these literary supplements, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* brought prerevolutionary Russia to émigré households. This strategy was applauded by renowned émigré writer and critic Georgy Adamovich, who, from mid-1929 onwards, led the magazine's literary criticism section 'Literaturnaya nedelya' ['Literary Week'].

21 Galin Tihanov, 'Towards a History of Russian Émigré Literary Criticism and Theory between the World Wars', in *A History of Russian Literary Theory and Criticism: The Soviet Age and Beyond*, ed. by Evgeny Dobrenko and Galin Tihanov (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), pp. 321–44 (p. 336).

22 Ben Dhooge, 'Making Sense of the Recent Past and Present: Civic Poetry in Russian Prague', *Russian Literature*, 87–89 (2017), 147–200 (p. 152–53).

23 See Susanne Marten-Finnis, *Der Feuervogel als Kunstzeitschrift: Žar ptica. Russische Bildwelten in Berlin 1921–26* (Wien: Bohlau Verlag, 2012).

24 Tomi Huttunen, 'Russian Rock: Boris Grebenschikov, Intertextualist' (2005), www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/tphuttun/mosaiikki/en1/th1_en.pdf.

25 Nel Grillaert, 'Het Russische nihilisme: dialoog tussen feit en fictie', *Wijsgerig perspectief op maatschappij en wetenschap*, 51.3 (2011), 6–13 (p. 8).

26 'библиотеку лучших русских и иностранных писателей.' Subscription advertisement, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 49 (1928), 14.

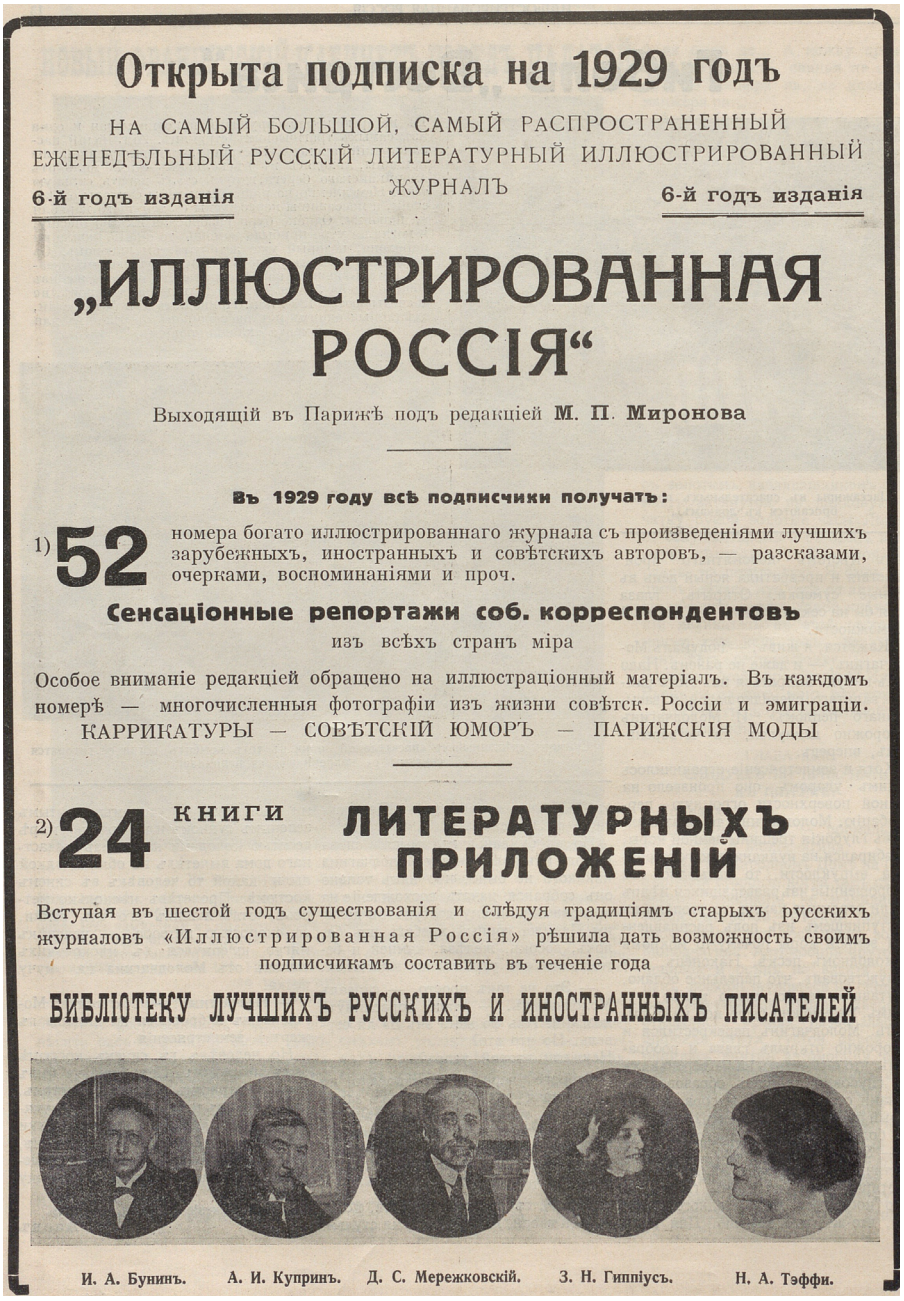

Fig. 2 Announcement for the 1929 literary supplements, indicating that readers will receive 52 issues and 24 additional books of writers, including Ivan Bunin, Aleksandr Kuprin, Dmitri Merezhkovsky, Zinaida Gippius, and Nadezhda Teffi (all pictured). *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 49 (1928), 14

