Unsettling Diaspora: The Old Believers of Alaska

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Abstract

Current analyses of 'diaspora' do not expose the various identity-constructs of the diverse communities to whom the term is applied. Discussions of diaspora reinforce a fictitious territorialization of identity that commonly orients migrants' ethnoconsciousness 'homeward bound' and masks internal differentiation within international networks. The self-reinforcing diasporic condition overemphasizes co-ethnic and/or co-religious similarities in comparison to the unfamiliar societies of new settlements. Therefore, internal lines of diaspora must be explored to reveal the complexities of belonging to an international community. The Russian Orthodox *Starover/Staroobryad* (Old Believer/Old Ritualist) diaspora is a flexible 'federation' of distinct, closed congregations exchanging individuals, resources, and ethnohistories to create an international community of believers. The analysis of similar ethnoreligious groups, (*i.e.* Amish), will show the salience of ideological, *nonterritorial* constructions of diasporic identity. The "myths of migration," proposed here counters myths of homeland return and belonging to demonstrate how movement itself is essential to diasporic ethnoconsciousness.

Résumé

Les analyses actuelles des « diasporas » escamotent les diverses conceptions identitaires des communautés ainsi qualifiées. Elles insistent sur une soi-disant territorialisation identitaire qui confère à l'ethnoconscience des migrants une orientation centrée sur « le retour chez soi », masquant les différences internes des réseaux internationaux. La condition diasporique, autosuffisante, surestime les similitudes co-ethniques et/ou co-religieuses et, parallèlement, l'étrangeté des sociétés d'accueil. Or, l'exploration des traits internes des diasporas permet de révéler les complexités de l'appartenance à une communauté internationale. La diaspora russe orthodoxe *Starover* (Vieux-Croyants) est une « fédération » flexible de congrégations distinctes échangeant individus, ressources et ethnohistoires, formant une communauté internationale de croyants. L'analyse de groupes ethnoreligieux similaires, comme les Amish, révèlent la pertinence de conceptions idéologiques et non territoriales de l'identité diasporique. Le « mythe migratoire » proposé va notamment à l'encontre de celui du « retour chez soi » et présente la mobilité comme essentielle à l'ethnoconscience diasporique.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I try to imagine where the gate used to be authoritatively stretched across the dirt road that split through overgrown brush and the views of distant volcanoes and glaciers. The sign announced the village as private property. Efrosina[1] recalls, the 'mayor' (*starosta,* elder), who "ran the village," closing the gate each night, as well as the day the gate was officially removed. The Nikolaevsk School displays a picture of the village's ceremonious 'opening,' attended by an Alaskan Senator. Although not expecting to face the challenges of anthropologists who worked with the new immigrants forty years ago, and prepared for a flood of discrepancies between the present and decades-old ethnographies, I braced myself for difficulties. I came in search of Old Believers, a vague name for a conservative religious group that rejected the 'reformed' Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) and began their spread across Eurasia in the mid-Seventeenth century to keep their rituals and beliefs *pure*. The weariness of long, sleepless travel, the humbling radiance of glassy glaciers on mountains that made my native Adirondacks look like foothills, and the over-anxious combination of too-much reading and too-little confidence, sympathized me to the desire to flee a minority status. As my host, Annitta, drove me through Nikolaevsk and its "back villages," I thought that besides the church's intricate, iconic entrance below a blue and white belfry, without seeing any of the villagers it was rural North America as per usual. I did not feel that I had wandered into another time or place, as authors have described entering the "Russian Villages"-but felt myself a foreign and intrusive element in it. I immediately initiated the reciprocal othering process of diaspora that I had come to research: expecting myself to be perceived as an unwelcome outsider, and classifying the Old Believers as apart from the

[1] Individuals I spoke with in Nikolaevsk and Homer, with exception of Annitta Roberts and Bob Moore, are not identified (see Appendix 6). However, names that have previously been published in popular magazines and local newspapers have not been changed, as articles in these small communities quote influential and well-known individuals, (Priest, deacons, and 'mayors'). Nikolaevsk students, and the elders' whose stories and information were recorded and published, have not been denied authorship.

'America' I never questioned belonging to. To my imagination and understanding, the community was still gated.

The most basic historical synopsis of the diaspora that follows has been reiterated by Old Believers, ethnographers, historians, and local newspapers[2] alike. The *raskol* (schism) of the Russian Orthodox Church that initiated the *Starover* (Old Believer; *Staroveri* plural[3]) 'movement' began when individuals rejected the reforms of Nikon[4], the Patriarch of Moscow (Conybeare 1981; Crummey 1970:6). The Old Believers were officially divorced from the ROC when the Councils of 1666-1667 upheld Nikon's reforms[5] and anathematized all dissenters (Conybeare 1981:61, 65-67). Since the mid-seventeenth century, the Old Believers have spread across the globe in the attempt to not only physically survive the persecutions they have suffered throughout the centuries, but to maintain what they believe to be the one, and only, *true* Christianity. This popular local imagining interestingly echoes some of the most fundamental, if now outdated, themes of diasporic research: persecution, exile, problematic migratory existence, and the struggle of ethnoreligious preservation in the face of assimilation and change.

The primary intent of this research is to indicate the internal lines of separation within the Old Believer diaspora at large[6] by determining: 1) whether a Starover diasporic community of believers exists, and 2) the process and logic of determining and differentiating the identity of communities' constituents. Over the course of ethnographic research (June-August 2007), divisions and disagreements within the small community of Nikolaevsk, Alaska indicated that any claim of Old Believer international, community belonging-a diaspora-would

[2] A sparse, nearly identical, three sentence version of which can be found in most Homer News articles on the "Russian Village(s)" or "Old Believers"

[3] Transliteration of plurals is contested, [y], [i], or [ii] is common; I have chosen Staroveri rather than Starovery because it is the most frequent transliteration used by my ethnographic sources

[4] Nikon lost favor with Tsar Alexis (r. 1645-1676), and was only effectively in office from 1652-1658

[5] These reforms included the number of times Alleluia is said in certain prayers, how many fingers are held outwards when genuflecting (changed from two to three), and some translational 'corrections' that included an altercation of Jesus' very name and differences reflected in depictions of the Holy Cross (Scheffel 1991, Wigowsky 1982).

[6] By this I mean all those that may be called Old Believers, Staroveri, Old Ritualists, in all nations, both *bezpopovtsy* (priestless) and *popovtsy* (priestly).

not be possible without a reorientation of diaspora theory. Current definitions and characterizations of diaspora are not adequate for the complexities of internal division within migratory networks. The development of diaspora theory has yet to accommodate identity-constructs beyond ethnonationalistic ties or exceed the confines of territorial 'belonging'. The treatment of diasporic groups as circuits of remittances, political activism, and repatriation flowing back to the 'homeland' eclipses processes of voluntary immigration and efforts to be at home in a new land.

Multiple migration paths, sectarian factionism, and waves of state persecution threatening the sedimentation of settlements and sect aggregation problematized the question of group identity from the onset of the schism. Besides the snowballing swell of the number and range of Old Believer adherents, even the historical discussion of an Old Believer 'movement' is difficult. Even pinning down a date for the beginning of the diaspora is complicated, for the intercommunity contacts that define diaspora were almost non-existent prior to the communities' 'reunion' after leaving Russia. Diverse paths across the vast expanse of the Eurasian continent and subsequent migrations, and the gulf between the *popovtsy* (priestly) and *bezpopovtsy* (priestless) 'branches', compromises the concept of *an* Old Believer diaspora. The analysis of any diasporic group must explicate internal lines and divisions. Diasporas should not be analyzed as if the ideological connections that unite communities construct a *nonterritorial*, bounded nation.

Anabaptist[7] groups, particularly Amish and Hutterite communities, will be continually referenced as a means of cross-cultural comparison. My purpose is to expose the questions and concerns that ethnoreligious migratory groups raise within diaspora theory. It is my contention that some ideological movements are diasporas, and that recognition of *nonterritorial*, salient identity-constructs will correct the ethnonationalistic concentration of diaspora theory. This will be

[7] Meaning twice-baptized, groups that stem from the "Swiss Brethren" who began protesting infant baptism in 1525, as only mature adults could make a true commitment to God. Movement was centered in the Alsace and Palatinate regions, and later Holland. Mennonites, Amish (faction in 1690's), and Hutterite sects are all Anabaptist (see Hostetler).

exposed by determining how groups perceive themselves in relation to the societies of former and contemporary locations, and other like-faith, or co-religious, communities. The Anabaptists have multigenerational ties to Germanic identity in the language and rituals of their church and vernacular. Dress, hair and beards, and material culture distinguish them from their neighbors despite hundreds of years of North America settlement. The "Pennsylvanian Dutch" are the greatest tourist attraction of Lanchester County, as their co-nationals travel to gawk at their "quaint" farms and buggies. Co-religious communities also have practical connections and relationships to one another, and a continuous movement of families, young workers, and potential spouses between communities in one state or province to another. Elucidating the ways in which OB and Anabaptist ideological movements are diasporic networks will expand the conceptual analysis of migrational identities.

Co-religious groups may exchange individuals without conversion, while other 'sects' are divided by an animosity that impedes all relationships without re-identification, and a physical and spiritual move to a new community. Internal lines can be distinguished between Amish sects by the particulars of their wagon bumpers, dress, hair, and beards (Hostetler 1964a; Hostetler et al. 1974). Amish groups emerged from Mennonites over the issue of *Meidung* (shunning), which like Old Believer pollution laws, segregates the impure from congregation at church and at the table. Villages are 'closed' in the sense that participation is limited to those *in communion*, in other words congregations are regulated to admit only the community of believers (Hostetler 1968:12-17). Communities are co-religious if they are in agreement on significant (community-determined) items and cultural features (technology, manner of dress, education) that have created rifts and distinctions within the diaspora at large. Exploration of points of divergence will reveal the aspects of identity most salient to individuals and communities. Internal divisions, use of migration as a means of preservation, lack of geographic-origin affiliations, and the importance of ideological diasporas to migration and identity theories is evidenced by cross-cultural comparisons. Analyses of ideological constructs (in addition to group activism and networking)

that support the diasporic condition will open theory to the non-geographic implications of migration.

Mir and the Village Setting:

Ethnographic research was conducted in a small community of about 350 people[8] in a village settled by five Old Believer families, who in 1968 bought 640 acres (one square mile, or one section/2.59sq. km) of land on the Kenai Peninsula (KP) of Alaska. The first *Homer News* mention of the Old Believers was in a "Review of 1968" article. The third paragraph of the May section reads: "A vanguard of 22 Russians[9] arrived in Homer to make their homes in the Anchor Point area on lands purchased from the state. They were evacuees from Communism" (HN, 1-2-1969:2, 6). By 1970, although Nikolaevsk still did not appear on maps, there were already 70 residences for 20 families. An additional two and ¼ sections (5.83sq. km) of land a few miles into the hills east of Nikolaevsk were leased to a "satellite community" of three families who settled the center of a new village (Fortier 1970:35). The villages were quickly developed, but have remained small. Nikolaevsk villagers installed a private community water system, had electricity installed, began to exchange tents and campers for small frame houses after establishing the sawmill that helped rapidly build the "heart of the community," the church, all in their first year in Alaska. The rapid demographic growth of the village convinced Victor Ikunen[10] that the church would already need to be enlarged (37).

Settlement decisions of Old Believer communities are influenced by tradition, the desire for self-sufficiency, and the struggle to provide for, and protect, their lifeways. The village setting, or *mir,*[11] the Old Believer ideal land-

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[8] According to the 1990 federal census the "entire village" had a population of about 300 (HN, 3-26-92:3). RUBA assessment of 06/01/06 recorded 304 residences, ambiguously including what it calls the "subdivisions" of Nahodka and Kluchevaya, which do not have individual reports. Alaska Division of Community and Regional Affairs, Rural Utility Business Advisor (RUBA) Status Report of Nikolaevsk <http://www.commerce.state.ak.us/dcra/ruba/report/Ruba_public_report.cfm?rID=722&isRuba=1

[9] 10 Adults and 12 Children (Fortier 1970:35)

[10] Yakunin

[11] Mir has three meanings, 1). Peace 2). World 3). hist. Russian village commune

use system, has a major role in the socialization of Starover youths. The close contact of villagers facilitates the groups' efforts to maintain laws, supervise deviance, and administer social pressure on individuals. Old Believers, prior to their move to North America, had been largely able to live in closely situated households in rural villages with more or less limited contact with *mirskii* (worldly)[12] society. Despite friendly relations while in Hong Kong, where the *Harbintsi* (named for Manchurian city) and *Sinziantsi* (named for NW Chinese province) subgroups first met in 1958 on their exodus from China, the groups asked for separate pieces of land to settle on in Brazil. This may indicate either perceived differences in practices that confer Starover identity, or the general comfort of Staroveri used to living in their 'own', largely kin-based, villages (Smithson 1976:158). Staroveri first came to Oregon in 1962, but many came with debts to the Brazilian government and their immigration 'sponsors', (Tolstoy Foundation and Pan America), and were not able to purchase a piece of land large enough to re-create the *mir*. However, when 250 Staroveri *Turchane* (Turkey) moved to Oregon in 1963 they were able to collectively purchase a large enough area to allow them to collectively buy and subdivide "Turkish Village"/"Little Turkey" (Sabey 1969:65; Smithson 1976:158, 163-4, 238). Katchemak Bay villages were similarly settled, highlighting the importance of this habitation pattern.

The desire to set up villages that further segregated Old Believers from polluting *poganyi/mirskii* society is the primary reason cited for the moves to Alaska (1968) and Alberta (1973), where land was collectively purchased for subdivision amongst the founding families (Smithson 1976:88, 164). Although Amish households do not settle condensed villages and their households are usually adjacent 'English' farms, congregations are conscientiously kept small to maintain group cohesion (Hostetler 1968:12-13). "The formation of new colonies, or 'cell division,' is also the response the Hutterites make to biological

[12] Mirski ljudi was also a term used by Bosnian "Patarene," or Cathars, and Bogomil's rejection of the world to refer to "people living in the world" as distinguished from the few individuals, "whose converse is in Heaven" (Loos 1974: 347). Another ethnonym connection here is that these groups were called simply *krst'jane*/Christians by Turkish tax collectors (321), like the Starover self-designation as "kristianiki"

growth, thereby enabling them to maintain small, manageable, face-to-face domestic groups" (Hostetler 1974:185). Starover elders in Oregon and Alaska also told Smithson that it was easier to maintain tradition in a village where the close contact of congregates can assert group pressure, collectively and publically discipline children, and provide individuals with proper examples of pious behavior (1976:210-211, 238).

Complete self-sufficiency of villages has not been achieved in the callous Alaskan climate, and need has impelled Old Believers to join the American workforce. Many of the inhabitants of Nikolaevsk commute to Anchor Point (~10 miles/16k) and Homer (~25 miles/40k) for employment; primarily for work in the fishing industry, with men commercial fishing, and women working in the fish processing plants (canneries), cleaning, and in health care. Men are also employed on construction crews, some of whom are now private contractors. Hunting, trapping, subsistence fishing, and private greenhouses are also used as means to support life in the harsh, Alaskan environment (ALHN 2005; Smithson 1976:279-281). Within Nikolaevsk, segregation of village life from the presence and influence of non-Staroveri is unrealized.

Today, the population of Nikolaevsk[13] is still primarily Old Believer, as reported by the Nikolaevsk School, which estimates that 75% of its pupils are Old Believer. Even when the Kenai Peninsula Borough School District (KPBSD) planned to bus nearby North Fork Road children to Nikolaevsk, and changed the school calendar to correspond with the rest of the district rather than accommodating the Julian calendar of the ROC (see Appendices 3 and 4), only 15 of 140 students (11%) were "nonRussian" [*sic*] in 1990 (Kizzia, ADN, 4-15-90). Attendance at Nikolaevsk School has decreased since the late 1980's with the migration of bezpopovtsy to other villages, matching a general trend throughout the KPBSD, with only 98 students attending in 2003. That some of these villages still do not have public schools, and the greatest positive difference in KPBSD

[13] Alaska Division of Commerce and Regional Affairs interestingly states that the town is named after the patron saint of the village's church, which would make it the most regionally-narrow instance of hagiologic patronage hitherto. Also the patron saint of Russia and the name of a Far Eastern town (Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) that some *Harbintsi* emigrated from

attendance was for "Connections"/"Correspondence" homeschool programs, indicates the microschism's affect on the population.[14] Today, in addition to the 5% Alaskan Native population, there are non-Starover Russian Orthodox Christians, and other (non-Russian) Americans, living in Nikolaevsk (Nikolaevsk School; ALHN 2005). Besides the school and churches, the only non-residential building is the Nikolaevsk General Store/Post Office, established by the first popovtsy priest of Nikolaevsk.

Although Old Believers' development of Katchemak Bay (KB) began before the microschism, the growth and development of the village is tied to the disassociation of bezpopovtsy and popovtsy. Katchemak Selo[15] was developed after the Old Believers began purchasing land on KB in 1977 (Loshbaugh, D., HN, 9-24-92). Razdolna was settled a few years later when a group of 20 families bought one square mile (2.59sq. km) to subdivide amongst themselves.[16] In 1984, the Lovelady's sold their 160 acre (0.65sq. km) homestead to the 29 Old Believer families who settled Voznesenka (Gay, HN, 8-16-84). The growth of the KB communities flourished to the point that local newspapers noted their numerical presence in comparison to both the original Starover village and the ethnic demographic of the southern KP. Today, "there are probably more *Old*Believers* on Katchemak Bay today than in Nikolaevsk: the current Homer phone book has 25 Joneses and 24 Reutovs." By 1990 there were some 500 people living in four KB villages from the high bluffs of East End Road to the bay below, and further into the woods of Fox River Valley (Dolina). (Kizzia, ADN, 9-19-90).