Adamovich praised the magazine's initiative in general, but he was especially delighted about *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's* focus on the classical literary canon:

> I think that *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* is doing a very necessary thing by providing Pushkin and Lermontov as annexes to the magazine. This is the same as what [Adolf] Marks's *Niva* once did. But now we have to start all over again and instead of searching for authors who have not yet reached the 'general public', we have to reintroduce Pushkin and Lermontov to this 'general public'. This is like a 'forced

> gift', the value of which, perhaps, not everyone will immediately understand, but over time, everyone will recognize. Even he who thinks that he remembers all the 'classics' perfectly, although 'he has not reread them for a long time' — let him try, let him discover [Pushkin's *Evgeny*] *Onegin* or [Lermontov's] *A Hero of Our Time*: he will see how much he has forgotten, or what he simply did not notice before. And he will agree that such books at home are 'objects of first necessity'.[27]

By offering these books in annex, Adamovich clarified, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* brought the prerevolutionary practice of *Niva* into the émigré context to allow its readers to stay familiar with prerevolutionary Russian literary classics.[28] Also on other occasions, Adamovich urged *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's* readers to reread Russian classics. When advising on summer reading, for instance, he suggested:

> [t]o reread the 'old' but not outdated Tolstoy, Gogol, Dostoyevsky, or even Pisemsky, or at least Turgenev... The nomadic life and the complete lack of books among most of us have led to the fact that *War and Peace* or *Demons* are half-forgotten here. It cannot be otherwise. We read them in Russia, but here we do not have them 'at hand'. In libraries they sign up for 'new products' of course, and not for Tolstoy and Gogol.[29]

Apart from Adamovich's remarks, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* never explicitly clarified the importance of reading Russian classics. Every time a new book appeared in annex, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* would announce it at the top of the issue's first page, but it did not comment on the significance of the work. It seemed self-evident for the periodical that the émigrés knew their literary canon. It would seem that *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* simply provided its readers with copies of those prerevolutionary Russian works as they were not physically available abroad.

When it comes to prerevolutionary literature, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, then, adopted a two-track policy. On the one hand, within its own pages it published almost

27 'Мне думается, что "Иллюстрированная Россия" делает очень нужное дело, давая Пушкина и Лермонтова в приложение к журналу. Это то же, что когда-то делала марксовская "Нива". Но теперь приходится начинать сначала и не выискивать авторов, еще не проникших в 'широкую публику', а снова в эту "широкую публику" внедрять Пушкина с Лермонтовыми. Это — единственный способ заставить их читать. Это как бы "насильственный подарок", ценность которого не сразу, может быть, все поймут, но со временем все признают. Даже тот, кто думает, что он отлично всех "классиков" помнит, хотя "давненько что-то их уж не перечитывал", — пусть попробует, пусть раскроет "Онегина" или "Героя нашего времени": он увидит, как многое он забыл, а то и просто прежде не замечал. И он согласится, что такие книги в доме — "предмет первой необходимости".' Georgy Adamovich, 'Literaturnaya nedelya' ['Literary Week'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 8 (1930), 16.

28 According to Raeff (p. 90), *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* was modelled after the prerevolutionary journal *Niva* [*Grainfield*] (1870–1917), the first of the so-called Russian 'thin magazines', popular illustrated weeklies that both in size and content contrasted with the 'thick magazines', politically oriented literary periodicals that appeared quarterly and generally consisted of about three to four hundred pages, the bulk of which was literature, from Russian authors as well as from Western authors in translation. *Niva* presented itself as a family magazine and was largely read by a middle-class audience, but was also respected among more educated readers. The majority of its content consisted of literature, but *Niva* also reported on national and international events and published various essays on a diversity of topics. See Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature 1861–1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 111–13.

29 'Перечитать "старье", не старящее Толстого, Гоголя, Достоевского, или даже Писемского или хотя бы Тургенева... Кочевая жизнь и полное отсутствие книг у большинства из нас привели к тому, что "Война и Мир" или "Бесы" здесь полузабыты. Иначе и быть не может. Их мы читали в России, а здесь их у нас нет "под рукой". В библиотеки же подписываются для "новинок" конечно, а не для Толстого с Гоголем.' Georgy Adamovich, 'Literaturnaya nedelya' ['Literary Week'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 33 (1929), 12.

exclusively contemporary literature by writers from various backgrounds. On the other hand, the magazine emphasized the importance of not forgetting the prerevolutionary Russian classics, though they hardly published prerevolutionary literature inside the magazine and considered it the individual responsibility of émigrés to regularly (re)read those canonical works. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* only provided the works as supplements to overcome the practical difficulties in obtaining them in the West.

The Children's Page: A Treasury of Russian Culture?

Children played an important and even symbolic role in Russian émigré life and society. According to Marc Raeff, rather than returning to an unsafe and significantly altered Russia, many émigrés preferred to remain in exile in order to 'preserve and pass on to their children their own notion of what constituted genuine Russian culture'.[30] Given the emergence of a Soviet counterculture, staying abroad offered the opportunity to curate and safeguard an émigré notion of authentic Russian culture. In this light, émigré children were considered the future not only of the diaspora, but also of a future, liberated Russia.[31] These children, however, were often born abroad, attended local schools, and most likely had friends there. As such, of all émigrés, children were the most rooted in local communities. Hence, aiming to bridge the gap between the children's lives in exile and their 'native' Russia, the interwar emigration had a strong focus on education. The émigré community deemed it important that children still were taught the language, history, and culture of their 'motherland'.

Children's literature was one way to provide such education. However, in contrast to the rich prerevolutionary tradition, children's books and journals were a rarity among the Russian diaspora; a consequence of its poor economic and scattered demographic situation.[32] By means of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s children's page, *Stranichka dlya detey* [*Little Page for Children*], published weekly from as early as the fourth issue, the magazine was able to cater to this target group in an affordable way and, thus, filled a substantial void. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* could easily have organized this section as an educative page devoted entirely to prerevolutionary Russia, by means of printing photographs, illustrations, and stories about prerevolutionary Russia by iconic Russian authors, and by providing clarification about the people and topics discussed. This is, however, not what the periodical decided to do — at least not for the majority of the children's page's content.

Initially, *Stranichka dlya detey* did contain some folkloric content (generally indicated with the marker 'narodny', which can be translated as 'folk') and included a few prerevolutionary realia which could serve as conversation starters between children and their parents. An example of this is 'Lyusya and father Krylov', a story about an émigré girl who dreams of having a conversation with the Russian fabulist Ivan Krylov (1769–1844).[33] In the dream, Lyusya and Krylov compare their lives: Lyusya introduces Krylov to new technologies such as the gramophone, while Krylov describes the work of firefighters in nineteenth-century Saint Petersburg. This story provides both an introduction to the figure of Krylov and his fables, and an opportunity for *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s youngest readers to get acquainted with prerevolutionary Russia through Krylov's mention of important places in the city.

30 Raeff, p. 47.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., p. 51.
33 'Люся и дедушка Крылов', *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 12 (1926), 16–17.

Странички для Дѣтей.

ДВѢ СЕСТРЫ.

У рыбачьяго навѣса
Бродитъ странная принцесса.
Сколько лѣтъ ей? Пять.
Какъ зовутъ ее? Сусанной.
На кудряхъ колпакъ румяный.
Ротъ... не описать!
Щеки — цвѣта чайной розы,
Брови — черныя стрекозы,
А въ глазахъ гроза.
Вы видали, какъ тигрёнокъ
На луну ворчитъ спросонокъ?
Вотъ ея глаза.
За спиною бантъ, какъ парусъ:
Въ алой лентѣ — пестрый гарусъ,
Въ пальцахъ смятъ бутонъ.
Море — радость, солнце — радость.
Ахъ, одна на свѣтѣ радость —
Съ мамой въ фаэтонъ!
Иль вдоль пляжа съ пестрымъ флагомъ
Пролетѣть балетнымъ шагомъ,
Плавно, какъ волна...
Иль смотрѣть надменно въ море...
Дѣти вьются въ полномъ сборѣ,
А она — одна.

* * *

Отчего-жъ она сердита?
У сестренки вѣчно свита!
Сколько лѣтъ ей? Шесть.
Какъ зовутъ сестренку? Бетти.
Такъ и липнутъ къ ней всѣ дѣти...
Странно. Что за честь?
Вѣдь она скорѣе братикъ:
Синій простенькій халатикъ, —
Хуже нѣтъ въ шкафу!
Кнопкой носъ, нога мальчишки,
Вѣчно задраны штанишки,
Носъ въ веснушкахъ. Фу!
Развѣ всѣ вокругъ слѣпые?
Дѣти — пусть, но и большіе, —
Даже рыбаки!..
Даже глупые бульдоги
Тычутъ Бетти мордой въ ноги,
Тоже чудаки...
Каждый день встаетъ Сусанна,
Смотритъ въ зеркало съ дивана
И дрожитъ со сна:
Видно правды нѣтъ на свѣтѣ...
Почему всѣ любятъ Бетти,
А она — одна?

Саша Черный.

БОГАТСТВО ЧЕЛОВѢКА.

Жаловался одинъ человѣкъ на судьбу, ропталъ на Бога:

— Посылаетъ-же Богъ другимъ богатство, а мнѣ ничего не далъ. Съ чѣмъ мнѣ жить начинать, когда нѣтъ за душой ничего?

Услыхалъ это старикъ и говоритъ:

— Такъ-ли ты бѣденъ, какъ думаешь? Далъ тебѣ Богъ молодость и здоровье?

— Это-то далъ: силой и здоровьемъ могу похвалиться.

Взялъ старикъ человѣка за правую руку и спросилъ:

— Отрѣзалъ бы ты себѣ эту руку за тысячу рублей?

— Нѣтъ, не отрѣзалъ бы.

— А лѣвую?

— И лѣвую тоже.

— А согласенъ-ли ты за десять тысячъ слѣпымъ стать?

— Боже сохрани, ни за какія деньги не отдамъ глаза.

— Вотъ видишь, — сказалъ старикъ, — сколько богатыхъ даровъ далъ тебѣ Богъ, а ты жалуешься.

(Изъ К. Ушинскаго).

НАРОДНАЯ ПРИТЧА О КОТѢ.

— Котъ Евстафій! Ты постригся?»
— «Постригся.»
— «И посхимился?»
— «И посхимился.»
— «Пройти мимо тебя можно?»
— «Можно».
Мышка побѣжала, а котъ ее цапъ.
— «Оскоромишься, котъ Евстафій!»
— «Кому скоромно, а намъ на здоровье!»

(Изъ собр. А. Н. Афанасьева).

ЦАРЕВИЧЪ-НАЙДЕНЫШЪ.

(народная сказка-загадка).