Like in Nikolaevsk, the rapid growth of Starover villages is illustrated by its schools. Correspondence classes for homeschooled children first began on the bay in 1979 with 9 children. Razdolna (leisure)

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[14] Nikolaevsk was projected to have a -4 drop in attendance. The highest negative attendance projection was Homer High, with -42.

[15] ел|ó, á; села,*nt.* village; на селé (*collect.)* in the country
 ельск|ий,*adj.* 1. country, rural; ~ое хозяйствос agriculture. 2. village (Concise Oxford Russian Dictionary 1998)

[16] Two-and-a-half acres per Russian household after excluding inhabitable land, and the old hayfields kept for horse and dairy cow fodder (Kizzia, HN, 1-21-82:11)

Village, settled by former residences of Nikolaevsk and extended members of the Basargin family, built the first school (grades 1-8 for 19 children and 21 underage children) on Katchemak Bay in 1984 (HN, 3-29-84:13). Four years later 25 children attended Razdolna, 39 attended the new school in Voznesenka, and the KPBSD planned to establish a school for the 56 Correspondence educated children of Katchemak Selo. Today there is a school in Katchemak Selo, but the children of Dolina are still homeschooled through Correspondence courses (KPBSD). Bezpopovtsy village(s) have also settled in the Wasilla area ~45 miles (72k) NE of Anchorage, AK. The development of new villages highlights the affects of ritual factionalism and the internal divisions of the OB diaspora. However, as explored in the ethnographic chapter, the interconnectedness of distinct congregations and communities illustrates the diasporic networking of Old Believers.

Methodology:

For the months of June, July, and August I lived in the village of Nikolaevsk. To gain access to the once privately owned, all-Starover village, I called the Nikolaevsk Community Council (NCC) contact, non-Old Believer Annitta Roberts. After a few conversations, the strenuous task of finding housing within Nikolaevsk was resolved by her hospitality. Without the invitation to stay at Annitta's, I doubt I would have been able meet, let alone interview, any Old Believers. Once within the village, the only communal site I could observe was the popovtsy-run Nikolaevsk Post Office/General Store, to which I walked the >1k each day.[17] While living in Nikolaevsk I worked on a non-Starover's (Ben) organic farm next to the Nikolaevsk School, helping sell herbs and vegetables at the Homer Farmer's Market.[18] Through my position at the farm I was introduced to an Old Believer family of Nikolaevsk that also sold vegetables at the Farmer's Market and villagers who came to Ben's home for cucumbers, tomatoes, and

[17] Except when closed on Sundays, Holy days, and the Tuesdays and Thursdays I was at Homer Library.
[18] Open June-September Saturday from 10am to 2pm and Wednesday from 4pm to 6pm.

greens throughout the week. The Farmer's Market also allowed me to meet Old Believers who lived in the villages of Katchemak Bay, communities I was told by several "English" locals that I would not be able to visit without an Old Believer escort. The isolation of the KB villages, which in addition to the unwillingness (and shyness on, I believe, both sides) of community members to be interviewed, additionally problematized my ethnographic project.

Several bezpopovtsy and popovtsy villagers alike cited their lack of knowledge about the specifics of their history and religion as reasons they would make poor interviewees. Despite encouragement and persistence, the unwillingness was apparent in a series of missed appointments and unreturned phone calls. The short Alaskan summer is also a very busy time for Old Believers, and most of the men of the village are gone fishing for the majority of the season. I do not merely contribute my difficulties gaining rapport as a sign of villagers' distrust or disgust of interviewers, but also appear to stem from the inherent paradox of migratory preservation and corresponding anxieties of cultural loss. Assisted by Annitta's introductions, informal visits at Old Believers' homes became the main forum of conversation and information exchange. People were friendly and open, and especially generous with their fish and other foodstuffs. My interview with Bob Moore, whose nearly forty years knowledge and interaction with Old Believers in the Nikolaevsk School, citizenship preparation classes, and additional community and educational (Close-Up and Project Grad) involvement, was extremely valuable. His experiential knowledge provided information about the first years of the village and details to the events of the past four decades recorded by *Homer News*.

Archival information from the Homer Public Library, which has hardcopies (no microfiche or online registry) of *Homer News* and *Homer Tribute* filled in the gaps of personal information and village history. These issues provided numerous quotes from Old Believers and general information about the incidences, developments and tensions concerning their life in Alaska for the past forty years. The online catalog of the library led me to a few additional sources, including a "Nikolaevsk Folder" that included four Anchorage Daily News

(ADN) articles. The Ninilchik Library, 50 miles away from Homer did not have information on Old Believers, besides mention in the 2008 projected state budget for the Kenai Peninsula district. A retired linguistics professor of the University of Anchorage who continues to work with and visit the Old Believers of Nikolaevsk, lent me his folder of information, including several local newspaper articles. Local sources provided detailed information, and more importantly recorded perceptions external (other Americans) and internal (bezpopovtsy/popovtsy*)* lines of differentiation, thereby highlighting the significant identity-constructs of the diaspora.

The influence of written history, imagined pasts and shared memories (in collective themes and literal retellings) cannot be extricated from other aspects of Old Believer identity. Alaskan Staroveri's story could not be told without reference to communities in other states, nor could their faith and lifeways be understood if extracted from an intertwined historical context. Further detailing the complexity of sectarian and settlement divides would overload this research with an overwhelming, although pertinent, amount of information. Instead, I will integrate the past precedents, particularly those cited and retold by Old Believers, that continue to influence and affect their relationships with the Origin, Location, and Diaspora. Historical interpretation and reproduction permeates the lives of conservative "people of the book."

My theoretical analysis begins with the early works of dispersed peoples as exiled refugees, unnaturally and disadvantageously separated from their rightful home, and Old Believers' correspondence with this Jewish archetype. Next, I will explore recent theorists' expansion of diaspora definitions and focus on the activism and advantages of international networks (Boyarin and Boyarin 2002, Tölölyan 1996, Safran 1991). Despite developments, there remains a lack of concentration on intradiasporic differentiation, and a failure to provide an analytical framework for diaspora that does not orient belonging geographically. Rather than perceiving diasporic individuals as inherently *other* or quasi-citizens in their lands of settlement by indelibly linking them with the Origin to which they rightfully belong and hope to return (myth of return), I propose the *myth of*

migration. Diaspora is not merely a process of othering, but an aggregation of disparate communities with shared memories and experiences, and social and metaphysical orientation. Diasporas are not subjective rivers flowing home, for in the case of the Old Believers, migration itself has become a salient feature of group-identification.

The ethnographic chapter is divided into three sections: the Old Believer's relationships with local neighbors, the Staroveri's intercommunity contacts and ideological connections, and finally the import of the land of Origin to group identity. The diasporic condition is self-reinforcing. Features of self-identification are further bolstered by relationships with, and observations of, their local neighbors. In this way, diasporic group consciousness becomes apparent when differentiated from the 'other'. My analysis begins with the relations of Old Believer communities to others in their 'Location', to better contextualize Nikolaevsk's place in the diaspora. I purposely use the vague term 'location' to substitute the infectious and parasitic connotations of 'host' and 'hostland'. Dual citizenship, hyphenated nationalities, and conceptual differentiation from locals complicate migrational subjects' self-identification. Old Believers continue to struggle with their settlement in North America, although in the past two generations the children of naturalized Russian immigrants *are* American-a label they actively assert without denying their Russianness. Old Believers are a conservative religious group that maintains strict segregation from non-believers in many aspects of social and material life, precluding an ideological belonging to any state. After outlining the means used to isolate the spiritual purity of their community, I will detail the changing lifeways of this ethnoreligious minority in the face of assimilating integration into a new society. Despite generally positive relations, the tension between the processes of segregation and integration that has erupted in several conflicts between Old Believers and other Americans has further developed both groups' biases of the other. Lastly, I will stress that the American institution with the greatest interaction with Starover communities, the schools, have struggled to accommodate the linguistic and ideological challenges of their education. Beyond accommodation, efforts to preserve the unique culture

of the Old Believers have resulted in the publication of a multitude of bilingual texts, providing a source of ethnohistories for the diaspora.

Despite slim to no intercommunity contact, or shared monikers to fence the group into a unit that fits the geographically-bound implications of ethnic identity-constructs, distinct Starover villages throughout the world *are* 'related.' I utilize the term *community of believers*, referencing the language of the church to correspond to the religious, rather than territorial, boundaries of Old Believers. The community of believers is composed of distinct closed congregations[19] that overlap and exchange members. Popovtsy congregations are inherently co-religious, a part of the same Church, but bezpopovtsy congregations are only informally connected to each other by agreement of individual villages' laities. The most salient internal division is that between popovtsy and bezpopovtsy, which became a local conflict during the microschism in Nikolaevsk in the early 1980's. Ethnoreligious tensions on the Kenai Peninsula are matters of minorities within minorities, as well as minorities within majorities. Yet individuals (visits, marriages), information (NPC and other texts) and resources (labor and material) are exchanged between these branches, as Old Believers utilize the diaspora in their struggle to network a segregated self-sufficiency. Lastly, I will detail the diasporic exchange of information, ethnohistorical publication and dissemination. A key determinant of diaspora is the self-recognition of an international group identity-which in the case of the Old Believers and other ethnoreligious groups are constructed of an ideological webbing of collective memories, faith, and co-religious belonging.

For the Old Believers, societal contrast was not initiated by the geographical distancing of migration, but an ideological distancing from the "homeland." Distinct group consciousness was apparent to Old Believers before their exodus from Russia. This case-study is significant to diaspora theory in illustrating the paradox of preservation through migration. As apparent in the tensions of Old Believers and other Americans, the dual desires to find a land

[19] Participation in rituals of the church, and activities of the household, are literally limited to congregants in good standing (excluding menstruating women and those that have had a child within the last forty days, and anyone currently excluded for behavioral penitence).

where they can peacefully maintain ritual purity and the effort to keep those beliefs unchanged at times erupts in conflict, a migration necessarily involves circumstantial adaptation. While continuing to distance themselves from their Origin, Old Believers struggle to uphold Russian material culture and language, as well as religion. The recognition of these adaptations made in Old Believers' discussions of lost ways and knowledge (especially concerning language) will be outlined next. Starover associations with U.S.S.R./Russia will focus on the popovtsy, who have a direct connection to the state in their adherence to the institutional church hierarchy. Finally, I will stress that American perception of the Russian Staroveri must be reviewed within the Cold War context. Local Americans were more than willing to vilify communists and stress the suffering of Old Believers, thereby enhancing this significant theme of their 'imagined community.' In turn, the complications of Cold War politics inhibited potential relationships between Old Believers, their Origin, and diasporic communities in Europe. The relationships between states of Origin, subsequent settlements, and current locations are aspects of the diasporic condition that must be further analyzed.

Old Believers are a diaspora, although they are a loose 'federation' of distinct, mutually-exclusive communities. The discussions of diaspora below confirms that ethnoconscious identity, and direct interaction and exchange between villages are the most important aspects of diaspora. The particulars of mode and cause of migration, conceptions of belonging, and methods of interaction are too multifarious to construct a detailed, categorical list of features to fit all groups now labeled 'diaspora.' Rather than striving to see connections and similarities where they are not perceived by communities, analyses must realize internal lines of differentiation. Points of divergence where peoples in the diaspora segregated each other (a constant and conscious process of the Staroveri), shows the most salient features (like ideological 'deal-breakers') of a group's identity.

Chapter 2

Reorienting Diaspora

The key indication of belonging to a community of believers is participation in church. If one is not ritually clean, or in covenant with the congregation, one may not enter past the vestibule. The Old Believer diaspora consists of individual communities with varying degrees of overlapping identity-constructs, affine connections through an exchange of individuals, and consanguineal associations through household migration. Conversion is required for an individual to join another community if the two congregations are not unanimous or in *sobornost'* (conciliarity). The diaspora, which was impelled by the desire for decentralized local autonomy, is now paradoxically maintained by a network of demographically and economically 'co-dependent' congregations. The existence of internal division within migrational groups is one of several points made to the final section of this chapter. The divergence of diasporic dispositions, illustrated even within 'one' diaspora, make a one-definition-fits-all theory unfeasible. Other theorists have recognized the internal variance of diasporas, yet in the struggle to list the multitude of features a diaspora may or may not have, they have missed the ephemeral aspect of the term.

My main critique of current diasporic theory is the emphasis on the ethnonationalistic, territorially-bound, foundation of identity. Although some features of Old Believer identity are explicated by a historical contextualization of previous settlements, the diaspora is not actively oriented *towards* the homeland. That doctrinal differences require the conversion of migrating Staroveri, and migrational differences (Harbintsi, Sinziantsi, and Turchane) do not, demonstrates that religious belonging has a greater salience to Old Believers than territorial belonging. Instead of the "myth of return" (Safran 1991), or "re-turn" (Tölölyan 1996), I will propose the "myth of migration", a *nonterritorial* and unsettled orientation of belonging. But first I must discuss the traditional definition of diaspora and the ways in which Old Believers correspond more with this Jewish archetype than more recent theoretical listings of diasporic characteristics.

Positing the Power of Persecution?:

Discussions of diaspora have centered on ethnic relations and connections as opposed to ideological congruence. The current political antagonist's, activist's, and Zionist's emphasis on homeland does not likely correspond to the thoughts and feelings of Babylonian exiles. Home was the "promised land," not solely for ethnonationalistic claims that diasporic literature focuses on, but an inheritance bequeathed by God. That the Jewish people as a whole (exception of internal lines of Orthodox, and smaller 'ultra-Orthodox sects' such as Hasidism), have a high level of secularism both within the homeland[20] and diaspora does not negate the fact that the diaspora began with ethnoreligious persecution, and that the language of return and belonging are scriptural. Emphasizing the religious characteristics of the Jewish diaspora is not an attempt to claim that religious features take precedence over other identity-constructs, but illustrates the ontological connection between diaspora, ideology, social memory, and belonging.

Tölölyan (1996) stressed the influence of this Jewish-centered definition of diaspora that prevailed from the second century CE until circa 1968 (12), outlining in detail early characteristic lists of diasporas based on this archetype. Old Believers more closely correspond with these characteristics than more recent discussions of migrational networks. These features are: (1) *coercion* of initial migrations; (2) existence of a distinct identity within the homeland; (3) *collective* memory of the group's distinct foundation; (4) "patrol of [their] communal boundaries"; (5) international kinship networking; and (6) the "…diasporic existence as not necessarily involving a physical return but rather a re-turn, a repeated turning to the concept and/or the reality of the homeland and other

[20] Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs: Daniel Elazer Papers Index "Religion in Israel: A Consensus for Jewish Tradition" reported results of Guttman Institute of Applied Social Research survey from the in 1993 that when asked "To what extent do you believe or not believe in each of the following" 1) There is a God, 63% Believe Completely, 24% Not Sure, and 13% Do Not Believe. 55% Israelites identified themselves as "Traditionalists" a vague term that covers a wide range of ritual observation and 20% were secular, although ¾ percent of the latter still upheld the "most common traditional religious rituals." http://www.jcpa.org/dje/articles2/relinisr-consensus.htm

diasporal kin through memory, written and visual texts, travel, gifts and assistance, et cetera" (12-15). The Old Believer diaspora self-consciously possesses these features (local articles[21]; Sabey 1969:23 and 26; Wigowsky 1981), yet lacks others that Tölölyan considers more significant in his "*Rethinking of Diaspora(s).*"

Although many of today's diasporas do not fit themes of oppression-impelled migration and negative displacement from the ideal home, Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) argue that the Jewish archetype is applicable to all diasporic analyses, even if only etymologically connected to these themes (2002:10). Tropes of martyrdom and physical sacrifice for religious beliefs are deeply ingrained in Judeo-Christian ideology (Boyarin 1999:93-4), yet Old Believers are unique in the degree of extremity to which their religious adherence was influenced by the oppressions of the Russian church and state, and consequential fears of persecution. Historian Michael Cherniavsky (1966) summarized the early 'martyrdom' of the Staroveri: "believers fled Antichrist, hiding in the forests, but if he reached out for them, if he sent his servants-officials, soldiers, tax collectors, census takers-then they died, preferably by the cleansing fire, before salvation was endangered by contact with, or submission to, Antichrist" (20-1). An early example of this type of sacrifice (1672) was reported by a parish priest in the Nizhnii Novgorod district (home to three other "preachers of death"), who told ecclesiastical authorities how members of his community had burnt themselves in "'apparent religious frenzy.'" His attribution of the sacrificial ideal to itinerant monks and nuns in the area confirms the connection between unofficial monasticism and popular dissent (Michels 1999:154). An estimated 20,000 died in similar circumstances by 1690 alone (Lupinin 1984:185). The "Petrine paradox" refers to the fact that 1702 Peter I declared a principle of religious toleration, (if dissenters paid a double tax and relinquished the right to preach), yet the wave of self-immolations (beginning c. 1664) climaxed during his reign (Cherniavsky 1966:33). Smaller scale self-immolations occurred at least into the

[21] Fortier 1970; Rearden 1972; Lund, HN, 5-3-79:15; Gay 1988; Chappell, ADN 5-1-88:8-9; Chappell, ADN 9-21-88; Gay HN, 9-22-88:7; Kizzia, ADN 4-15-90

1860s, and tens of thousands are estimated to have died for their faith in this manner (*ibid*:21).

Although the first cases of self-immolation occurred before the Starover fathers took a negative position on this method of fleeing the Antichrist, Avvakum is believed to have legitimated self-immolation as a last resort. The rebellion of Solovetski Monastery, under imperial siege for eight years (1668-1676), is atypical of the example of Avvakum's passive submission to death at the stake in far north (Pustozersk[22]) (Sabey 1969:23; Scheffel 1991:38). Those that took their lives in such a fashion did so in imminent fear, ignited by the conviction (or rumors) that tsarist officials were approaching (Cherniavsky 1966:20-1).[23] Old Believers' relations with states, fears of any correspondence or control by institutional officials, collective memories of persecutions and flight from the forces of the antichrist (literally, or by proxy of his evil permeating spirit and associates) is deeply ingrained in current OB identity-constructs. In relation to 'others' the themes of persecution and segregation-necessary purification have continued to frame Old Believers' conceptions of, and relations with, non-Starover institutions and individuals.

The consistency of these themes is exemplified by Deacon Paul Fefelov (the nephew of the first priest of Nikolaevsk, Father Kondraty), who cited this aspect of social memory as proof that they would persevere contemporary conflicts with the state schools institution, because "'the Old Believers have a long history of surviving governmental and religious persecution, so this is nothing new'" (Gay, HN, 9-22-88:7). Status as a persecuted minority has been held to blame for the lack of access to public education in other countries (namely Russia and China), despite the fact that elders do not generally value or desire

[22] Also martyred: Pope Lazar, Deacon Feodor and Monk Epifany (Sabey 1969:23); These four (including Avvakum) martyrs were the early "Old Believer church fathers" whose writings slowly disseminated, becoming popular with Old Believers much later with rising literacy rates, have also been the chief focus of the majority of historical discussions of Old Believers (Cherniavsky 1966:3). These three also had their tongues cut out for heresy before being exiled into the far north (8).

[23] One 'suicide leader' in 1756 was recorded to have said before igniting the chapel the believers barricaded themselves in was set alit: "Because of the many present burdens on the people, no man in the world can save himself by any means; but if they burn themselves, then they can obtain salvation" (Cherniavsky 1966:21, citing Sapozhnikov 1891:144).

education beyond rudimentary mathematical and literacy skills (Loshbaugh, S., HN 5-20-93), as conflicts with the KPBSD and schools in Oregon clearly demonstrates (Sabey 1969, Jaffe 1991). Focusing on disadvantaged minority status at home and in new settlements can have unattended consequences, causing a distorted perception of diasporic subjects. The association of specific ideals and themes to diasporic subjects mutes the presence of subgroup/intradiasporic differences. "The unified moralism attached to subaltern subjects now also clings to diasporan ones, who are invariably assumed to be members of oppressed classes and therefore opposed to capitalism and state power" (Ong 1999:13). However, although the Old Believer diaspora *was* oppressed and is still opposed to state interference, intercommunity relations illustrate that they have in fact utilized capitalism to their advantage in their fight for self-sufficiency.

Diaspora scholars, in the effort to expand and empower dispersed subjects, began to focus on the advantages of the diasporic condition, rather than the negative *galut* (exile) aspect. The homeland is not needed for Jews, (and Christians similarly), or 'people of the Book,' who, having access to a "portable temple" are not in need of "…territorial sanctuary or legitimatization. This justifies a primary attachment to the land of one's residence, rather than the home of the fathers" (Gruen 2002:18). Diaspora can be seen as a positive alternative to the nation-state, territorialized identity-constructs, and subaltern statuses (Boyarin and Boyarin 2002:10; Cohen 1995, 1996; Tölölyan 1996), contradicting the trope of a disadvantaged, or disenfranchised minority, and countering the lack of belonging they may feel amidst the host majority[24] (Butler 2001:212-4).

Tölölyan's (1996) focus on activism as a key to its identification as a diaspora corresponds with Butler's (2001) emphasis on the "self-awareness" of the dispersed as diasporic subjects. 'Self-awareness' is essentially tied to the self-reinforcing aspect of the diasporic condition. Othering from the 'host', such as Old Believers' neighbors still calling them "Russians," complicates analyses of self-determined agency and claims of an alternative to minority identity. Local newspapers and journals emphasis on the persecutions of old are not only

[24] See Safran's (1991) characteristic 6 below

influenced by negative perceptions of Soviets, but positive pride in the United States' 'guarantee' of religious freedom, and the similarity between Puritan and Old Rite pilgrims (Fortier 1970:34). Although the more recent flight from the Bolsheviks is especially emphasized, these articles do not ignore the fact imperial Russia also persecuted the Old Believers. Stating for example, the generality that, "Russia was not kind to its rebels. Persecution began immediately and continued for centuries. Millions of Old Believers died at the hands of their countrymen, and thousands more died fleeing them" (Gay 1988:27).

Persecution themes are inseparable from Old Believers' ethnoconsciousness. This story has been made so cut and dry that ADN used the same exact paragraph multiple times: "the *Old*Believers* are a tiny sect that has been persecuted since splitting with the Russian Orthodox church in 1650 [sic]. Millions of *Old*Believers* died at the hands of their countrymen during the Bolshevik Revolution. Thousands escaped to China, Brazil and the United States" (Chappell, ADN 9-21-88; Kizzia, ADN 4-15-90; small variations in other articles). However, differentiation of Old Believers from their Origin and Location societies is not sufficient to label them a diaspora. "To participate in a community, diasporic individuals must not only have identities that differ from those prescribed by the dominant hostland culture, but also diaspora-specific social identities that are constructed through interaction with the norms, values, discourses and practices of that diaspora's communal institutions, honoring some and transgressing others" (Tölölyan 1996:29). It is necessary to focus on intercommunity connections, both as voiced imaginations of identity-rooted associations, and self-activism for the collective, to determine whether a migrant group is a diaspora. The characteristics discussed below and other discourse on self-conscious communal activism continues to misinterpret actions' motives of these as oriented towards the homeland.

Elastic Diaspora, Characteristics and Framework:

The proliferation of diaspora studies in the last two decades is a part of the rising trend of transnational and globalization studies of current anthropological

discourse. Yet years of discussion, including the inception of the journal, *Diaspora*, in 1991, has not resulted in a consensus on the word's meaning, nor to which groups the term applies to. In the very first issue of this journal, Safran proposed that diasporic groups should have several of the following six following characteristics to be identified as such:

> …1)they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed form a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland-its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not-and perhaps cannot be-fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulted from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return-when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. [1991:83-84]

Five out of six of Safran's characteristics directly concern imagined and physical relations dispersed individuals have towards their region of origin, demonstrating the focus on 'homeland' as the primary identifying feature, and *raison d'être* of diasporic communities. The notion of return and belonging to the idealized homeland infers a lack of belonging in the hostland. Although the centrality of the 'a' homeland in the definition of diaspora is obviated by the etymology of the term that compares dispersed people to scattered spores (Cohen 1995:6; Tölölyan 1996:10; Butler 2001:192), necessitates a source, it does not follow that the place of origin is primary in the self-identification, perceived purpose, or ideological orientation of the dispersed.

The issue of homeland and a group's relationship to the land of origin continues to confuse diaspora theorists. Safran allows that with a "slightly attenuated" definition above, "…then the Maghrebi and Portuguese émigrés in France, and Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in Germany may be considered diasporas." Yet,

as he notes, these migratory groups are fundamentally different from the Jewish and Armenian conceptualization of diaspora in that their dispersals were not forced and 'their' countries still exist. "Therefore, neither group has had the political obligation, or the moral burden, of reconstituting a lost homeland or maintaining an endangered culture" (1991:85). The key feature here that places these groups within the diasporic discourse is their continued relation to their homelands, self-conscious group identity as expatriates, and homeland myths of idealized histories and/or future returns. However, gypsies who have a history of constant migration and sporadic oppressions in several states and therefore have always struggled to "[maintain] an endangered culture" (Safran 1991:85), are disassociated with diasporic identity since "[they] have had no myth of return because they have no precise notion of their place of origin, no clear geographical focus, and no history of national sovereignty" (87). Does the homeland have to be a distinct nation with a history of sovereignty, or territorial coherence, rather than a generalized regional zone? The Old Believers similarly have no myth of return or desire for individual or group repatriation to post-Soviet Russia. Nor have they activated as a group for restorative political measures and economic support directed along imagined ties of kinship and obligation to the primarily Russian-state. Although Old Believers correspond with Tölölyan's notion of "re-turn" to the Origin as an important aspect of their social memory, and have the call to "[maintain] an endangered culture," that culture is not drawn along ethnonationalistic lines in the present or future, but in the past.

The insistent contingency of diasporic groups' identities with their homeland reasserts the fictive impulse of conflating distinct identities with an ideational nation-state to which they 'belong'. How can diasporic identity be seen outside the confines of the nation-state (Chambers 1994:17, Boyarin and Boyarin 2002:10), and a "…celebration of multiplicity and mobility…" (Tölölyan 1996:28), while the character traits of its definition make it contingent on geographical origin? While diaspora scholars have noted the positive and productive aspects of diasporic identity claims that disavow hostland minority status by embracing the 'x diaspora' as an alternative to marginality (Chambers

1994; Cohen 1995, 1996; Tölölyan 1996; Boyarin and Boyarin 2002), consistently orienting migrant groups in relation to their land of origin is theoretically retroactive.

The debate over diaspora's definition led Butler (2001) to summarize the three elements that *are* agreed upon by diaspora scholars: 1) the group has spread from an original region or homeland to two or more disparate locations, fitting the image of a scattering; 2) communities have an actual, or imagined, connection or relationship to a shared homeland; and 3) the group is self-consciously aware of its being a "ethnonational community." To these characteristics Butler adds the essential temporal-historical element, which allows a differentiation between diasporic groups and other migrant populations with connections to their homeland and other co-ethnics at 'home' and abroad. "Diasporas are multi-generational: they combine the individual migration experience with the collective history of the group dispersal and regenesis of communities abroad" (192). Generational analyses of distinct diasporas will elucidate time's affect on 'belonging' within international networks. As the specter of change and assimilating forces are a ubiquitous part of migrational and ethnic enclave studies, this fourth element of diaspora cannot be overlooked.

In order to truly move beyond the confines of the nation-state, and allow the framework of diaspora to provide an alternative to geographically-bound identity-constructs, Robin Cohen (1996) emphasizes "ethnonational consciousness" (Butler 2001:192). Tölölyan agrees that, "there can be no diaspora as such without a response from a community that comes to recognize itself and act as a collectivity" (1996:24). However, by positing political and/or economic participation as the most salient feature of diaspora, he mistakenly directs these actions homeward-bound (1996:15). This is an aspect of diaspora unrepresented by the apolitical Old Believers. However, group (not merely ethnonational) consciousness should be stressed. Without a shared conception of affinity between others dispersed from the same homeland, individual immigrants could hardly be called a collective. A 'community's' genesis is in the imagination, rather than the extraction of shared features that may be skewed by

comparison to a differentiated majority (Anderson 2006). A methodological focus on intercommunity relations will not only elucidate spheres of connectivity, but the foundations of shared histories and identity-constructs that continue to suspend and reinforce their orbit.

Theorists have not completely overlooked the plurality of a diaspora's identity-constructs. Cohen (1996) reworked diaspora's "common features" into a looser analytical device, to allow for the multiplicity of experiences, for example variety of motives for emigration (work, trade and/or colonial endeavors). Butler (2001) also kept voluntary migration in mind by moving away from persecution and involuntary migration models by offering seven different types of initial motivations for dispersal: captivity, state-eradication exile, forced and voluntary exile, emigration, migration, and imperial diasporas (2001:200-202). In keeping with her criticism of Cohen's five-part typology that labeled diasporas as either victim, labor, trade, imperial, and cultural as inadequate for possibilities of multiple migrations (2001:197-8), Butler notes that there may also be multiple waves of variously-motivated dispersals. Migration is not a temporary solution, as groups may find settlement in a location sufficiently tolerant, to permit a "creative and enriching" life that contradicts the un-belonging aspect of diaspora. Indeed, given the disparate relationships between lands of origins and diasporas, particularly those with a long history of oppression, "sometimes…diasporic homes turn out to be the homeliest of all, and reminiscences of a bygone golden age in the homeland function more to maintain diasporic community solidarity than to inspire movement homeward" (Markowitz 2004:25). The variety of migration-motives and repatriation-goals necessitates an analysis of the internal lines of a diaspora.

The trait lists continue as Butler (2001) likewise stated the key dimensions of diaspora analysis: "1) reasons for, and conditions of, dispersal; 2) relationship with the homeland; 3) relationship with the hostlands; 4) interrelationships within communities of the diaspora; and 5) comparative studies of different diasporas" (195). The first of these points has already been discussed and relationships with the Location (hostland), diaspora, and Origin (homeland) will frame the following

chapter. Of these dimensions, the fourth has primacy here. Intercommunity relationships are not merely a matter of the increased ability of travel and communication our global era, although these developments have greatly facilitated the potential for transnational identities. What is most telling, is *how* communities imagine themselves a part of a larger (geographically and numerically) community. While opening up the theory to migrational networks that do not fit the Zionist or Jewish *galut* archetype, these characteristics do not uncover the varieties of diasporic existence.

Continuing to stress the teleological foundation of 'tradition' as a cultural and temporal continuum invariably tied to its 'place' or 'home' only reproduces a falsified discourse of identity. "In the idea of roots and cultural authenticity there lies a fundamental, even fundamentalist, form of identity that invariably entwines with nationalist myths in the creation of an 'imagined community'" (Chambers 1994:73, citing Anderson 1983). These conceptions of tradition can mask the "heterogeneous configuration" of identity-constructs and the power structures, contextual complexities, and discontinuous histories that compose diasporas. In order to understand diaspora, one must reunite the theoretical bifurcation of time and space and be aware of the "politics of dimensionality" to remove this blindfold of tradition (Boyarin, J. 1994:7-8, 13). Migration and ethnohistorical processes force groups' to reify their identity-constructs to extend the information to the 'other,' and causes individuals "to rethink [their] time and place within a culture, a language, an institution, a tradition, a set of histories, [which] is to rethink the purpose, direction and limits of these very categories" (Chambers 1994:33). Rethinking aspects of identity and categorization is inherent to the diasporic condition, as will become evident in exploring Old Believers' lives in Alaska. The self-reinforcing diaspora *must* rethink and expand the categories of identity and diasporic characterizations, especially those that are temporarily, ethnonationally or territorially bounded.

Diasporically Unsettled: The Myth of Migration:

Analysis of the internal lines of a diaspora must include a description of its migrational history. A brief summary of the centuries of Old Rite Orthodox practitioners' migrations indicates that imperial persecutions and oppressions, (fluctuating in degrees of severity), led them further east into Siberia, and southwest into the Altai Mountains. Some families of the latter group, *Turchane/Turkyetski/Turtiantsi* (Turkeys casually), fled into Turkey and Iran relatively early (1700's) in the Starover saga after an increase of religious repression, before moving to Willamette Valley, Oregon and settling "Little Turkey" (Jaffe 1990:57). Those who moved east and south did not flee Russia, crossing the border into the Chinese provinces of Manchuria and Sinziang (Xinjiang-new frontier) respectively, until the Bolshevik Revolution and subsequent Civil War (1917-1921) made 'their home' unbearable and perilous. When the next generation experienced China's own collectivization period, the World Council of Churches[25] stepped in to aid their flight from China to Hong Kong where the Old Believers awaited emigration to lands provided by the Council. Beginning in 1958, the majority of these groups sailed with aid from the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration to 6,000 acres (24.28sq. k) of land near Curitiba, Brazil (200 miles/322k SW of São Paulo), (Rearden 1972:411-413). Others went to Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, and other South American countries (Gay 1988:27; Colfer 1985:7-8). The next stage of migration began in 1962, when individuals in Brazil, unhappy with the poor economic opportunities there, searched for a sponsor to help their immigration to the United States. The Tolstoy Foundation[26] in New York, with the aid of Senator Robert Kennedy, provided this support. Although some remained and continue to live in Brazil, many families moved to Oregon, and some to New Jersey and New

[25] http://www.oikoumene.org/

[26] http://www.tolstoyfoundation.org/ "Humanitarian Relief" page states: "When the Old Believers, descendants of individuals who more than 300 years ago refused to adopt certain reforms introduced into the Russian Orthodox Church, had to flee the Soviet Union, they did so by actually walking across the roof of the world through the Himalayas, finally to reach safety in India. In the 1960's, they were resettled by the Tolstoy Foundation in several places in the United States, where they created thriving communities. The Tolstoy Foundation also assisted in the resettlement of many Circassians, Kalmucks and other Northern Caucasians." Although not mentioned, the TF also supplied grants to Old Believers emigrating from Brazil into the U.S.

York. In the late 1960's families began to migrate to Alaska, with some 20-25 families moving to the Kenai Peninsula in the early 1970's. Twenty more families (mostly Harbintsi) left Oregon for the Canadian province of Alberta in 1973 (Jaffe 1990:57-8; Smithson 1972:166).

This complex migrational history does not elucidate the ideological origin of the diaspora, or when intercommunity relations and transnational group consciousness surfaced. One analytical concept that has been largely overlooked is the question of intrastate diasporas (such as the Native Americans/First Nations of North America, and ethnic Russians spread throughout the U.S.S.R.). Discussion of intrastate diasporas can thwart the risk of transnationality tropes reinforcing a relationship between statism, indigenism, and belonging (Boyarin and Boyarin 2002:22-23). The Old Believers could be classified as an intrastate diaspora, for the founding members of Muscovy spread over the Ural and Altai Mountain ranges, across the wide Russian steppes, and into the frozen tundra of Siberia before finally fleeing Russia.[27] But these groups were for the most part unaware of each other, precluding the intercommunity networking and self-conscious group identity that now defines diaspora. Does the search for other communities and the lost Old Rite priesthood constitute self-awareness of distinct identity within the homeland? Or did the diaspora not truly begin until the Sinziantsi and Harbintsi (and later Turchane) subgroups reunion? This uncertainty underlines the impracticality of tying a migration group to a specific time and place, and further complicated by the Old Believers sectarian history.

A complete outline of the multiplicity of Old Believer microschisms is far too complex for the present. The initial and most fundamental *bezpopovtsy/popovtsy* break occurred at the beginning of the raskol. Sectarian denomination is difficult for particular Old Believer families whom after several generations of movement across three continents are left with significant gaps in their ethnohistory (Scheffel 1991:117). Two major branches represented by the current diaspora are the *pomortsy/pomorians/pomorski,* (in Brazil, Persia and

[27] Except the Turchane subgroup that migrated past the Altai range into Turkey shortly after the raskol

USA), and the *chasovinij/chasovenni* (chapelists), (in China, Brazil, Paraguay, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand and USA) (Colfer 1985:5). The complexity of internal lines and the lack of congregation-specific sectarian knowledge highlight the Old Believers' well-known, ethnoconscious identity markers.