Жилъ царь съ царицею; у нихъ родился сынъ. Понадобилось царю отлучиться отъ дому. Безъ него бѣда пришла: царевичъ пропалъ. Искали, искали царевича — какъ въ воду канулъ: ни слуху ни духу объ немъ! Долго плакали царь съ царицею. Прошло цѣлыхъ пятнадцать лѣтъ, и донеслись до царя вѣсти, что въ одной деревнѣ мужикъ нашелъ ребенка — всѣмъ на диво: и красотой и умомъ взялъ!

Царь приказалъ доставить наскоро къ себѣ мужика. Привезли его, начали разспрашивать, гдѣ и когда нашелъ мальчика. Мужикъ объявилъ, что нашелъ его пятнадцать лѣтъ тому назадъ въ овинѣ, что на немъ одежда была богатая. По всѣмъ примѣтамъ, кажись, царскій сынъ.

Говоритъ царь мужику: «Скажи твоему найденышу, чтобъ онъ ко мнѣ прибылъ ни нагъ ни одѣтъ, ни пѣшкомъ ни на лошади, ни днемъ ни ночью, ни на дворѣ ни на улицѣ».

Мужикъ пріѣхалъ домой, плачетъ и сказываетъ мальчику: «какъ теперь быть?» Мальчикъ говоритъ: «Не больно хитро! Эту загадку разгадать можно.»

Разгадка въ слѣдующемъ №-рѣ. А если вы догадаетесь сами, то пришлите отвѣтъ въ редакцію.

Списокъ читателей, правильно рѣшившихъ эту загадку, будетъ напечатанъ въ слѣдующемъ N-рѣ.

Отвѣты направлять по адресу: «La Russie Illustrée» 34, rue de Moscou. Paris (8).

Рѣшеніе загадокъ, помѣщенныхъ въ N 10-мъ.

Буква К.
Книга.
Огурецъ, Тыква.

Вѣрные отвѣты прислали: Л. Зафтъ — Парижъ, В. Волохинъ — Парижъ, Л. Вурцель — Прага, Н. Невѣрова — Берлинъ, А. Левицкая — Парижъ, Л. Ольховскій — Лондонъ, А. Поповъ — Ковно.

Fig. 3 Example of the children's page, consisting of four short stories entitled 'Two Sisters', 'Man's Riches', 'Folk Parable of the Cat' and 'The Foundling-Prince'. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 3 (1925), 14

The majority of the children's page's content, however, consisted of comical stories, sometimes containing a moral element or revolving around relatable stories regarding emigration. Moreover, from 1929 onwards *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s children's page solely published adapted comic strips taken from American newspapers, such as *Dyadya Puma* [*Uncle Puma*], about the everyday adventures of a man and his nephew, and *Ay da nasha Peka!* [*Ah our Peka!*], about a smart donkey who plays tricks on his owner.[34] These gag-a-day comic strips revolved solely around slapstick humor and with them, the focus of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s children's page shifted completely to light entertainment.

34 *Dyadya Puma* was based on Vic Forsythes' comic strip *Joe Jinks* (*New York Journal*,1928–53). *Ay da nasha Peka!* was based on F. B. Opper's *And her name was Maud (New York Times*, 1904–32).

Stranichka dlya detey, then, did not actively promote nor educate émigré children about Russian culture. Although initially there was some folkloric or Russian content, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* never provided any explanation, let alone glorification, of prerevolutionary Russian life and culture. At most, those items were starting points, facilitating further discussion of those topics between the magazine's youngest readers and their parents. Overall, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s children's page mainly aimed to entertain and, in doing so, perhaps also hoped to instill an interest in Russian language and in reading in general.

Alternative Preservationism in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*: Individual Responsibility for the Common Cause

Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya acted as a unifier in the Russian diaspora and actively used its broad reach to contribute to the formation and development of the community. It did so in two main ways: by informing its readers about significant news from the diaspora, and by actively advising and guiding its readers, as well as encouraging them to engage and participate in the community. The émigré community, thus, was not just a topic in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, but the magazine's *raison d'être.*

While awaiting their return home, Russian émigrés looked for ways to contribute to (re)building their motherland. In order to cater to this concern, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* frequently advised its readers on how to serve Russia — i.e. the 'real' Russia, not Soviet Russia — from abroad. For, as *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* put it, 'serving the motherland is not necessarily linked to work at the front'.[35] One of the most obvious ways to serve was to preserve Russian identity abroad.

Significantly, the vast majority of the periodical's advice on how to remain Russian in exile appeared in its women's page. This would suggest that, according to the magazine, the most important 'guardians of Russianness' so to speak, were women. This makes sense, considering that émigré women were primarily responsible for the household and the upbringing of children, the key beneficiaries of preserving Russianness and Russian culture. As the main organizers of the émigré households, women thus played an important role in preserving Russian culture and identity on a daily basis. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* responded to this by addressing questions on how to remain Russian outside of Russia on the women's page.

The Women's Page

In March 1929, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* launched the section *Zhenskaya stranichka* [*Women's Little Page*], which became a weekly section until 1931. The first time *Zhenskaya stranichka* appeared, a long editorial note provided insight into *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s motives for creating it. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* stated how it had noticed a shift in its readers' needs and interests, and, hence, also in its own purpose:

> *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, which has entered the sixth year of its existence, is experiencing that era in a magazine's life when it ceases to be just usual, entertaining reading, but enters the reader's life, becoming his friend and, often, adviser. The reader is no longer looking to the magazine just for entertainment, not only for

35 'служение родине не сопряжено обязательно с работой на фронте […].' Knyazhna Meri, 'Nashi otvety' ['Our answers'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 10 (1930), 21.