While recognizing the multiplicity of migration motives and paths, Butler still argues for one "seminal dispersal," or particular traumatic moment that led to the characterization of the group's mode of migration, and frames group and individual relations to host and home (2001:204). As explained above, this issue of initial, or primary, movement is particularly hard to pinpoint in Old Believer history. Can there be subsets of initial movements, or a multitude of divergent stories and motives within distinct migrational 'paths?' If current self-consciousness is the key feature of diasporic group identity, how can identity be pinned down lineally or geographically? Aspects of identity do not exist with such objectivity. Diasporic analyses must allow for the variance of identity-constructs and an overlap of 'imagined communities.'

Another facet missing from theoretical discussions of the Origin and Location is how these states or regions relate to one another. How a new settlement's neighbors are going to perceive the diasporic outpost is influenced by their own views of the group, and the land from which the group originated. The reception of Old Believers by American locals was not only influenced by a negative perception of Russian Soviets, but by a connection to the nationalistic imagination of the pilgrim's journey. American Cold War willingness to see and stress the crimes against humanity in Russian history reinforced ethnoconscious persecution themes. These themes developed very differently in settlements of Old Believers in post-Soviet, non-Russian nations. Migrants also move from, and communicate between, locations within the diaspora, therefore the interrelationships of settlement states must also be analyzed to fully explore international identity-constructs.

The internal plurality of social systems in terms of relationships and differentiated personal power and authority must not be forgotten in the stress to emphasize the empowering aspects of diasporic identification. "Not only

celebration but also critique of those internal powers is needed. Evaluating diaspora entails acknowledging the ways that such identity is maintained through exclusion and oppression of internal others (especially women) and external others" (Boyarins 2002:11; also Tölölyan 1996:18 "multitiered minority"). Although diaspora scholars note the existence of multiple waves of migration and divergent types of connections to home and internal others (Butler 2001, Tölölyan 1996), the analytical framework does not currently allow for delving further into this topic. Current models also do not allow for the multifarious, yet influential, ideological facets of diasporic identity. This is particularly apparent in ethnoreligious diasporas such as Starover and Anabaptist groups.

Movement, whether due to persecution or search for the ideal location to freely and prosperously preserve their faith, has become an integral part of Old Believer identity. The diaspora is not searching for *the homeland,* but *a* land to call *home.* A Nikolaevsk elder provided an alternative concept of home, "when the first of the Old Believers arrived in Alaska in 1965 [*sic*] to search for a new village site, the man who had travelled from Russia to China, Hong Kong, Brazil and Oregon and finally selected the Anchor River Valley summed up his modest objective: 'I just want to know where I'll be buried'" (Fortier 1970:49). Those that grew up on stories of their elders who had lived in three or more countries have learnt the tenaciousness of governmental security. Consequentially ingrained in children's socialization as members of a closed[28] religious community with a vast history of factionalism is the fluctuation of community belonging.

As a recent master's recipient from Yale in Russian studies, Ms. de Sherbinin, who used to teach in Nikolaevsk, said of the "exodus from Nikolaevsk" to KB, " 'its people have a 300-year history of roaming…When their faith is disturbed or threatened, their historical reaction has been to move, for the religion provides the clue which keeps the Old Believer community unified in the face of an ever-changing world,'"(Gay, HN, 5-16-85:1,10; also Gay 1988:24).

[28] In that participation in church services and other community events is dependent on belonging to that specific congregation, or doctrinally 'united' villages.

Old Believers themselves cite migration as a survival tactic, "Mr. Fefelov said Old Believers remained removed from American society to keep their traditions and language untainted. 'There is pressure from the outside. We understand this. What can we do to get farther? Soon we'll have to escape this civilization and move to Siberia,' he joked" (HN, 3-2-89:36). He might have been joking, but the joke has a factual quality in the historical fact that such pressure had impelled his religious predecessors' migration to Siberia.

Migration and preservation are intimately tied, for if the last nearly three and a half centuries as taught Old Believers' anything, it is that home is ephemeral and life is movement.

> Persecuted for their religious nonconformity, these traditionalists, faithful to their beliefs and traditions of their Great Russian ancestors, lived in a state of internal emigration and created their own cultural world in which life was neither Westernized nor secularized but patterned after the old Muscovite ways. [Zenkovsky 1957:50]

At the very end of his *Alaska Magazine* article, Gay speculated that, "their transitory history suggests that a home may be temporary, and their religion teaches that life on earth is of a temporary nature. On the other hand, the people seem to have found the self-sufficiency, isolation and freedom they have sought for so long. Perhaps Alaska is, indeed, the final stop[29] of a 300-year journey" (1988:58). It is certainly premature to call their journey ended, as new communities have since been settled in Alaska, and now the state of Minnesota as well. The Old Believer diaspora will continue flourish and redouble in number. Rooted in the shared history of migration and persecution, common language and faith, the advantageous international connections of the diasporic condition will preserve the Old Rite. The importance of migration to diasporic identity is further demonstrated by the interrelationships of Old Believer communities. The act of migration, ingrained in collective memory and contemporary history, has become a defining aspect of the Staroveri way of life.

[29] (Lund, HN, 5-3-79) also notes how their story of travelling "ended" on Monday when 86 became U.S. citizens. These notes contradict Old Believers' continued reference to future moves that may be necessitated, or are currently being planned.

Chapter 3

A Different Nation: The 'Russians' of 'America'

Diaspora can only be understood by delineating the multiplicity of its elements. This process should not merely recognize the divergent paths and purposes of migration, but explore the prominent identity-constructs that digest difference within and without the migrational network. That an adolescent child in Nikolaevsk distinguishes the majority of her classmates as of a "different religion,"[30] negates the existence of a unified community of believers even within even this small village. Dissenters near the Patriarchy of Moscow began their long trek across Russia, disseminating ill-content and resistance to the reforms in the earliest days of the raskol; collecting and losing adherents along the way. Their descendents,[31] the three migrational paths that spread from the epicenter of the raskol have since been splintered by continuous movement and sectarian divides, and formed new attachments through conversion and diasporic endogamy (marriages crossing internal lines, but not external ones). Since the groups labeled as part of the same diaspora cannot be identified by one name, one belief, one land, or one conception of home and belonging, therefore diasporic theory and analysis must not seek one.

"Host" is a misleading term, though organic to the idea of fertilization of these new spore-grown communities. I use the basic term *location* to indicate the present situation of a particular community, utilizing the flexible vagary of the term to accommodate persistent travel. Countering the connection between land of origin and land of belonging are the goals of the Old Believers in Alaska, their naturalization as American citizens, and their voiced appreciation of their new state's privileges. Yet, essential to Old Believer life is the consistent consciousness of relationships with others, not only their new neighbors, but those in Russia where the process of separation from non-communal Russian Orthodox Christians and other *poganyi* became entrenched. The endeavor to remain a pure and unified community of believers most noticeably includes the dress, language,

[30] Nikolaevsk Road, July 19, 2007
[31] Ideological and/or familial

and rituals of the anteschism times that distinguish them from their American neighbors. The processes of purification, ingrained in rituals of the service, are carried into secular life necessitating an excommunication of all non-believers. The struggle for segregation is mirrored by similar efforts of Anabaptist communities in North America. Despite their best efforts at segregation, change has occurred in the lifestyle and community make-up. The process of othering is echoed by their neighbors, who continue to identify the American Old Believers as Russians, and adherents to a faith and lifestyle still largely unknown to them. The contentions between the duel processes of assimilation and accommodation have resulted in a number of conflicts, and mutual accusations of prejudice. However, unlike a number of ethnographies on North American Old Believer communities, I can report that the KPBSD has been instrumental in the preservation of the history and culture Old Believer's Russian language and culture.

Intercommunity relations, as opposed to relations between lands of settlement and origin, must be stressed in the effort to deterritorialize diasporic studies. The fundamental divide between the bezpopovtsy and popovtsy affects every aspect of intercommunity association, and therefore the microschism within Nikolaevsk takes precedence in this discussion. Analysis of the ideal of self-sufficiency will follow, as the isolation of Old Believer's from local poganyi society is dependent on relations, intermarriages, and work-exchanges throughout the diaspora as well as within their own 'closed' communities. These relations are maintained by continuous familial correspondence and visitation between Old Believer villages. Ethnohistory, both oral and in the writings of NPC has a crucial role in the dissemination of the history and language of Old Believers. Questioning, "Who are *we*?" is a common feature of migrational subjects, whether embracing or rejecting a hyphenated status. Numerous statements from Old Believers concerning the group-self, and how to explain it to others, evidence the confusion of the diasporic condition. As discussed above, the myth of migration is an alternative to negative narratives of the loss of homeland. Old Believers' and Alaskan locals' statements, frequently quoted in area newspapers,

continue to reinforce the connection between this new Alaskan population and incessant movement.

I substitute the term *Origin* which lacks "home's" weighted connotations of belonging. While stressing the Staroveri's ideological differentiation from other Russians, I do not deny the persistent historical ideological connections to the land of their faith's founders. First, I will outline this paradox of preservation via migration. Next, I will discuss Old Believers' linguistic preservation of Old Church Slavonic (OCS) and their dialect of archaic Russian. Continued reference to the necessity of language for the preservation of their 'culture' reinforces the connection between native tongue and native land. Since the popovtsy of Nikolaevsk have an institutional connection to the Russian state through their adherence to the ecclesiastic hierarchy, the discussion of visits to, and other direct contact with, U.S.S.R./Russia, will focus on this group. U.S. and U.S.S.R. relations during the Cold War clearly affected the Old Believers' contact with their origin state, as well as their new neighbors' perceptions of their settlement in Alaska. Any discussion of a diaspora's 'home' and 'host' relations must include the relations between both states, as well as between the diverse locations of the diaspora.

Life in Location:

The majority (Sabey 1969; Smithson 1977; Morris 1981; Colfer 1985; Scheffel 1991) of the relatively few North American Old Believer ethnographies have concentrated on acculturation, social boundaries, and attempted isolation. However, villagers also claim American identity, and almost immediately began efforts to obtain citizenship. Old Believers have only been in North America since 1962, therefore change, perceptible differences, and adjustments of these new Americans are especially apparent. The theme of anti-syncretism is also relevant to the Staroveri, who have actively struggled for village autonomy and segregation as a self-sufficient social unit. The visual and ideological aspects of their lifeways readily distinguish them from their neighbors, who reassert and reinforce these differences in their conceptualization, labeling of Old Believers. The self-reinforcing diasporic condition is a dual process of "othering self" and "othering by."

Many changes have been made to the daily lives of Old Believers: new jobs, new schools, new language, and a growing acceptance of new material culture. Several of these adjustments to American society relate to the purity laws, or the process of materially and ideologically segregating, or othering, themselves to maintain sacramental unity. Interaction between Staroveri and other Americans is not a one-way process of change, but also one of accommodation on the part of the state. These polar processes can, and have, broken out in tension and conflict when the desires of the villagers clash with those of their neighbors. Nikolaevsk School is the main arena for the introduction of new information and society, however it has also worked to preserve the villagers' lifestyle and language, exemplified by adjustments (*i.e.* calendar, censure) made to accommodate ritual propriety.

"We as Americans" and Citizenship:

The Old Believers' flight from oppression has been the constant of their story. The story told by Old Believers to reporters, the story these journalists explain to the Alaskan audience, and the story emphasized by the Americans that

have had close contact with them (Bob Moore, other teachers and state officials) all echo the theme of suffering the fight for freedom. This story also touches a common vein in the imagined community of Americans in that it corresponds with the founding goals of the North American colonies and puritanical past. The flight from the religious oppression of the Origin lands (Puritans from England, Huguenots from France, Catholics from England and Germany, Anabaptists from Central Europe etc.) settled the northeast of the U.S. The autonomy of self-sufficiency is a common motivation for migration. Judge von der Heydt, who presided the 1979 Nikolaevsk naturalization ceremony, closed with the statement that, "'this represents America and what it stands for. That people who have wandered throughout the world would find their home here, in a small village, 10 miles from Anchor Point, Alaska.' And Old Believers were likewise proud of, and grateful to, their new country, as they had found freedom of religious practice" (Lund, HN, 5-3-79:15).

Application for U.S. citizenship requires five years continuous legal residence in the States, passing an examination on U.S. history and government, and English proficiency (exempt if 20+ years residency) (O'Meara, HN, 10-22-87:7). The year Old Believers moved to Nikolaevsk, those who immediately migrated from Brazil to the U.S. had just met the residency requirement. Elder villagers immediately began preparations for naturalization by asking Bob Moore to teach the first of many citizenship classes to come (BM interview August 8, 2007; HN, 5-27-93:1A), evidencing their great desire to remain in the States and ensure the rights they, and the Staroveri before them, bled and fled for (Fortier 1970:49).

In 1975, after only 7 years of Alaskan settlement the first group of (59, more attempted, but failed the English requirement) Old Believers gained U.S. citizenship[32] (Smithson 1976:166). In 1979, an additional group of 64 adults and 22 children from the "tri-villages of Nikolaevsk, Nakhodka and Kliuchevskaya" became citizens, reflecting the amount of emigration from throughout the Old Believer diaspora to the Kenai Peninsula in the first decade of Old Believer's

[32] Excepting children born in the U.S., who automatically become citizens

Alaskan settlement. Four hundred people packed into the half-sized Nikolaevsk School gym, (then educating a 150 students grades k-9), to celebrate (ALHN 2005; Lund, HN, 5-3-79). The naturalization ceremonies in 1987 and 1993 awarded another 26 and 22 Old Believers with citizenship respectively (O'Meara, HN, 10-22-87; Loshbaugh D., HN, 5-27-93).

Table 1: 1987 Naturalization Ceremony

Russia		**China**		**Brazil**		**Argentina**		**Canada**	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	1	5	7	3	8	0	1	0	1

(O'Meara, HN, 10-22-87)

Old Believers not only oppose the idea of return to the "homeland," but were actually impelled to gain citizenship by the fear of being sent back to the U.S.S.R. Smithson considered that the campaign for citizenship (particularly the English requirement) had the greatest impact on the lifeways of Old Believers in Oregon and Alaska (1976:259-260).

Religious freedom was not the only benefit of U.S. citizenship as a Mexican who had married into the Old Belief mentioned. For example, citizenship is also a prerequisite of a 10-ton plus fishing vessel permit (Loshbaugh D., HN, 5-27-93:14a). Economic problems in Brazil are cited as the main cause of immigration to the U.S., unlike the desire for further seclusion behind migrations to Alaska and Alberta from Oregon. Although Old Believers were able to maintain the mir structure and freely practice their faith in Brazil, they could not prosper in their traditional, agrarian means of production due to glutted markets. Fierce competition with kin and other locals was also cited as a motivation for migration (Smithson 1976:160; O'Meara, HN, 10-22-87:7).

Old Believers make numerous claims of their American identity, often without mention of how these claims contradict their othering (by themselves and their neighbors) as Russians. Some of these claims are related to the rights that they, just like any other American, believe themselves entitled too. Conflicts over

the trail-head that leads to the Katchemak Bay villages when they were denied access to by truck to "their" road due to dangerous conditions and pedestrian use (horseback riders, hikers, and cattle ranchers), is one example. The villages at the bottom of this long, steep trail can be reached by boat, but only at high tide in summer or across its frozen surface in the winter, so trips to Homer take a full day. "'I don't go for recreation,' said the man in the leather coat. 'I live there. I need to take in fuel and provisions. That's the only road we've got. We're Americans like everybody else. They've got paved roads'" (Loshbaugh, D., HN, 9-24-92:36). Citizenship entitles like-rights to all, and Old Believers claim it. Old Believers continually stress both their American and Russian identities and Americans consider them Russians.

The issue of statelessness is overlooked in diaspora studies centered on homeland connections. Diasporas are multigenerational so the majority of a particular diaspora is primarily individuals who were not born in the group's land of Origin. That many Old Believers (specifically those born in China) had never 'belonged' to any state increased the desire for, and appreciation of, the rights of citizenship. Diaspora analyses must recognize the multiple notions of nationality held, and the multiple states that an individual might have lived in. For example, Natalia Martusheff, one of the formerly "stateless" China-born Old Believers who also in Brazil, declared, "'now I'm a citizen,' Martusheff said. 'No more Russian. They call me Russian. But when I get citizenship, I'm American'" (Loshbaugh D., HN, 5-27-93:1).

Ethnic identity claims are often framed in the language of 'nation', as if society and state where synonyms. Nationality was third[33] in the barrage of introductory questions to a popovtsy Old Believer family, the Mikhailovs.[34] I answered that I was a "whole bunch of stuff," a "good ole-fashioned American mutt" and started listing: mostly English and German, also Scottish and Austrian-with a Portuguese last name. The Elder Brother replied that he "had some

[33] After the elder brother obtained my age and teased me about my single status over the protests of his sister-in-law, in fear of my embarrassment

[34] "Family" here is vague, members of three households met, one family, his brother (wife was busy) who lived across the street, and their mother who lives next door to the elder brother across the street stopped by briefly during the evening. June 10, 2007.

different stuff too" (?!), being born in Brazil, and his mother having been born in China…but stressed that his "nationality all Russian." Then he made a joke about me being a Heinz 57, and he closer an A-1,[35] a condiment/nationality analogy I had never heard before.

One newly-naturalized citizen stated, "'I want to be American…I feel very happy.'" The only Russian-born individual in the 1987 nationalization ceremony was a 61 year old woman who fled by foot into China when she was four or five years old, pointed to herself and declared "Amerikanski" (O'Meara, HN, 10-22-87:7). However, Old Believers also frequently refer to themselves as Russian. Ethnically, given the few examples of exogamous marriages (a few of which were to non-natal Starover Russians), the vast majority are both Russian and American-born after forty years of Starover residence in the U.S. Although I do not recall anyone refer to themselves as "Russian-American," both sides of the hyphen are claimed identity-constructs of Alaskan Old Believers. The social scientist's desire to understand and label can overshadow the multiplicity of ideological identification. The Staroveri may simply be Christians, living in the States (or anywhere), speaking the language, wearing the clothes, and keeping the faith their ancestors practiced in Russia. Their process of distancing their co-religious community discussed below pertains to anyone considered a non-believer regardless of nationality.

Puritanical Othering:

Post-colonial authors'[36] anti-syncretist concepts contest the notion of acculturation as a one-way course whereby immigrants become Americans, Natives become like colonists, and minorities melt into the hegemonic brew. Instead, focus has been redirected to moments of resistance and processes of othering (Shaw and Steward 1994:6-7). A similar redirection has been made within diaspora theory, and one now instead hears of the "agency," "activism," and "powers of diaspora," (Boyarin and Boyarin 2002; Tölölyan 1996), instead of

[35] Feodor and Lyudmila Mikaelov's driveway, June 10, 2007
[36] Thinking particularly of Amselle (1990) and the Jean Comaroff (1981; 1985)

galut. The analysis of non-colonial migrations, whether forced or voluntary, motivated by oppression or expectation, can utilize the language of colonial trauma. The "chaos of contact situation" and "lost bearings" theoretically inherent to migration not only creates opportunities for change and syncretism, but in the case of refugees and exiles-the chance to renew lifeways formerly oppressed (Gruzinski 2002:46-7). The raskol historical context always consisted of anti-syncretic efforts to resist other-cultural contact and change. Internal segregation for the sake of an individual congregation's purity is also historical, as exemplified by the 1752 council of Theodosians that officially excommunicated *novozheny*[37] Old Believers from their church, table, and society as unclean (Conybeare 1981:197).

The xenophobic character of Muscovy was attested by travel records of Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch, during the initial raskol.

> We were told that formerly, when any bishop from Greece or any patriarch came into Russia, this nation did not permit them to perform mass in their churches, thinking them defiled by their intercourse with the Turks; nor was any Greek merchant allowed even to enter their churches, for fear they should be defiled, as they considered them to be…for they avoid strangers to their religion with the utmost abhorrence; of which we saw surprising instances. [Palmer 1873a:97-98]

These processes of purification have been elaborated by the Old Believers. The boundaries that attempt to segregate dangerous outsiders in part stem from the xenophobia of the Muscovite clerics who began the extension of ritual prohibitions into secular life. Colfer argues, "… since those qualities which set the Old Believers apart from the rest of the world are defined in trait lists found in their Holy Books, and since maintenance of ritual purity depends on adherence to those rules, the boundary of the ethnic community is maintained by adherence to moral principles. Ethnic and moral boundaries become one" (1985:136-7). Yet, what the Old Believers perceive to be the polluting or threatening 'other' is very inclusive, and all non-*Khristian* poganyi are avoided to some degree, regardless of

[37] new marriages, refers to those that married with the 'heretic' priests of the post-Nikonian ROC, or those that married after baptism in a bezpopovtsy community

ethnic orientation. The Staroveri do not deny but rather claim the Russian aspect of their identity, (the schism did occur within the state church) however, the reasoning behind othering is primarily religious. Even those that belong to the congregation can be marginalized when social prohibitions are transgressed.

Scheffel (1991) contends that in keeping with Mary Douglas' *Purity and Danger* (2002[1966]) that purity and pollution laws are indicative of perceived danger in social relations. Minority groups that feel "threatened" in their social situation are more likely to construct boundaries utilizing such laws. Centuries of marginal, threatened existence has only served to accentuate these practices (191-192, 199, 203). The laws of Leviticus analyzed by Douglas provide the reasoning behind Old Believers' prohibitions, if group survival in cases of long-term persecution were not enough. "Rituals of separation" (51) function to uphold the unity of the congregation and their covenant with God. In this imagined polar world of purity and profanity, prohibitions differentiate objects and actions, and associated individuals into their appropriate spiritual classes. These rituals and rules of separation also serve as tools of self-identification and other-differentiation. Indeed, Morris also found that, "in terms of boundary maintenance and preservation of ways and traditions, the literal concept of [Old Believers'] version of pollution presents a very effective way of insulating adherents from outsiders and outsiders' activities" (Morris 1981:129-130, citing Barth 1998). Pollution laws are therefore a means to segregate threatening or foreign elements and maintain "social self-integrity" (De Vos 1975:86).

Anti-syncretism, boundary-maintenance, and purity concepts are demonstrated by the Old Believer's concept, *pomieshchanie,* (mixing up). Similarly, conservative Anabaptists are not interested in mixing with non-believers, nor do they or Old Believers look to gain converts other than through high-reproduction rates (Hostetler 1968:40*)*. Pomieshchanie designates when an individual has transgressed the lines separating the *khristianini* from the poganyi and is "…one of the gravest infractions an Old Believer can be guilty of" (Scheffel 1991:60-1). Locals are aware that, "'they don't really mix…they came up here to get away from the influence of Americans. I've always tried to respect

that'" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88). It is not possible for the Old Believers to completely secure themselves from contact with the mirskii, since they must observe mandatory school attendance laws or homeschool their children while complying with "Correspondence Courses." Alaskan villages are also not self-sufficient production-wise to the extent that they can forgo going to stores or joining the local workforce. Mixing or contact with mirskii provides opportunities for comparisons, and information that could lead to doubts and questions about Starover custom and knowledge, especially relevant in education conflicts (1976:411, 245-7; Colfer 1985:127). However, there is a line between what contact with mirskii is necessary and that which can, and therefore should, be avoided. The community decides (although not all members have equal weight in this process) when to move this line, when someone has crossed it, and if purification is necessary to cleanse the transgressor of pollution.

For 'puritan' separatist groups such as the Amish and Old Believers, it is not only a matter of *what* one may eat, but also *who* one may eat with. For, "to share in a communal feast is to bring together symbolically those who belong, whether to a church or to some kin-organized community" (De Vos 1975:83). Meidung keeps Amish and Hutterites segregated from other sects within their diasporas, and prevents interaction with neighboring societies other than what is necessary for legal and economic activities (Smithson 1976:447-8). Physically and symbolically excluding individuals who have transgressed prohibitions from the community, at both the table (secular communion) and church (sacred communion), provides a sense of "me-not me" and "we-not we" for community members (De Vos 1975:83). In this way, Old Believers also draw the internal lines of their diaspora. Poganyi individuals taking a meal with a Starover family use dishes especially reserved for non-Starover guests, (or paper plates and cups). A poganyi guest may also be given their own bowls to serve themselves out of ("family-style meals"), or be served at a distance, without contact of the dishes or utensils used by the family. Outsiders are placed at a separate table (which would be the case in larger social occasions such as weddings), segregated at a separate

end of the family table, and/or with a separate tablecloth (Morris 1981:101-6; Scheffel 1991:178).

My experiences of the few households in which I did take small meals, or snacks, varied. Old Believers are incredibly generous with their homemade foods, as has been repeatedly stressed by ethnographers describing segregation at the table. Every visit included food, and I was often sent home with smoked salmon, frozen fish, or home-baked goods. Annitta and I were served some excellent fish piroshkies (on paper plates), and water (in plastic cups), in the living room of the bezpopovtsy Kolodin's house in one of the back villages. We were sent home with a heaping plate of piroshkies, as well as two frozen packets of lox Mr. Kolodin had made, just because lox had come up in conversation. The elder couple and their young, visiting grandson did not have any. I had thought this was because it was during one of the four *velki post,* Apostles Lent, but the calendar sold at the Nikolaevsk General Store (also hanging in Nadejda's kitchen), indicated that fish could have been eaten that day.[38] The elder couple's abstaining from taking food with us may indicate the proscription against eating with poganyi. On my first visit with a popovtsy family, at Feodor and Lyudmila Mikhaelov's, we shared a snack and a few bottles of beer in their driveway. Lyudmila brought out King Salmon eggs that had been caught that day mixed with wild chives, which we each dished out of the same bowl onto homemade bread their teenage son brought out to us.[39]

One reporter who took a meal with a popovtsy family while observing their Easter rites wrote:

> I was not asked to join them [at the table]. Just as Old Believers will never pray with other Christians, they will not eat with them unless forced to, as in restaurants or when traveling. Most Old Believers keep separate dishes in their homes for the sole use of guests, and I ate from these in the living room. 'It is a custom that started long, long ago,' my host explained, almost apologetically.' [Rearden 1972:418]

[38] Kolodin's living room, also noted that I did not see a television, June 17, 2007
[39] Feodor and Lyudmila Mikaelov's driveway, June 10, 2007

Eighteen years later, another journalist reported on the Easter services of the *popovtsy*. However, his discussion of the sparse dinner (in respect for the Lord's suffering) he took at the Deacon's home in between Easter Saturday's vespers and vigil, made no mention of eating at a separate table, or on different dinnerware (Cardinal, HN, 4-19-90).

Degrees of purification depend on the company present. Once visiting Nadejda, her eldest daughter (~25yo) Marfa, and younger daughters in Nikolaevsk proper, Annitta and I drank tea and ate smoked salmon and lox made by her husband, who was gone fishing, as is typical in the summer. We all took what we wanted of the fish, and homemade bread and jam from the same plates, using the same utensils.[40] Another time I was visiting Nadejda, her brother, Grigori, was over. This time there was a greater standard of differentiation-we had cake and tried some of the salmon that she was canning. Although I was given a ceramic plate, I alone used plastic-ware utensils. Then rhubarb *braga* (wine) was offered, which one of her daughters brought out in a pitcher with two ceramic cups, after arguing with her mother that there were not any plastic ones left in the house. Grigori refused to use the cups, and when Nadejda remembered a plastic bottle in the car, he preferred to rise and use one of the empty cans of salmon we had just sampled. I had brought over a cup of water with me from Annitta's, so simply dumped out my water and tried the strong, slightly bitter (not a rhubarb fan) drink. The siblings crossed themselves before taking a sip, something I witnessed drinking braga with Nadejda on another occasion, but based on my limited experience, the ritual is not performed with beer, or with drinks universally.[41]

Purifying rituals and migration are means of distinguishing between Old Believers and non-believers. The most frequent reason cited for the Old Believers' move from Oregon was proximity to American society, and perceived changes in their children's lifestyles and ritual propriety. This particularly concerned exogamous relationships, as "there were also young men and women

[40] Nadejda's dining room, June 7, 2007; a Thursday in Apostles Lent that allowed fish
[41] Nadejda's back yard, July 19, 2007; so few experiences drinking any beverage with Old Believers that I cannot make a general claim about crossing before sipping

outside the faith to whom youthful Old Believers were attracted. A number of the girls even married non-Old Believers" (Rearden 1972:410). I was caught by the term "girls" here-as if Old Believer men never married non-Starover women. Although I cannot confirm a general pattern the majority of exogamous marriages that I have heard or read of have been female Staroveri to males from outside the community.[42] I am only aware of one woman, an Alaskan Native who grew up attending Nikolaevsk School, who converted to the faith for marriage.[43] This observation may be skewed by the demographics of the village, for there appeared to be a much larger number of daughters than sons. However some teenage sons were out fishing, as summer is an unrepresentative time to view the village with many men gone for weeks at a time.[44]

There are several non-native Old Believers in Nikolaevsk who converted for marriage. One such individual (a Mexican who met his wife in Oregon) expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed for fear that he, although a long-practicing Old Believer with grandchildren risen in the faith, would be an unfit interviewee.[45] Cases of interethnic, and therefore interreligious, marriages transform individuals into a quasi-ethnoreligious identity. One may go to church each Saturday and Sunday, rear children with reference to antique Russian Orthodox traditions, see their grandchildren grow under the same cultural framework, and still not have the authority to speak for the history and faith of the Staroveri. This unwillingness to be interviewed, due to a perceived lack of understanding and/or details, was also expressed by natal Old Believer women as well. The low confidence expressed by Old Believer adults to explicate their lifeways and faith filled me with doubt about the potential to understand it after a

[42] Nadejda's brother's daughter married an American July 19, 2007; Kizzia, ADN 7-19-90, elder Voznesenka teacher a non-natal Starover man; Gay, HN 5-23-85, popovtsy woman with Alaska local husband; an Alaskan Native who grew up in the village married one of the younger Priest's daughters; 18yo popovtsy daughter with an American boyfriend; bezpopovtsy Nadejda, Annitta and I, Annitta's dining room, July 30, 2007 discussed 25yo daughter's American boyfriend

[43] As an American single woman, more or less jokingly propositioned, I can understand why the Old Believer life-style would not be desirable. Men that married American women might not be in the picture, or discussed by other village members, if they left the community and faith.

[44] Annitta agreed that there did seem to be an higher ratio of daughters to sons. Someone else's comment about one woman being very lucky that she had two sons.

[45] Annitta's living room, July 8, 2007

short summer in the village. This research does not attempt to make claims of understanding Starover metaphysics, but rather show how their historically stated beliefs and goals are manifested in their current diasporic context.

Assimilation and Change:

As generation after generation of Old Believers are born and raised in the U.S., memories are passed down, translated, and remembered anew. Tundra snows and pines recalled by Harbintsi elders of Siberia have been replaced by their children's comparisons of this shared past to their similar Alaskan environment. Aspects of life are inevitably altered by migration to a new state, a process likely exaggerated in South American and Australian locations, where the land, language, and society are unfamiliar. Although Alaska continues to draw Old Believers from other settlements for its isolated landscape and self-employed economic opportunities, the last forty years of residence on KP have not left lifeways unaltered.

One of the most noted changes in OB communities, or at least that most readably recognizable to others, is the changing standards of dress for women. One department store owner in Homer noticed in 1985 that, "'a decade ago,' said Ms. Uminski, 'you'd never see young girls wearing make-up or going around with their heads uncovered. Now you do,'" (Gay, HN, 5-23-85:12). I was also surprised when I saw a few teenage girls wearing make-up, which must be accepted now to some degree since it was worn in the village, rather than covertly in town or during school. At Nadejda's one day, Marfa came downstairs in a tee shirt and shorts (also saw her wearing American clothes outside of her house). In discussing the differences between the three subgroups, which Nadejda had brought up as necessary to understand, I said that I knew there were some differences in the dresses (between *Sarafan* and *Talichka).* Marfa laughed and said, "yeah, dress code", gesturing to her shirt. Her mother stressed that it was, all jokes aside, important and confided that she liked the girls to change into their dresses before their father came home. I also observed young women (a few of

whom were married) and girls wearing American-made dresses, and skirts with blouses, as opposed to the traditional dresses worn by most married women.

School has introduced changes to the gender rules concerning the dress of females. Nikolaevsk School initially had no sports programs, but by 1980 both the girls and boys Elementary soccer teams won first place trophies. At that time the girls had to play in their dresses (HN, 10-16-80). Basketball, now extremely popular in the village, was added to the school's programs around 1983. Some parents were supportive, believing that the children lacked activities and that sports would keep them out of worse mischief, while others believed that it was a threat, and would not let their children play. "'My dad doesn't like me playing,' said Sata Fefelov. 'My dad is the priest. He says I get nothing out of it. My parents don't come to the games…Parent's don't like us wearing shorts,' said Sata Fefelov. 'When I was in seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, we wore dresses. They were really uncomfortable, and when you fall, the dress goes up and people can see everything.'" After the dress issue had been resolved, (shorts being more modest than the dresses when one falls), the biggest challenge to the children's involvement with sports was timing. Since the KPBSD organizes the game schedule, and tournaments have Saturday games and overnights (none of the females were allowed overnights), which conflict with holy days and the Sabbath. Parents' desire that the elder boys time be more usefully spent fishing also limited students' playtime (Loshbaugh D., HN, 1-17-91:1B, 5B).

The eating restrictions discussed above, both in terms of with *whom* one may eat, and *what* one may eat, have become less strict in Nikolaevsk. By 1985, manager of the new Dairy Queen mentioned that he had seen Old Believer customers already, and "'those distinctions are becoming lost among some residents of Nikolaevsk, who will gladly share a beer or handful of peanuts with a friend…'"(HN, Gay, 5-23-85:12). Some American-made food prohibitions are now considered less salient (or were annulled), while other restrictions are still of vital, sacred importance. Bob Moore remembers that some children would give him money after classes for candy bars from town, but when the elders found out they told him that they lived where they did because they did not want these

products in the village.[46] The Nikolaevsk General Store now sells both soda and a variety of candy, gum, and other snacks-as well as a freezer full of homemade goods from the village. School has become a place of change for eating habits, as the lunch program violates taboos (both eating at tables with poganyi and a meal calendar not adjusted for holy days and fasts) (Smithson 1976:247), whether the KPBSD has Variance menus (for example, the public school I attended in New York state did not serve meat on Fridays), as well as Variance calendars, is an aspect of public school minority-accommodation unknown at this time.

Staroveri ideally settle in condensed, mostly-homogenous villages to provide a greater degree of social control. Elders reported that "mass discipline" of unruly troops of youngsters, and public beatings, regardless of the child's parentage, was far more common in the villages of China and Brazil. Other elders reported that village life made it easier to maintain traditions, not only through group pressure on individuals to act in accordance to laws and tradition, but also because the close contact of the village setting provided numerous examples of the right way to behave and maintain purity (Smithson 1976:210-211, 238). This use of social pressure corresponds with the punishments, namely shaming and isolation practices, meted out to transgressors of purity laws of Amish, Hutterites, and Staroveri. The desire to have a parcel of land big enough to develop an insular village motivated the move to Alaska, as "unable to settle together [in Oregon] on one large parcel, they saw their tightly knit community begin to dissolve. Some were won over by the temptations of alcohol and tobacco, others by the freedom enjoyed by their non-Russian neighbors" (Gay 1988:27, 56). The ideal, mir settlement pattern is one of the many aspects of 17th and 18th century life that founding Old Believers stressed, and passed on to posterity.