> knowledge, but sometimes also for simple everyday help in the form of advice, guidance, and even just assistance.[36]

This is a significant statement, not only for *Zhenskaya stranichka*, but for the periodical in general, on the part it envisaged to play in the life of the Russian émigré community. It is clear that *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* did not want to limit itself to being an informative and entertaining newsmagazine, but really desired to assist or even guide its readership.

Since the magazine had conquered a place 'at the center of the readers' friendship and trust', as it described itself, the editors of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* believed they had a moral obligation towards their readers and therefore 'no longer had the right to pass by requests coming its way'.[37] *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* decided to devote a special section to those readers' letters, and since '[t]he bulk of our correspondents addressing everyday issues are women', it chose 'to create, for the time being, a correspondence section with only female readers'.[38] This weekly section was included in *Zhenskaya stranichka* and was called *Nashi otvety* [*Our answers*].

In *Nashi otvety*, a contributor called Knyazhna Mery [Princess Mary] offered brief responses to a handful of diverse readers' letters.[39] Based on Princess Mary's answers, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* appears to have received three main types of letters: practical questions related to life in exile, moral and philosophical questions for which the readers sought advice, and complaints about everyday life in which the author of the letter sought comfort rather than actual advice.

Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya received many substantial questions focusing specifically on Russian life abroad. Those questions generally expressed the readers' fear of losing their Russian identity in exile, a key topic in any discussion on preservationism. According to the magazine, the solution often was to be found within the readers themselves. On the topic of how to prevent a child, 'deprived of the opportunity to spend free time with Russian children or to attend a Russian school on Thursday', from becoming estranged from Russia, for instance, Princess Mary advised the mother to 'give her a good, interesting — above all interesting — Russian book'.[40]To a reader who feared losing her mother tongue, Princess Mary clarified that '[r]eading alone will not give you the opportunity to save the Russian language; in the absence of conversational practice, you will inevitably adopt an accent'.[41] She hence advised the reader 'to find a

36 '"Иллюстрированная Россия", вступившая в 6-й год своего существования, переживает ту эпоху жизни журнала, когда он перестает быть только привычным, занимательным чтением, но входит в жизнь читателя, становится его другом и, часто, советником. Читатель ищет в журнале уже не только развлечения, не только познаний, но иногда и простой житейской помощи в виде совета, указания и даже просто содействия.' 'Ot redaktsii' ['From the Editors'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 10 (1929), 21.

37 'в центре этой читательской дружбы и доверчивости'; 'она уже не вправе пройти мимо идущих к ней запросов.' Ibid.

38 'Главную массу наших корреспондентов, обращающихся по таким житейским вопросам, составляют женщины'; 'создать до поры до времени, отдел переписки лишь с читательницами' Ibid.

39 This pseudonym presumably refers to the character of the same name in Mikhail Lermontov's novel *Geroy nashego vremeni* [*A Hero of Our Time*] (1840). Although *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* claims that Princess Mary is 'a famous Russian public figure and writer' ('известная русская общественная деятельница и писательница', Ibid.), there is no further information on her real identity, neither in the magazine itself nor in secondary sources on the periodical or the Russian interwar emigration. It therefore is not certain whether Princess Mary is indeed a woman or even one person at all. Henceforth I will use the English translation of her name.

40 'лишена возможности проводить свободное время с русскими детьми или бывать в четверговой русской школе'; 'дайте ей хорошую, интересную главное интересную, русскую книгу.' Knyazhna Meri, 'Nashi otvety' ['Our Answers'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 13 (1929), 16.

41 'Чтение одно не даст вам возможности сохранить русский язык; при отсутствии разговорной практики вы поневоле приобретете акцент.' Knyazhna Meri, 'Nashi otvety' ['Our Answers'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 42 (1930), 18.

ИЛЛЮСТРИРОВАННАЯ РОССІЯ 21

Женская страничка.

ОТЪ РЕДАКЦІИ.

«Иллюстрированная Россія», вступившая въ 6-й годъ своего существованія, переживаетъ ту эпоху жизни журнала, когда онъ перестаетъ быть только привычнымъ, занимательнымъ чтеніемъ, но входитъ въ жизнь читателя, становится его другомъ и, часто, совѣтникомъ. Читатель ищетъ въ журналѣ уже не только развлеченія, не только познаній, но иногда и простой житейской помощи въ видѣ совѣта, указанія и даже просто содѣйствія. И когда редакція почувствуетъ себя въ центрѣ этой читательской дружбы и довѣрчивости, она уже не вправѣ пройти мимо идущихъ къ ней запросовъ.

Со всѣхъ концовъ міра, — и въ данномъ случаѣ, можетъ быть, какъ никакой другой журналъ именно, мы вправѣ употребить это выраженіе, — изъ южной Америки, изъ Аляски, съ заводовъ Франціи, изъ болгарскихъ шахтъ, изъ африканскихъ пустынь, изъ далекаго Китая, мы получаемъ во множествѣ читательскія письма. Было бы совершенно невозможно, хотя бы въ общихъ чертахъ, разсказать о чемъ пишутъ намъ и о чемъ запрашиваютъ насъ русскіе люди, разбросанные по всѣму земному шару. Въ жизни эмигранта такъ много всякихъ неожиданныхъ запутанныхъ вопросовъ, а вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ слишкомъ часто бываетъ такъ, что въ какомъ нибудь Тимбукту единственный источникъ, откуда эмигрантъ могъ бы получить совѣтъ, указаніе или просто моральную поддержку, это адресъ «Иллюстрированной Россіи».

Все это обязываетъ. А между тѣмъ, въ условіяхъ ежедневной редакціонной работы мы физически лишены возможности отвѣчать на всѣ эти письма, не говоря уже о томъ чтобы давать по каждому изъ нихъ исчерпывающій и болѣе или менѣе цѣлесообразный совѣтъ.

Это и побудило редакцію выдѣлить переписку съ читателями въ особый отдѣлъ и поручить веденіе его спеціальному лицу, которое могло отдать этому дѣлу все свое вниманіе.

Главную массу нашихъ корреспондентовъ, обращающихся по такимъ житейскимъ вопросамъ, составляютъ женщины.

О чемъ спрашиваютъ наши читательницы?.. Можно было бы отвѣтить вопросомъ на этотъ вопросъ: о чемъ насъ не спрашиваютъ? Тутъ и просьба юридическаго совѣта, тутъ и запросъ объ адресѣ института красоты, тутъ и просьба медицинскаго совѣта заболѣвшему ребенку, тутъ и, часто, просто женская докука, жалоба, движеніе сердца къ какому то далекому, но вѣрному другу. Все это вмѣстѣ взятое привело редакцію «Иллюстрированной Россіи» къ рѣшенію, создать до поры до времени, отдѣлъ переписки лишь съ читательницами, и пригласить для веденія его — женщину. Этотъ деликатный отвѣтственный, требующій много чутья и такта трудъ согласилась взять на себя извѣстная русская общественная дѣятельница и писательница, скрывшаяся подъ псевдонимомъ «Княжна Мэри». Съ этого номера она приступаетъ къ своей работѣ.

Для начала — нѣсколько отвѣтовъ на случайно-выбранныя изъ послѣдней почты письма.

Королева модъ въ Берлинѣ.

Берлинъ не отстаетъ отъ Парижа въ устройствѣ всякаго рода празднествъ, избраній «королевъ», процессіи и пр. На снимкѣ — фрейленъ Алиса Хэппе, избранная недавно «Королевой модъ» Берлина.

НАШИ ОТВѢТЫ

Е. Н. Н. Болгарія. Ваше письмо похоже на разсказъ, написанный въ лирическихъ тонахъ, и мы очень тронуты движеніемъ вашего сердца. Увы, Ваша мечта такъ трудно осуществима... Люди заняты повседневной борьбой за существованіе, и такіе проекты, какъ Вашъ, покажутся имъ просто смѣшными. А между тѣмъ, въ немъ много хорошаго и искренняго. Попробуйте написать на эту тему разсказъ. Въ томъ видѣ, какъ оно есть, письмо ваше недостаточно закончено въ литературномъ отношеніи.

Вѣрочкѣ Д. Милая Вѣрочка, мы очень сочувствуемъ вашему горю, но помочь ему, къ сожалѣнію, не можемъ. Обратитесь за болѣе подробными справками въ Министерство Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ, въ Канцелярію по дѣламъ о визахъ.

Люсѣ Петрищевской изъ Бордо. Въ Парижѣ на аттестатъ зрѣлости (баккалавреатъ) приготовляютъ слѣдующія русскія учебныя заведенія: Русская гимназія, Русскій Народный Университетъ, гимназія и реальное училище У.М.С.А. За подробными свѣдѣніями о планѣ и программѣ Вы можете обратиться непосредственно въ эти учрежденія.

П. Н. К. Марсель. Православный церковный бракъ во Франціи недостаточенъ. Необходимо совершеніе брака въ мэріи.

Княжна Мэри.

ФОТОГРАФІИ ПОМѢЩЕННЫЯ БЕЗЪ ПОМѢТОКЪ ВЪ № 41.

Въ номерѣ 41 «ИллюстрированнойРоссіи», отъ 6-го октября 1928 г. на страницѣ 23 были помѣщены три рисунка модъ, принадлежащіе извѣстному парижскому журналу «Vogue». Считаемъ своимъ долгомъ оповѣстить объ этомъ нашихъ читателей и выразить свои сожалѣнія журналу «Vogue» по поводу допущенной ошибки.

Fig. 4 First appearance of the women's page, consisting of an editorial introduction, the subsection 'Our answers' and the picture of a newly elected Miss in Berlin. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 10 (1929), 21

Russian community and speak Russian as often as possible'.[42] Finally, when a reader asked how to serve Russia while abroad, Princess Mary advised *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's* readers to '[w]ork for yourself, keep your nationality, do not forget the Russian language, maintain the faith in Russia and hatred of the Bolsheviks — and you will be useful to the motherland as much as you can'.[43]

According to Princess Mary, one of the most important markers of Russian identity — if not *the* most — was the Russian language. More importantly still, in her

42 'Постарайтесь найти русское общество и говорите возможно чаще по-русски.' Ibid.

43 'Работайте для себя, сохраните свою национальность, не забывайте русский язык, поддерживайте вокруг себя веру в Россию и ненависть к большевикам — и, вы будете полезны родине, чем можете.' Knyazhna Meri, 'Nashi otvety' ['Our Answers'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, 10 (1930), 21.

answers to questions on remaining Russian abroad, she systematically urged readers to take matters into their own hands and to actively and individually safeguard and preserve Russian identity and culture. As such, Princess Mary promoted a bottom-up preservation of Russian identity, emphasizing the responsibility of individual émigrés, instead of organizations or institutions. The main agent for preservation thus appeared to be the individual member of the émigré community.