The ideal isolation of the mir includes a particular resistance of technologies such as the internet. An interesting example that highlights the construction of boundaries along anti-syncretic (anti-pomieshchanie) discourse and the fear of pollution is the prohibition against TV and radio, are perceived as "…powerful magnets of the forbidden outside world" (Scheffel 1991:61-2)

[46] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007

infiltrating pure homes. Although these attempts to restrict contracting pollution by proxy are not as strictly enforced as the prohibitions found in their Holy Books, they provide another example of the extension of segregation policies to new environments and times. An individual may not be punished for the transgression of owning a TV, and some less conservative households now own them (Smithson 1976:272). Today, the radio is on at the Nikolaevsk General Store/Post Office, which has an entire wall of VHS and DVD movies[47] to rent, and several also houses have TVs and satellites.

School is a major arena of change, as it is the primary state institution, (unless parents opt for home-school and 'Correspondence courses'), whereby American culture is introduced to Old Believers. School attendance, regardless of the language of instruction or illicit topics instructed, was a change in itself to Old Believer immigrants to the U.S. Sabey's (1969) study of a Gervais, Oregon school's revealed that some 25% of the Starover children's parents had never attended school. Those that had received some formal schooling had been instructed by their Old Believer elders in small, private, parochial schools rather than public, government-run ones. Although these parents' expressed a desire for their children to speak, read, and write English, and learn basic mathematical skills and the laws of their new state, they feared their exposure to "bad things" and perceived no value in education beyond a rudimentary level (72-74). Education prior to immigration to North America varied by subgroup, some had no formal schooling while others like the Harbintsi village in Brazil had a community-run school that met only a few months a year (Smithson 1976:224). Generations of increasing levels of education have also increased the desire for education, especially given the necessity of degrees for economic survival.

When Bob Moore told elders that the state required children to attend school from ages 6-16 he asked them what they should do, fearing a resistance if he was pushy in offering a solution. After the elders held a *sobor* (generally held

[47] Some of the movies were in Russian, most of which were dubbed versions of American films, although a few were made in Russia. There were several films that were rated R and I overheard a conversation the storekeeper had with a woman looking for a film for her family. The storekeep said that 'Dukes of Hazard' was an unrated version, and would not likely be appropriate for her children (Nikolaevsk Store June 8, 2007).

after Saturday vespers for the discussion of village sacred and secular matters) they agreed to add another grade. The following school year Nikolaevsk added a half-day kindergarten to their 1-8th grade school, since there were 21 kindergarten-aged children in the village. Elders then said that since the children just came home and "played school" the rest of the day that they should extend the grade to full-days, and so Nikolaevsk became the first school in KPBSD with a full-time kindergarten. Over the next few years Nikolaevsk School gradually added the rest of the high school grades,[48] until in 1983 Nikolaevsk had its first graduation: a male who had finished school the previous year, a recently married female, who decided to complete her degree because she wished to become a secretary, and 12 females and two males, who received their GED through the program held at Nikolaevsk School (Duce, HN, 6-2-1983:22).

Deacon Paul Fefelov commented on the evolving perception of education from the point of view of a first-generation American parent situated between the views of his elders' and those of his children. "…The community has never put much emphasis on graduation. 'The elders think, 'why do they need education? We survived without it?' But I would like to see more and more children finish school, even go to college,'" (Gay, HN, 5-23-85:11). Five years later, he noted the growing approval of higher education, as "villagers who dropped out in seventh or eighth grade because their parents saw education as a threat encountered work and social problems in later life. 'But there again you have a kind of counterrevolting against our heritage itself…The more they learn, the more they lose what they have…It's pretty hard to find an answer'" (Kizzia, ADN, 4-15-90). Resistance to higher education has persisted, especially for females. For example, one female graduate in 1990, who had received a scholarship to study Russian at an Oregon university, had to "…plead and cry to get permission" from her parents to attend (Kizzia, ADN, 4-15-90). Also, a woman to be married before finishing high school, which adds responsibilities (particularly motherhood) that may inhibit graduation. As recent as 2006, a

[48] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007

married woman in Voznesenka thanked her husband for "letting" her graduate (HN, 6-1-06:10A).

Resistance is not only a mechanism of traditional elders, for children are the ones to experience this, sometimes stressful, new school atmosphere. Bob Moore related a story from his first years of teaching in the village of a 9yo boy who had become so scared of schools after his experience in Oregon that he refused to speak in class. He would read aloud to himself, but not respond when anyone spoke to him. After several months of trying get the boy comfortable with him, Moore was driving him and his sister home after school one day when a turkey in their yard gobbled. Moore asked in a tone all seriousness if it was the boy who had gobbled, to which he responded a quasi-insulted "no," his first word to Moore. After the ice had been thus broken, the boy gradually began to speak in school.[49]

Immediately, graduates began to attend Kenai Peninsula Community College for classes to become bilingual aides. In 1985, the college's administrator announced the first Old Believer graduate, a woman who studied office skills and accounting. "'This year we saw 15 or 18 [Old Believers] enroll…including married women taking typing and computer classes, men in woodworking and welding, and high school students taking college prep biology'" (Gay, HN 5-23-85:13). Compared to the KB communities, Nikolaevsk has been quicker to accept change and innovations. For example, a 1992 *Homer News* article, "School commuter riles Voznesenka parents," as opposed to the change in Nikolaevsk seven years earlier when, "after years of parental resistance, Moore won acceptance of classroom computers. Nikolaevsk students used computers to produce the bilingual school newspaper, and "there are even computers in some Old Believer homes" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88:12). The conflict over computers demonstrates the different rate of assimilation in Nikolaevsk and the KB villages.

Participation in extracurricular activities brings students into contact with other people and lifeways. For example, the national Close Up program brought

[49] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007

two Nikolaevsk boys to Washington D.C. to learn about U.S. government with where they joined 13,000 other American school children. One of the children's parents was supportive enough to raise $280 in a bake sale for their son's trip; the other student received a scholarship for $870 for the program. "They know they will be a bit different from the other participants, and the boys feel a little apprehensive about it. However, Alex and David do not plan to be bashful, and 'if anyone asks us who we are, we will explain to them,' David said" (Wills, HN, 3-20-80:8). Five years later, another five students (two bezpopovtsy and three popovtsy) travelled to D.C., this time with the $4,500 raised from selling the NPC texts. Teacher Don Bailey who accompanied the two boys who went on the first trip noticed a difference in the students' experience of culture shock. Before, "…they were scared to death'…It was difficult for them to get permission to go from the village elders, and when they arrived they felt overwhelmed. Not so this year…" (Gay, HN, 5-23-85:11, 36). The process of adaptation is

Since the Old Believers have strived for aloofness from their neighbors, it is not surprising that locals have a limited (or incorrect) understanding of their lifeways and beliefs. In interactions with their neighbors, particularly noticeable in conflicts, such as, "throughout the busing discussions [below], it was apparent that even their closest neighbors [knew] little about the Old Believers. The community has, over the past 20 years, maintained a barrier to the outside world. For the Old Believers, that cautious separation is a survival mechanism" (Gay1988:57). Separation certainly is a puritanical survival mechanism, but it is not a complete process, and these 'barriers' are porous. As apparent below, there are still several areas of tension between Old Believers and locals, to whom they are continually adjusting as changes occur both within and without of their diasporic community.

Tensions and Biases:

Contrary ideals are ingrained in the United States' history. The pride of religious freedom that divorces the state from religious involvement[50] obligates

[50] This does not of course limit religious professions of elected officials.

the protection and defense of a multiplicity of faiths, and therefore active interaction with religious organizations. The popular imagination of Amish and Hutterite groups' flight from oppression to the U.S. flatters Americans' nationalistic pride in their country's freedom of religious and secular life choices. This comparison has been made by local Alaskans as well. "Many outsiders see the *Old*Believers* as a band of quaint pilgrims in colorful, embroidered shirts and peasant dresses. The Russian equivalent of the Amish. Simple. Pure. Honest. Devoted to their families" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88). Idealization besides, there is a paradox between the ideals of religious rights and separation of Church and State. The story of the first European immigrants in the American imagination, which focuses on English colonial history as opposed to the Spanish colonist who landed first and adamantly promoted the religion of their state, came in search of religious freedom. The puritanical pilgrim image other Americans have placed on the Old Believers controversially places them within two oppositional ideals of 'American' identity. The Old Believers, much like the Puritans, Quakers, and Mennonite sects, and Catholics from Protestant states, came with a history of persecution and migration. On the other hand, conflicts have arisen based on the belief that KPBSD has accommodated Old Believers' to the point of breaking the cherished First Amendment separation of church and state.

The conception of the Old Believers as "Russians," and not wholly *American*, remains. The villagers are referred to collectively as Russians, and their settlements as the "Russian villages." When I landed in Anchorage, 215 miles/346k away from Nikolaevsk, I took the "Homer Stage Line" to Ninilchik (50 miles/80k from the village), where Annitta worked. The secretary at Homer Stage knew of the Old Believers, and when I explained why I was in Alaska, she exclaimed, "oh, you're going to the Russian villages?" Then she gave her opinion of the villagers as "mostly okay," although I should expect that some were not going to talk to or acknowledge me. The first magazine article on Nikolaevsk said that the village looked like some scene out of *Doctor Zhivago.* Having read the book, and seen the movie multiple times, the only resemblance I

can make is the presence of a Russian Orthodox Church, (not an uncommon site in the former Russian colony) and a long, harsh, winter in a rural landscape. However, the local author declared that, "the most accurate replica of a 19th Century Siberian village to be found in North America-and probably in Russia-is nestled in the virgin spruce forest 11 miles east of Anchor Point in the rolling foothills of the Kenai Peninsula" (Fortier 1970:34). Old Believers are continually referred to as Russians, an aspect of their group-identity that appears to be more salient to outsider Americans, than to the religiously-focused diaspora.

School, as the primary forum of Old Believers' interactions with other Americans and state institutions, has been at times a scene of tension. In 1988, KPBSD announced that it was going to enforce the school district boundaries, and send the North Fork residents (affected 28 children) to Nikolaevsk School instead of to the overcrowded Chapmen School in Anchor Point.[51] The KPBSD would not be able to procure more state funding to expand Chapman while school boundaries were not upheld, therefore children were sent to the under-capacity Nikolaevsk School (which had only 130 students in the 250 capacity facility). This concerned both non-Starover and Starover, and 60 parents showed up for the next school board meeting (O'Meara, HN, 3-24-88:1). The former were upset that their children were being forced to go where they were not welcome, and could not participate in music and art programs, (nonexistent due to religious restrictions). The latter came in protest of the accompanying decision to revoke Nikolaevsk's Julian-adjusted school calendar. This would cause Staroveri children to miss 12-16 holy days a year, which in 1988-9 school year left classrooms 90% empty for 14 days. To circumvent this problem, Bob Moore struggled to get the state to accept the federally required attendance (180 days, prerequisite for funding) to be measured in hours, rather than days, at school (Senate Bill 395). After room was found for about two dozen at Chapman, only 22 non-Starover children ended up attending Nikolaevsk (Gay, HN, 9-15-88), and

[51] O'Meara, HN, 3-24-88:1, 15; HN, Letters to the Editor, 3-31-88:5; Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88; Gay, HN, 9-15-88; Chappell, ADN, 9-21-88; Gay, HN, 9-22-88; Kizzia, ADN, 4-15-90

of these children's twelve families, nine agreed to go back to the Julian-adjusted (Variance) calendar (Gay, HN, 9-22-88).

Homer News asked for Letters to the Editor on the question: "Is the Nikolaevsk flap bigotry, or valid Constitutional debate?"[52] (HN, Letters to the Editor, 3-31-88:5). This illustrates how conflicts are framed in the language of prejudice, as are some complaints of Staroveri and non-Staroveri alike.

> Village children do not check their beliefs at the front door when they arrive for class. Theirs is the dominant culture in this school. For outsiders, learning to fit in can be difficult. Showing up for class in pigtails two braids instead of one [only married OB women wear two braids, and these are always covered] can earn a child the distain of her classmates. So can eating a bologna sandwich during Lent or throwing bread into the trash can [symbolic of Christ's body]. Children who break the rules that govern the lives of the *Old*Believers* are corrected and ridiculed by their classmates. "'Pagana, pagana,'' the young villagers sometimes taunt. "'Unclean, unclean.'' Even the teachers are questioned about their eating habits and their dress. [Chappell, ADN5-1-88:10]

One North Fork mother claimed that her son turned into a liar, cheat, and thief in "attempts to survive harassment," and that she "had" to homeschool her daughter after she came home from school crying, "'Mom, they told me I was of the Devil.'" Another mother refused to send her children back to Nikolaevsk, saying they "…had been mentally and physically harassed…" and another said her children came home crying, begging not to return, as they never fit in or felt welcome in Nikolaevsk. On the other hand, other parents felt that the school was great, and praised the bilingual program and low teacher-to-student ratio, but that they wanted their children to have more elective choices (music and art) and after-school programs that Nikolaevsk lacked (O'Meara, HN, 3-24-88:1, 15).

Related to this conception of Old Believers' 'Russianness' is the belief of some locals that Staroveri refuse to participate in the "Pledge of Allegiance." This issue has caused conflicts with other religious groups who have prohibitions against 'swearing' or oath-taking (*i.e.* Quakers), or any utilization of the name of

[52] Title's given to the letters: Ignorance and bigotry; Church and state; Some Russians OK; Walli denies prejudice

God to vow secular loyalty. The Supreme Court (*Minersville School District vs. Gobitis*)[53] supported mandatory recitation in 1940 after Jehovah Witness parents sued a Pennsylvania school for expelling their two children after they refused to recite the Pledge that their church declared a form of idolatry (salute in the name of God to a secular flag). The ruling resulted in mob violence, prejudice, and intimidation against Jehovah's Witnesses, which influenced the Supreme Court's reversal of its decision (*West Virginia State Board of Education vs. Barnette,* 1943),[54] and the determination that "compulsory unification of opinion" is a violation the First Amendment.

This issue came up in the busing conflict, as one parent declared, "'I want to send my daughter to go to school where they say the Pledge of Allegiance every day'" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88). Indeed, the Pledge did raise concerns when Old Believers' first moved to the U.S., although the villagers of KP *said* the pledge with pride, when they became citizens. The pledging debate arose in Oregon schools within the first five years of settlement, as one *Nastavnik* said, (also in reference to not singing patriotic songs), "we bow only to God. We place our hand over our hearts only to God. We cannot salute the American flag by placing our hands over our hearts. We can say the words, but we cannot put our hand on our heart to the flag." Another parent disavowed the prohibition against patriotic songs, as they sang them in Russia and China previously (Sabey 1969:47). Newspaper pictures of the 1979 and 1993 Old Believer naturalization ceremonies illustrate changing practices regarding secular pledging. The former shows that everyone held up their right hand rather than placing it on their heart, while in the latter 3 of the 8 individuals pictured have their hands on their heart

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[53] The Oyez Project, Minersville School District v. Gobitis, 310 U.S. 586 (1940), available at: <http://www.oyez.org/cases/1901-1939/1939/1939_690/> (last visited Friday, June 13, 2008).

[54] The Oyez Project, West Virginia State Board of Ed. v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624 (1943), available at: <http://www.oyez.org/cases/1940-1949/1942/1942_591/> (last visited Friday, June 13, 2008).

(HN, photos by Skip Richards, 5-3-79:1; HN, photos by Loshbaugh D., 5-27-93:1).

As discussed above, the theme of persecution is prevalent in both etic and emic discussions of Old Believer identity. These allusions do not always victimize the Old Believers, or offer support for their faith's preservation under the freedom of U.S. constitution, rather some comments contain both supportive and judgmental images of the Old Believer goal. "They are *Old*Believers,* the descendants of religious dissidents who fled Russian persecution 300 years ago. They moved here 20 years ago to escape the influence of the Outside world and to raise their children in a rigid, uncompromising faith" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88). The popular imagination of Old Believers contains themes of victimization, as well as the sense that they have brought this upon themselves through severe inflexibility. During the conflict over the East End trail one resident claimed, "'the Russians are bringing this up so they look like poor persecuted Russians,' she said. 'They'll take anything they can get, including driving trucks down the switchbacks'" (Loshbaugh, D., HN, 9-24-92:36). This view relates to the belief that Old Believers have manipulated their cherished American freedom and welfare system.

Some opinions of Old Believers are clearly negative as, "others see them as aggressive fishermen who crowd out their competitors on the fishing grounds, as materialistic hypocrites who own nice cars, as boors who drink too much and drive too fast, as religious backsliders who thumb through girlie magazines when visiting the stores in town, as parasites who have learned to take advantage of government welfare programs" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88:3). Annitta thought that the latter comment expressed the most common and difficultly overcome prejudice about the Old Believers. Some locals feel that the newly updated Nikolaevsk School (2002) and other accommodations the villagers receive from the state are "unfair." Others think that the KPBSD provides for the Old Believers to an extent that contradicts their own freedom of religion, as one parent explicitly stated during the calendar conflict, "…I feel this infringes on my Constitutional right of separation of church and state" (HN, 3-31-88:5). Local

Americans can feel the pride of their country being a haven for the persecuted, but do not want such groups to be aided to the extent that these 'outsiders' are privileged over other peoples.