Zhenskaya stranichka tackled similar topics in the subsection *Koe-chto, koe o chem* [*Something, About Something*]. This subsection consisted of opinion pieces in which a contributor called 'Mem'[44] discussed a single topic, usually a topical event or a recurring question in readers' letters. Here too, substantial émigré concerns were tackled. A highly significant question concerned the education of émigré children outside of Russia. In late 1929, following the start of the new school year, Mem wrote a telling piece on how

> again and again, Russian mothers and fathers who are forced to live and educate their children away from their homeland are confronted with the same cursed question: How to protect your child from what in 'newspaper language' is so unsuccessfully and cumbersomely called 'denationalization'.[45]

Mem cited the example of the 'small semi-Russian semi-French creatures, chatting smartly in both Russian and French, knowing well in what years Charlemagne lived and in what year he ascended the Capetian throne, but who alas, have never heard of [Russian writer and scientist Mikhail] Lomonosov.'[46] Mem criticized the phenomenon of Russian children whose identity has become almost completely French. However, by equally denouncing 'parents who are too protective of what is "their own", who inspire a child, from a young age, with a contemptuous patronizing attitude towards foreign culture and history', Mem also rejected an excessive focus on everything Russian at the expense of attention to the host country.[47] In the case of the émigré children's education, Mem advised *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya's* readers to 'find some kind of middle ground'.[48]

In addition, Mem downplayed the absolute importance of school, stating that children there 'are not so much studying as they are just getting used to studying. And from this point of view, perhaps, it does not matter much what kind of school it will be, Russian, French, or some other.'[49] She concluded the item by stressing the importance of family, '[t]he most important, most significant school for a child', and stating how it depends solely on the parents 'that a child does not cease to be how [they] would like to see him'.[50]

This is a highly significant piece of advice in *Zhenskaya stranichka* and in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* in general, as it advocates for a pragmatic take on Russian

44 Most likely a Russian transliteration of the English form of address 'Ma'am' (Madam). Just as with Princess Mary, there is no further information in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* nor elsewhere on who this Mem is, whether she is also a woman or even a single person.

45 'снова и снова перед русскими матерями и отцами, вынужденными жить и давать воспитание своим детям вдали от родины, встает один и тот же проклятый вопрос: Как уберечь своего ребенка от того, что на газетном языке так неудачно и громоздко называется "денационализацией".' Mem, 'Na staruyu temu' ['On an Old Topic'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, 43 (1929), 20.

46 'маленькими полу-русскими полу-французскими существами, бойко болтающими и по-русски и по-французски, хорошо знающими в какие годы жил Шарлемань и в каком году вступили на престол Капетты, но увы, никогда не слыхавших о том, кто такой был Ломоносов.' Ibid.

47 'Бывают и такие чересчур ревнивые к 'своему' родители, которые с малых лет внушают ребенку презрительно покровительственное отношение к чужой культуре и истории.' Ibid.

48 'найти какую то золотую средину.' Ibid.

49 'не столько учатся, сколько лишь привыкают учиться. И с этой точки зрения, пожалуй, не имеет большого значения, какая это будет школа, русская, французская или какая другая.' Ibid.

50 'Самое важное, самое значительное для ребенка школы — это его семья' ; 'чтобы ребенок не перестал быть тем, кем мы хотели бы его видеть.' Ibid.

education, consisting of a good balance between preservation and integration — a stance characteristic of the magazine's overall content under Mironov. Mem's piece reassured émigré parents that their child can have a decent education and remain Russian even abroad. However, it put the responsibility for this Russian education almost exclusively on the part of the parents, defining their task as to watch over their children's identity and cultural development. As such, this item fits well with other discussions of the topic in *Nashi otvety*, where Princess Mary proclaimed an active, yet individual approach to preserving the Russian identity abroad. *Zhenskaya stranichka*, thus, overall stresses the importance of maintaining a Russian identity, without institutionalizing it. However, it is important to note that the appeal of *Zhenskaya stranichka*'s for individual responsibility does not stem from a focus on the individual, quite the contrary. This individual approach ultimately has the community's and Russia's interests in mind.

Another recurring topic in *Koe-chto, koe o chem* is marriage. Mid-1930, Princess Mary (who, by way of exception, took over from Mem in this subsection) explained how she had been receiving a number of letters lately on one and the same topic, and that although these are all very individual cases, 'the question is so important and so often raised in émigré families that I dare to touch on it in general terms'.[51] The situation is described as follows:

> [A] woman who has experienced a lot during the war and revolution, has lost her family and fortune, gets to know 'him' in exile. In most cases, 'he' is not a bad person, most often an elderly person who has also suffered a lot over the years of the civil war. 'She' marries him without much love, but out of a desire to finally end the lonely, homeless life of a refugee. Almost always, marriage is successful at the beginning; sometimes children appear. But then disappointment comes: my correspondents complain that they and their husbands are different people, that they do not understand each other, etc. There are several such cases, I repeat... Some readers ask for advice, others just complain, and still others report on their decision to leave the family and 'live an independent life'.[52]

According to Princess Mary, however, women deciding to separate from their husbands find themselves 'on the most false and dangerous path'.[53] In a plea for more perseverance and mutual understanding, Princess Mary adopted a very down-to-earth stance:

> Life in general, but refugee life, in particular, is long and hard work. It is necessary to support elderly relatives, raise children, save the family... In these conditions,

51 'вопрос настолько важен и настолько часто подымается в эмигрантских семьях, что я решаюсь коснуться его в общих чертах.' Knyazhna Meri, 'Na opasnom puti' ['On a Dangerous Path'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*, 22 (1930), 20.

52 'Положение в основе таково: женщина, много пережившая во время войны и революции, потерявшая семью и состояние, знакомится в эмиграции с 'ним'. В большинстве случаев, ‹он› — не плохой человек, чаще всего — пожилой, также немало перестрадавший за годы гражданской войны. 'Она' выходит за него замуж без особой любви, но из желания покончить, наконец, с одинокой, бездомной жизнью беженки. Почти всегда, брак оказывается в начале удачным; иногда появляются дети. Но потом наступает разочарование: мои корреспондентки жалуются, что они и их мужья — разные люди, что они друг друга не понимают и т. д. Таких случаев, повторяю, несколько... Некоторые читательницы просят совета, другие — просто жалуются, а третьи — сообщают о своем решении покинуть семью и "зажить самостоятельной жизнью".' Ibid.

53 'на самом ложном и опасном пути.' Ibid.

> you cannot make excessive demands on life, you cannot look for impossible things, for a crane in the sky...[54]

Significantly, all the elements of émigré life referred to are centred around safeguarding the family, and, by extension, the émigré community. It thus appears that Princess Mary's stance against divorce stems not necessarily from a religious point of view, but rather from a pragmatic yet also ideological perspective, focused on reason, morality, and the importance of family, which she deems crucial in the often irrational context of exile. Additionally, by protecting marriage in the diaspora, Princess Mary perhaps also safeguards the future of the community and, hence, of Russia.

A 'sore subject for the Russian diaspora' were mixed marriages. In an opinion piece devoted to the topic, Mem claimed that many people considered them destined to fail, due to 'too great a difference in characters and mutual "misunderstanding"'.[55] However, Mem considered it 'very unreasonable to principally condemn mixed marriages between Russians and French'.[56] She deemed mixed marriages 'a fatal necessity' as there were more men in the Russian diasporic community than women.[57] Mem urged parents that 'children born from such unions do not denationalize, so that they remain Russian both in soul and language'.[58] Like Princess Mary, Mem promoted language as an important carrier of the Russian identity, and considered safeguarding the Russian identity of children as something every parent can and has to take care of individually. Through Mem, *Zhenskaya stranichka* once more urged readers not to worry about any institutionalization of Russian identity, as it was, above all, the individual implementation that counts.

When it comes to preserving Russian identity and culture, *Zhenskaya stranichka* is, remarkably enough, far more significant than *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s lengthy articles or its items on, for instance, prerevolutionary Russian art and culture. Many of the topics discussed there were highly relevant to the émigré community, shedding light on important questions and, as *Zhenskaya stranichka* itself claims, indicating the public opinion in these matters. Through the women's page, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* implored its readers to serve Russia by safeguarding Russian identity abroad. It did not, however, stipulate any single, conclusive, let alone institutionalized, manner of achieving this. The common conclusion was that Russianness was to be found within the émigrés themselves. As such, preserving and passing on what it means to be Russian was the community's own responsibility and obligation.

Conclusion

By exploring three of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s content areas, this article has provided insight into the magazine and its approach to prerevolutionary Russian culture. *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s preservationism points to its prevalence in everyday émigré culture. The practice of preservationism in the magazine, however, differed markedly

54 'Жизнь вообще, а беженская, в особенности — долгий и упорный труд. Нужно поддержать стариков родных, воспитать детей, сохранить семью... В этих условиях, нельзя предъявлять чрезмерных требований к жизни, нельзя искать невозможного, журавля в небе...' Ibid.

55 'больной вопрос для русской эмиграции'; 'слишком большого различий характеров и взаимного "непонимания".' Mem, 'Smeshannye braki' ['Mixed Marriages'], *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya,* 27 (1930), 20.

56 'Уже поэтому одно было бы весьма неразумно осуждать в принципе смешанные браки между русскими и французами.' Ibid.

57 'фатальной необходимостью'. Ibid.

58 'что бы дети, родившиеся от таких союзов, не денационализовались, что бы они остались русскими и по душе, и по языку.' Ibid.

from its high-culture counterpart. Generally speaking, 'typical' prerevolutionary Russian culture does not make up a large part of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s content. Hence, preservationism in its most common form in émigré studies, i.e. preserving and commemorating an idealized image of prerevolutionary Russia by means of nostalgic musings, is relatively scarce in *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*.

When it came to preserving Russian culture and identity, the magazine adopted a two-track policy. Despite acknowledging the importance of instilling a Russian identity in children, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* itself did not pursue this intent in its children's page, which it could have devoted mainly to prerevolutionary Russian life and culture. The same goes for its literary section, which could have been dedicated to prerevolutionary literature but, instead, consisted solely of contemporary stories. However, this does not necessarily mean that *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* did not value those high culture manifestations of prerevolutionary Russia *tout court*; it rather indicates that émigrés were preoccupied with other aspects of Russian identity in their everyday lives.

Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya propagated, above all, a pragmatic approach to preserving prerevolutionary Russia, aimed at finding a middle ground between safeguarding the home culture and adapting to the host culture. The message *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* conveyed was that Russian identity should be preserved in its essence, rather than exhaustively or in any one particular institutionalized manner. This is most evident in the magazine's advice that there was no harm in sending children of the émigré community to local schools, as long as they were still raised as Russian at home. As such, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* transferred the duty to raise children with Russian culture from institutions such as schools to émigré parents. Overall, this appeal to individual responsibility is characteristic of *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya*'s approach to preserving prerevolutionary Russian culture and identity. Instead of 'force-feeding' its readers with prerevolutionary Russian content, or relying on various organizations and schools for an institutionalized type of preservationism, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* called upon every reader to take action. By means of individual deeds, such as continuing to speak Russian, reading prerevolutionary classics, or marrying fellow émigrés, *Illyustrirovannaya Rossiya* showed how every émigré could contribute to safeguarding Russian culture and identity in exile, and, hence, to (re)building Russia from abroad.

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