Old Believers have had few conflicts with other Americans by keeping to themselves, and relations (if existent) are generally friendly. However, formal discrimination claims have surfaced at least once, when two teenage boys filed a complaint to Alaska's Human Rights Commission after being refused ketchup at the Homer McDonald's. The owner of the franchise explained that he had instructed his employees to refuse "the Russians" ketchup for a couple of Sunday nights after repeatedly cleaning up the mess of purposely exploded packets where 10-20 "Russian teenagers" usually sat. The boys stated that they were not the ones who had made previous messes, and felt that they had been singled out for being Russian, "'it could have been a group from another village…I don't think it's fair that we are blamed for what another group did, or that we are all lumped together'" (Mulcaster, HN, 12-15-88:1, 36). "Lumping together" is part of the self-reinforcing characteristic of the diasporic condition. Local neighbors do not perceive the internal lines of style and faith that differentiate subgroups. 'Russian' has even become a synonym for 'Old Believer' in Oregon (Sabey 1969:63) despite the presence of Russian Molokans and Pentecostals in the same district (Morris 1981).

Despite locals' mixed opinions of Old Believers, they have a peaceful existence in Alaska. Their settlement in the U.S. has not been without conflict and tension, but there are many positive relationships between Old Believers and other Americans. First of all, the KPBSD has created "Variance Calendars" to permit Old Believers to attend school when it does not conflict with major holy days. Furthermore Nikolaevsk School has had a crucial role in the preservation of the villages' unique material culture and oral history, as well as the children's native tongue through early bilingual aid and upper level Russian courses.

Accommodation and Aid:

The founding of the Nikolaevsk School is unique in that it is a public institution that was essentially built *for* a religious community when the KPBSD decided it would be much easier to transport one person to a remote village than the ever increasing number of children to Chapman School in Anchor Point. Bob Moore's oral-text, Nikolaevsk: First 25 Years (1993), recounts the first few years of the community when he was the first,[55] and only, teacher of the Nikolaevsk School (originally a 8' by 28' trailer) founded in 1970 (Moore 1993:1-2).[56] The construction of an institution of public education around a population of students representing a very small ethnic, linguistic, and religious minority in the States, is an atypical situation. The relative freedom of the School's organization, and accommodation of this minority is an anomaly to the challenges of bilingual and bicultural education experienced by Old Believers in the public school systems of Oregon (Sabey 1969; Jaffe 1990; Wigowsky guestbook). The NPC within the school is just one example of the means by which the community aids the preservation and dissemination of Old Believer lifeways and language. The role of a public institution in conserving the latter had the additional consequence of advancing English acquisition. The texts also have the potential to demystifying the other's perceptions of their villages and cultural identity.

Bob Moore started the NPC when he learned about a program, *The Foxfire Magazine,* founded in 1966 by Appalachian teacher, Eliot Wigginton, to help teach "hillbillies" English grammar, and record the medicinal knowledge, folklore, and customs of the area. The majority of the texts published in Nikolaevsk, (17 of 27, 63%), are in both Russian and English (see Appendix 5). The ideas and information for these school projects often came from the knowledge of students' parents and elders. Some community members participated by telling stories to their grandchildren, others by teaching how to

[55] The previous year a teacher was hired to come into the village, but only worked a total of 12 days there (Loshbaugh, S., HN, 5-20-93)

[56] Later Bob Moore assumed the consolidated position of the School's 'teacher-principle',[57] until his retirement in 1993. The esteemed educator still lives on Kenai Peninsula and is involved in area schools Project GRAD programs (Loshbaugh, S., HN, 5-20-93:14A and 2000; BM personal communication).

pluck a chicken, stuff a bear, or mount a fish.[57] The role of the Nikolaevsk School in the preservation of linguistic culture alone, disregarding the subject matter of the texts for a moment, underscores the paradoxical purpose of the Nikolaevsk archive that both records an archaic Russian dialect and teaches English. Another contradictory aspect of the NPC is that the sale of texts (as early as 1985) funds the federal Close-Up program that sends Old Believers to the metropolis of D.C. to learn about U.S. government. But what I want to stress here, is that by incorporating the historic and cultural knowledge of the Old Believer population, the public school system has had a unique role in the preservation and re-interpretation of the knowledge recorded, and in turn, on the audience's knowledge of, and access to, the Old Believer archive.

Nikolaevsk School began an embroidery contest in 1976, which was started "…to further encourage the ethnic skills of the village" (HN, 2-5-1981) and support "'the village's values and culture.'" Another teacher agreed that "'raising produce is an essential aspect of the lifestyle in the village…You gain a lot of respect for the people working here. This kind of project involves all the kids and gets a great deal of support from the parents as well,'" (HN, 9-25-80:3). Voznesenka similarly began an annual Garden fair in 1987 (Jackinsky, HN, 9-14-2006). Don Bailey, who started teaching at Nikolaevsk in 1976, instituted the Garden fair in Nikolaevsk, and a hunter safety program, Sea Week, and Close up program.[58] The school also recognizes the extraordinary skill of Old Believers' vibrant and detailed embroidery, (also recorded by the NPC), that readily distinguishes them from their neighbors (including the Sunday Best of other Russian Orthodox Alaskans). Annual embroidery contests (prizes for three different methods of stitching) are also organized by the Nikolaevsk School (HN, 2-5-81). Sabey (1969) and Jaffe (1990) addressed the difficulties of multicultural and multilingual education, namely the process of dual socialization, and the juxtapositioning of ideologically divergent notions of pedagogy and the purpose of education. Voznesenka teacher, Bill Idzerda, likewise argued that vocational

[57] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007
[58] The villagers' appreciation of his efforts is demonstrated by the fact that the community school awarded him an annual special day (March 30th; HN, 4-12-84:36).

training is not only practical for the villagers' occupation goals, but appreciative of their views on education. In this effort, Mr. Idzerda applied for and received a grant to begin a (wood and/or metal not specified) shop class at school (Russ, HN, 3-26-98:8). Such endeavors make public schools on the Kenai Peninsula an institution of accommodation as well as assimilation. While Old Believers must attend school or pass Correspondence courses, learn English, and socialize with poganyi, alternative programs can assuage resistance to schooling and provide an education more in line with their needs and desires.

The Old Believer schools not only encourage village values and skills, but accommodate their beliefs (and disbeliefs). Rick Matiya, the district alternative school coordinator explained, "'there's a lack of emphasis on biology, space, dinosaurs. The community doesn't wish to have them taught and because they're all Old Believers there we don't have any problem with that'" (O'Meara, HN, 5-12-88:17; Matiya similarly quoted in HN 1-13-92). As in other U.S. school conflicts over evolution, the schools do teach it, but emphasize that it is a 'theory' and that students do not have to believe it. When Bob Moore brought an encyclopedic set to the school in the early 1970's, he had five fathers and grandfathers come to the school the very next day. When he invited them in to inspect the set, they opened immediately to the section on human reproduction, and said that it should be ripped out. They came up with the compromise of taping the section shut, and in 1980 when the school got a new encyclopedic set, the tape was yellowed and untouched[59].

The KPBSD has had an influential role supporting Old Believer lifeways, while also introducing a number of changes, and at times, causing tensions between these Alaskan communities. The diasporic condition is complex regardless of the composition of the population. Staroveri in Nikolaevsk have been beset with many challenges: a harsh climate, unfamiliar neighbors, novel state institutions and occupations (dangerous in the case of commercial fishing), and a most destructive microschism within the community's church. However, the continued growth of the number of Old Believer villages, and their relatively

[59] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007

rapid population increase, demonstrates Alaska's continual draw to Staroveri settlers. Diasporic networking also continually brings family visitors to and from the KP villages.

Intercommunity Contact and Internal Lines:

Diaspora analyses must stress the existence of internal lines that differentiate communities within a diaspora. Therefore, I will first outline the historical and contemporary influence of the deep-seated internal division between popovtsy and bezpopovtsy groups. Despite the loose collectivity of individual congregations prior to emigration from the Eurasian continent, after over 200 years apart a sobor in Oregon declared the Turchane group "co-religious" with the Chinese subgroups', a part of one (*edinoverts/y*: unanimity) community of believers, (thereby facilitating diasporic endogamous marriages) (Colfer 1985; Rearden 1972:410-411; Smithson 1976:163-4, 217). That Starover groups considered themselves co-religious after dispersal to distant locations long without contact confirms the diaspora's ability to maintain rituals and lifeways. Contemporary intercommunity exchange of people and resources- the diasporic advantage- increases the known numbers of like-believers and strengthens their ability to resist change. These exchanges are also ideological. Collective memories, exemplified by Starover ethnohistories and autohistories, are one of the most influential mediums of ideological exchange. The group consciousness that in part defines diaspora is evidenced in the dissemination of religious, linguistic, and cultural knowledge.

The Nikolaevsk Microschism and Tensions on Kenai Peninsula:

That migration is a technique of cultural and physical survival, obvious in cases of persecution and exile, is well accepted. When impelled by doctrinal factionalism[60] resulting in the physical separation of a more conservative element from those that have accepted change(s) and faith-threatening society, the process of factionalization is a similar means of vital group perpetuation. As the history of Old Believers makes plain, the process of migration is inseparable from memories of past persecutions, which have indelibly developed an innate trepidation of institutional control and interference. This consternation has

[60] In addition to, or in absence of, motivations spurred by persecution by state, and/or pressure from the other state institution of the Russian Orthodox Church

especially impacted the bezpopovtsy, who by definition have denied the institutional structure of the ROC and association with the popovtsy who re-affiliated with the "heretic," fallen Church they left, and consequentially suffered persecution by. The priesthood controversy divided Old Believers since the early days of the schism, for in 1657 the only bishop who did not recant support of the Old Rite under pressure, Bishop Pavel of Kolomna, died (Freeze 2002:76 contends martyred). This left Old Believers without a pre-Nikonian ordained bishop consecrated to ordain new priests in the Old Rite. The popovtsy kept the priesthood by accepting post-Nikonian priests that left the ROC after they had been ritually purified from the Nikonian apostasy, and actively searched for a Bishop in the Christian East (not necessarily Russian) who could ordain priests and re-institute the fallen Old Rite Church. Bezpopovtsy felt that such converted priests were illegitimate and lost to heresy.

The dispersion of Old Believer communities across the Kenai Peninsula confirms the connection between factionalism and migration. Articles from *Homer News* record their settlement of Katchemak Bay. Although the Staroveri began to move to KB before the microschism, all mention of these communities cite the controversy as the primary cause of the villages' growth: as "they elected to leave Nikolaevsk because of religious differences with the remaining [popovtsy] group that could no longer be tolerated" (Gay, HN, 8-16-84:1). Numerous articles,[61] in addition to comments related to me this summer link the doctrinal divide to the settlement of new villages and the declining population of Nikolaevsk. Deacon Paul Fefelov made a poignant connection between popovtsy living and migration: "'you can no longer say, 'come on priest, leave with us and the hell with the rest.' The priest can't leave the church, they'd have to take him with him'" (Gay, HN, 5-16-85:11). A week later *Homer News* quoted Fefelov reiterating the correlation between the priesthood, migration, and the sense of stability, "'Sure we have problems,' he said. 'But problems are correctible if we address them. Staroveri, homes, a church and priest-to us, that is all we really

[61] HN 5-16-85 part 1 of series; HN 5-23-85 part 2 of series; HN 5-12-88; Chappell, ADN 5-1-88; Gay 1988:27

want. We no longer feel like lost sheep,'" (Gay, HN, 5-23-85:13). The international institution of the ROC provides the popovtsy with a support structure that the bezpopovtsy now have in the diasporic condition. Future research must be conducted to see how the presence of the priesthood affects the importance of myths of migration to the identity-constructs and collective memories of Old Believers.

The presence or absence of the priesthood acutely affects adaptation to a new environment. The bezpopovtsy 'replaced' the priesthood with sobors, individualized congregational councils of elder men (*stariki)*, who elect a *nastavnik/nastoyatel',*[62] (lay minister) who attempts to fill the position left vacant by the absent priesthood (Scheffel 1991:83, 131). The prolonged decision-making processes concerning the acceptability of new products and activities and retributions for misdeeds inhibits bezpopovtsy congregations from obtaining the unanimity of belief necessary to maintain sacred communion with God. The popovtsy on the other hand can rely on official church statutes and their priest for direction. "One group continues to worship in the old ways, paying strict attention to the rules that govern their faith. The other has a priest, capable of interpreting God's word and offering them absolution for their sins. Activities that used to be forbidden, eating in a restaurant, watching television are now allowed" (Gay 1988:58). In the absence of a higher authority by which to ensure the compliance of laws, bezpopovtsy must err on the side of caution, or "supercorrectness", to guarantee that covenant with God is kept (Morris 1981:113). Scheffel's "sacramental deprivation hypothesis" states that the emphasis on purity maintenance was initially stressed to fill the vacuum left by the rejected priesthood. Without the hierarchy of the church and the sanctity of the priest's position certain rituals, most importantly the Eucharist, cannot be performed. The threat of defilement, and therefore the need to stringently maintain pollution laws, increased when the bezpopovtsy were left without full access to the purifying rituals of their religion (Scheffel 1991:204-205).

[62] The latter is the term for the Turchane subgroup, who nickname this lay minister *dyadya*, or uncle (Colfer 1985:43).

Factioning necessarily creates tensions, yet that which spurs resettlement to more secluded and remote areas also filters out those more insistent on resisting change. Therefore factioning has the dual and oppositional forces of preserving and segregating the fundamentally conservative while further exposing those left behind. The decreasing population of Nikolaevsk has affected both bezpopovtsy and popovtsy. The former have suffered the fate of a hegemonic minority,[63] while the latter are more influenced by outside society by their willingness to reincorporate with state institutions and lower numbers of co-religious neighbors. Bezpopovtsy within the Nikolaevsk tri-villages are also hampered by a loss of population, affecting worship services and decreasing the level of communal support. For example, when discussing the Sabbath, Nadejda informed me that the loss of population (therefore fewer readers) resulted in a shorter Sunday service, which now sometimes begins at 6am rather than 2am.[64]

Ritualism of popovtsy has also undergone altercations. Numerous quotes reflect the correlation between the lost conservative population of Nikolaevsk and assimilation of popovtsy to American society. Popovtsy's lessening conservativism, as illustrated by the one below, are linked to the visual distinctions of Old Believers from American society.

> In the next few years, Nikolaevsk lost people while four new villages sprouted at the head of Katchemak Bay and near Willow…Nikolaevsk has lost part of its conservative element, leaving behind a more liberal population. It isn't unusual to see Old Believers having a hamburger at McDonald's in Homer, or young women without their scarves, or young men without their belts worn inside their shirts and out of public eye. [Gay 1988:58]

While factioning leaves behind a more ideologically homogenous congregation, "taking their places in Nikolaevsk have been Old Believers from Oregon, people generally more open to the amenities of the 20th century" (Gay, HN, 5-16-85:1). The Nikolaevsk popovtsy faction now has a co-religious community in Oregon

[63] *Bezpopovtsy* are the numerical majority in the trivillages, but Nikolaevsk proper is 'run' by the *popovtsy*-who mostly live on the paved part of the road closest to town, where their church, post-office/general store, and the community school (which has *popovtsy* employees) is. *Bezpopovtsy* in the back villages are less observable, often homeschooling their children, and are further secluded in general.

[64] Nadejda's car while sitting in Annitta's driveway after she gave me a ride home, June 9, 2007

(formerly only bezpopovtsy where in the Woodburn area), some of whom are direct relatives.

Newspapers describing the microschism state that in the 1970's people began to hear rumors that a priesthood maintaining the Old Rites had survived somewhere in southern Europe (Gay 1988:57). Efrosina, aged 14 at the height of the tensions, explained that the nastavnik of Nikolaevsk and a few other elders were wondering how skipping the prayers, rituals, sacraments that were to be performed by a priest was the proper way to keep their faith and rituals pure. The question impelled ethnohistorical research for a priestly line that survived the Schism. One of the founders of the village, Prohor Martushev, had "studied for years" looking for the surviving priestly line, and found that a Greek Orthodox Bishop, Amvrosii (Bosnian descent), had converted to the Old Rite in 1846 (Paert 2003:31). The connection between religious security and belonging is evidenced in his exclamation that, "'finding that made him feel like he was home…" (5-16-85:10). Father Kondraty Fefelov, formerly a nastavnik, travelled to Romania in 1983, after being refused a visa to research in his supposed 'homeland,' and returned an ordained priest.[65] The ensuing conflict discussed below was initiated, as "…villagers found the new priest too aggressive, too dogmatic, and refused to follow him" (HN, Gay, 5-15-85:10), and others still believed that the priesthood had been irrevocably lost.

At the height of the friction in Nikolaevsk, one weekend in September 1983, state troopers were called in to continuously patrol the village after the popovtsy faction had been given a restraining order from entering the church they used to attend. Police were hoping to prevent verbal threats from escalating into physical assaults after tensions climaxed when the faction *altered* the village's church (HN, O'Meara, 9-29-83). Two weeks later it was "settled" when Father Kondraty[66] resigned as "trustee in the traditional congregation." His faction also had to remove their altercations to the church-the altar and wall to separate it (iconostasis) from the congregation, and wave property rights over any church in

[65] Although he had been born in Russia; Efrosina's Selezniev's kitchen, August 1, 2007
[66] Newspaper refers to him as Mr. Fefelov, in HN 10-13-83:3; in HN 5-16-85 call him Rev. Fefelov

the Third Judicial district, in exchange for $5,000 so that they could build a new church. The need for a court case made this case of excommunication official to both community and state. The new popovtsy church was constructed that same fall across the street from the bezpopovtsy's (HN 10-13-83:3; Gay, HN, 5-16-85:10-11; Gay 1988:57). Dissention reached a new peak when the Anchor Point Voluntary Fire Department responded to a fire at the bezpopovtsy church on July 6, 1984 after a 7-9p.m. Friday vespers. Allocations of popovtsy blame, (specifically laid on Deacon Paul Fefelov[67]) went nowhere as investigators were unable to attribute the (arson or natural) cause of the flame.

Families and friendships were split of the microschism (Gay, HN, 5-16-85:10, 11). Father Kondraty experienced this himself when his eldest son refused the priesthood and remained bezpopovtsy. Efrosina, after living in a Katchemak Bay settlement for five years,[68] recalls the isolation of being a doctrinal minority, as practically overnight her family had become "outsiders" as the only popovtsy household in her KB village. Her former friends and cousins spit and threw rocks at her, until her father was more or less pushed out of the community (that they were no longer *in communion* with) and moved their family back to Nikolaevsk.[69] While Bob Moore was teacher-principle he strived for neutrality in hopes that school could be a "building ground for healing" (Gay, HN, 5-16-85:10). Other comments contradict his optimism, as three years later another paper recorded that Nikolaevsk School "children call each other heretics" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88). Twenty-five years later, I cannot relate whether a level of neutrality has been reached within the school because of my summertime fieldwork. At least one bezpopovtsy mother feels that her children have at times been discriminated against-and treated harshly by-the popovtsy teacher and aides. However, friendships *do* cross these internal lines, as the younger and elder sisters of neighboring popovtsy and bezpopovtsy households played and hung out with each other.

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[67] Who had been delivering fish at the time of the fire; and who speculated that the fire was merely started by a candle or incense censor left burning.

[68] Said her house was now further pass the start of Voznesenka, but at this time that village might not been "made." Other Katchemak Villages growth accelerated after the microschism.

[69] Efrosina Selezniev's kitchen, August 1, 2007

Despite the tensions between the bezpopovtsy and popovtsy, the various communities of Old Believers should be considered as belonging to *a* diaspora. A diaspora is often one with multiple waves of migration, bounded and/or distinct communities, permeable and overlapping identity-constructs and other points of differentiation. Migrational waves are less pertinent than doctrinal divides, and movement between these subgroups does not ignite tension or necessitate purity-segregation. Through diasporic endogamy, enabled by cross-sect conversion, there is still movement of individuals between these otherwise closed communities. The diaspora is maintained by intercommunity interactions and networking communications that give Old Believers a measure of self-sufficiency and the ability to distance themselves from extra-diasporic poganyi.

Networking Self Sufficiency:

Old Believers' intercommunity support systems correspond with Tölölyan's (1996) concentration on the diasporic activism, and the Boyarins' concept of the *Powers of Diaspora* (2002), (extracting aide and activism for the "homeland"). Migrations have been impelled by the desire for self-sufficient, secluded villages. "We came here to make a life of our own, where we could get away from settled areas and roads and where a man could make money through his own efforts" (Mulcaster, HN, 3-2-89:36). However, self-sufficiency and isolation efforts cannot be satisfied at the community-level, given the close familial construction of villages Old Believers must look elsewhere for demographic stability. Informal and individual family contacts, visiting and other networking keeps communities in stock of work and financial aides, and also facilitates the construction of additional family ties (*i.e.* the chance to meet potential spouses).

Self-sufficiency is needed to remain isolated so that purity laws may be kept, and polluting contact with the mirskii can be limited. An agrarian village system allows for greater independence, particularly where food and drink prohibitions are concerned (Colfer 1985:68-9; Scheffel 1991:101; Smithson 1976:234, 410). Commercially prepared foods and drinks, especially recyclable

cans and bottles that were previously used by poganyi, are prohibited for the same reasons that households keep Staroveri-only dishes, fear of potential pollution (Colfer 1985:48-9). When Staroveri were first settling into their North American communities it was necessary to break these laws for basic nourishment. Many sobors were held concerning new products and foodstuffs that were not specifically mentioned in Holy Books, or easily placed in formerly determined categories (Smithson 1976:236). Although there are some reports from store employees of covert purchasing (of makeup also), and quick consumption of prohibited items, purity laws are still stringently kept during fasting periods of ritual purification (Smithson 1976:237; Morris 1981:107-116). As I was in Nikolaevsk during the Apostle's Lent I can confirm that these "fasting periods," or Lents, are still steadfastly observed.

Agriculture is obviously not a new occupation for the peasant stock of Russia. In addition to growing their own food, the men often hunt and fish to supplement their diet, and stave off the need to go to American stores. Smithson demonstrated a common desire for all Oregoni households to have a small farm (1976:56-7, 234), and the first generation's retention of this goal in that 50% of students he surveyed hoped to farm in the future (68-69). Another common goal of Starover men is to be a private contractor, again an occupation that allows more time with the family and the independence of schedule required to keep the Sabbath and other holy days. Self-sufficient agriculture reaches new complications in Alaska, where the ground is long in defrosting, and summers are too mild to grow vegetables without previous germination and growth indoors. For this reason, villagers like other Alaskans rely on fishing and hunting to stock their freezers. Greenhouses were some of the earliest structures built in Nikolaevsk, as Fortier reported in 1970 that several homes already had them, and that 10 acres had been cleared for the growth of potatoes, cabbages, carrots and other vegetables. The village also possessed a dairy herd of eight cows and four calves,[70] in addition to the chickens privately owned by many households (37).

[70] I did not see any cows in Nikolaevsk proper, but their households in the back villages (only visited one household in the subdivisions) may still have cattle.

Unlike efforts in Brazil, farming is non-for-profit in Nikolaevsk, with the exception of the two families who sell vegetables at Homer's Farmers' Market (Rearden 1972:404).

The Staroveri make *kvass* (fruit and berry juices)[71] and braga (fruit or berry wine) since they were previously not to drink any "imported" beverage, but only what they made themselves. Braga and kvass are considered ritually pure because they are "completely domesticated product[s]," if the berries and fruit are homegrown (Morris 1981:116-7). The interpretation that *vozderzhanie* (strong/intoxicating beverages) prohibitions only refer to liquor, tea, and coffee-again products that would have to be imported into the community is in keeping with the earliest laws and explanations of the term (Morris 1981:116; Scheffel 1991:176-178). Some Nikolaevsk villagers now drink beer openly, while an elder, bezpopovtsy couple from one of the back villages complained of the criticism they received for abstaining from drinking at a wedding celebration.

When the Old Believers moved to Oregon they were saddled with debts from their travels, and from their economic difficulties and loans accrued when in Brazil (Smithson 1976:210-3). Men had to adjust to the change of working outside the home, necessitating English acquisition, as well as a driver's license for their 40 mile/65k commute to the furniture factory in Portland where many of the men worked (including 18 Nikolaevsk villagers; Rearden 1972:406). An Alaska Magazine article grasped the connection between self-sufficiency and village isolation:

> The economy of Nikolaevsk depends at present on money earned outside the community. The men must find jobs in the modern world, and then return to the haven of their transplanted corner of Old Russia at night or on weekends. This pattern may eventually change if long range plans for establishing a furniture factory and berry processing plant are realized. The men are skilled in manufacturing furniture and experienced in raising and packing berries. [Fortier 1970:49]

[71] Very mildly alcoholic, although the Old Believers do not consider it to be so-Braga on the other hand can be very strong, rising to a proof higher than most wines (Scheffel 1991:176).

Although Fortier failed to make the connection between these two skills and their experience in Oregon, that previous settlements affect the range and expanse of self-sufficiency efforts is clear. The diasporic condition, while causing the ideological stress of change and adaptation, also causes the growth of occupational and survival knowledge.

Skills learned at the furniture factory in Oregon facilitated another entrepreneurial project. After learning the boat-building trade at a Homer boat shop where they out-competed other workers through hard work and acceptance of lower wages,[72] 15 villagers formed the *Russian Marine Company* boat building shop that employed 5 men (Rearden 1972:406). By 1972, Old Believers had built 10 out of the 12 boats in the village. The Polushkin brothers' sawmill, established in 1969 (the framework was put up by three men in one day; Fortier 1970:37), greatly aided these adventures as well as the rapid growth of the village. Bob Moore remembers one winter when the company built about 19 boats, selling them for ~$100,000 each.[73] A partnership between seven cousins[74] bought and remodeled the shop in 1983, after the village cooperative "went stagnant," likely due to the microschism that occurred the same year. In 1986 they built a new shop, *Polar Boat Works*, next to the old one and sold their first boat to an individual outside of the Old Believer community. In 1988, Gay reported that: "most villages have their own boat shops, which allows the men to build rather than buy fiberglass vessels. By trading labor with each other, the cost drops considerably. The shop in Nikolaevsk has gone a step further, however, and has sold a number of boats to non-Russian fishermen" (56). Despite a fire the following year that burnt both shops and three boats, by 1991 they were employing 13 laborers and selling boats from 32' (9.75k) to 43' (13.11k) (Loshbaugh D., HN, 2-21-91:B1).

The Staroveri's carpentry experience was manifested in the rapid growth of their villages. Old Believers continue to construct their own buildings, including the Razdolna public school, which was built and leased to the KPBSD

[72] $12/hr
[73] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007
[74] 6 Fefelovs and 1 Martushev

in the mid-1980s, and is still owned by village members.[75] One former Nikolaevsk villager (now in Homer resident) now has his own construction crew. In *Berezovka,* Alberta foresting takes the place of carpentry as the new independent occupation of choice. Elders began to purchase their own skidders, becoming *kontraktchiki,* (contractors) of their own crews. Younger men start by buying their own chainsaws so that they may work in the 'bush'. While supplementing the pantry with homegrown vegetables, more adults are continually impelled to seek outside work to afford their moral obligations to provide for their many children's households (1991:98-99).

In Alaska, commercial fishing is the number one occupation of Old Believer men. After only four years in Nikolaevsk, Ivan Fefelov reported making between $400-500 every four or five days on the boat, *Baikal,*[76] he built with his son-in-law Vladimir Matushev (Rearden 1972:406). The relative prosperity some earn commercial fishing and other through endeavors is not seen as a contradiction of puritanical ideals, but a necessity to "'live our religion like we should'" (Sabey 1969:65). This statement made by a recent emigrant to Oregon confirms the connection between keeping the faith and self-sufficiency. Although an infant when her family settled Nikolaevsk with four other families, Efrosina believes that this move was impelled by rumors of the great economic opportunities in Alaskan commercial fishing. She related how the first few families all chipped in to buy a small boat, splitting the earnings until they were able to afford boats of their own. Unlike a number of written reports, she did not specify the desire to get away from the close-contact with other Americans in Oregon as the reason for their migration, although she did cite the ideal of isolation as the reasoning behind her family's move to the head of Katchemak Bay.[77]

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[75] One of the owners, Alex Basargin, (of Alex's Enterprises), built the school's new foundation in 2006 for its 36 students, although not sure the district would pay for the estimated $30,000 improvements they insisted upon (Jackinsky, HN, 10-26-06:14a).

[76] Lake Baikal is the eighth largest lake in the world, second largest in Russia (first is Aral Sea), just north of present-day Mongolia, where the Sinziantsi group resided (?).

[77] Efrosina Selezniev's kitchen, August 1, 2007; since she was born in Alaska, this information had been referred to her by her family elders

Fishing caught on quickly in Nikolaevsk, for in 1985 the manager of Seward Fisheries, Roy Rogers, reported that at times Old Believers made up 75% of his work force, and Joseph Martushev estimated that 90% of the Nikolaevsk men worked in the industry. Many teenage boys have dropped out of high school to fish, as Martushev did when he was 14, citing the commute to Anchor Point's high school (given winter conditions, unpaved roads, and community school then ending at grade 8), as an additional obstruction to further education (Gay, HN, 5-23-85:13). Drift gillnetting in the Cook Inlet, Bristol Bay and Prince William Sound are another common fishing endeavor. Many women also began working in canneries and seafood processing (Gay 1988:56), just as women had participated in the berry industry (from picking to packing) of Willamette valley, Oregon.

Self-sufficiency of village communities is not limited to nuclear families. The practice of "trading labor" is another important aspect of self-sufficiency and segregation efforts. Annitta, for example, performed a multitude of paralegal services for her Old Believer neighbors. This allows villagers to fulfill necessary mirskie interactions with someone they are more comfortable and familiar with. Her help is reciprocated with homemade food, fresh meat and fish, in addition to the load of meat and dairy products she's given when her neighbors begin one of their four major Lents. The analysis of reciprocity between Old Believers indicates the advantage, or "power," of the diasporic condition. However, the exchange of work and other aide is by no means an altruistic drive for the preservation of Old Rite lifeways.

> 'Everyone's thinking we always cooperate with each other, do everything together, but that's not true,' says Paul Kuzmin, one of the first to move to the head of the [Katchemak] bay. 'Sometimes we help for big project, like building house. I help my father. If he don't help me, next time I don't help him. Same as you guys.' [Kizzia, HN, 1-21-82:11]

Initial settlement of villages, and subsequent developments for the community as a whole (church, roads, and schools), requires a larger labor source, therefore a collaboration of households.

Old Believers congregate for the good of the village to a degree not witnessed in other small communities. These efforts do only pertain to matters of the church, although that is the most important community structure, and profits from fishing and carpentry did fund church expansions for the rapidly growing congregation (Rearden 1972:404-406). Labor and funding resources are also shared for development of the village's infrastructure. Local Homer journalist, Jim Rearden, was able to personally note the rapid growth of Nikolaevsk, and having frequently flown over the village. The second year of the settlement he noticed that three natural springs had been combined, and a pipeline dug from the hillside reservoir to the village. He also stated that "all" the houses already had running water by 1972 (406). For joint-community necessities the village at times works as a corporate institution, as evidenced by the rapid growth of initial settlements and village efforts to construct their own schools, chapels, and municipal buildings.

Discussions of the official incorporation of Anchor Point as a city, which would subsume the village, raised fears that Nikolaevsk's funding and developments needs would be overlooked. This impelled the establishment in September 1991 of the NCC, which strives to solve its own infrastructure difficulties. The NCC looked into incorporating Nikolaevsk into a city of it own, which would necessitate numerous improvements-chiefly upgrades to the privately-owned[78] water company to meet Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) codes and Clean Water Act (CWA, 1972) standards.[79] The community hoped that NCC would be able to help the village advocate for state funding to enlarge their school gym, maintain roads, build a community center and a place for the children to play afterschool. The NCC also had hopes, as yet unfilled although they have already leveled a foundation, to have their own fire station as opposed to relying on the too-distant and therefore sometimes ineffectual aid from Anchor Point (Loshbaugh D., HN, 3-26-92:3). The Kenai Peninsula Borough State Funding Priorities for 2007 did not have a plan for the

[78] By Vladimir Martushev and Anisim Kalugin, two *popovtsy* elders, the eldest son of the latter now manages the Water Company.
[79] http://www.epa.gov/watertrain/cwa/

Nikolaevsk Fire Station under its Service Area (fire stations, hospital, seniors etc.)[80]

Harsh winter conditions, worsening already rough, unpaved roads, are the biggest impediment to settlement in Alaska. Such community-wide issues have encouraged cooperation, as Pete Fefelov said, "'up here, you have to do pretty much everything to survive'" (Loshbaugh D., HN, 2-21-1991:B1). Since the village is technically private property the state does not have to pave the road founded on an abandoned, ungraded, oil-company seismic exploration trail, that in the winter and "break-up" spring seasons was formerly impassable for the last three miles. Snow is obviously a problem, for example after one storm, village members paid $300 to plow the road, only to have 15 men and boys shovel out the snowdrifts three days later (Rearden 1972:406). Where Nikolaevsk Road connects to North Fork Road was finally paved in 2002, but the state ran out of funding (ALHN 2005:4) where the street makes a ninety degree turn towards the "back villages," which are as yet unpaved.

Intercommunity contact is necessary to sustain economic enterprises and arrange marriages that adhere to the canonical incest laws. Individuals and families continue to emigrate between communities and continents. Others, particularly unmarried men with fewer family obligations restricting travel, temporarily migrate to other communities for work. Alaska's lucrative summer commercial fishing industry continues to draw numerous individuals every year.[81] Old Believers can evade the competitive work market for non-residents by finding positions on the boats of their Alaskan relatives. The absence of men in the village during my summer there was apparent, indicating the business of the short and intense work season.

Relationships between members of distinct communities, like all other communication in the age of "time-space compression" are more easily made and

[80] Money could have been allocated the previous year

[81] Revised 1997, "Approximate Annual Number of Fishing Permit Holders and Crew" cites 15,621 non-residents out of a total of 50,638, or 31% (Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development: Division of Trade and Development, sourcing Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission: 11). (Alaska Salmon Industry Baseline Study 2003)

kept, even for Old Believers who initially resisted the use of computers.[82] Fourteen years after Voznesenka Starover parents pulled their 64 children out of school due to the administration's new use of computers for data processing, a woman living in Katchemak Selo began an internet business of her own (Spence, HN, 1-13-92:1). *Global Travel International* owner, Natasha Reutov, (trained as a medical assistant near the Oregon town where she was raised), dreamt of being a travel agent after being inspired by her aunt in New Jersey. "Having the Internet in the home is typically not allowed, due to the concern that ways could be tarnished by outside influence." This novel possession of Internet has indeed drawn other villagers to her house to research and check email. However, the business has also helped connect families in different nations for most of the trips she schedules are for visits to relatives in South America (HT, Ehmke, 2-22-06:16). Visiting time is generally after the summer fishing season, and some families may spend a few months with relatives in Brazil, Australia, or elsewhere. Children and adolescents off of school for the summer use the time to visit their family in other villages (for example one ~12yo girl from Minnesota was up visiting her grandparents). As discussed below, intercommunity visiting and exchanges are necessary for endogamous marriages, which I refer to as diasporic endogamy because while individuals may all proclaim a Starover identity, these marriages often cross sectarian and subgroup internal lines of the diaspora.

Diasporic Endogamy:

The difficulty of finding sufficiently-distanced spouses within one's own small community has required (barring the less desirable choice of converting non-natal Old Believer spouses) the maintenance of intercommunity ties. The movement of people between villages and sects is what makes Old Believer communities throughout the world a diaspora, as opposed to a loose affiliation of co-ethnic migrant outposts. Although there have been several marriages to non-natal Old Believers, spouses are still most commonly found within the diaspora at

[82] Resistance of computers: Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007; Gay, HN, 5-23-85 only (overt) computer was in the office of Nikolaevsk School;

large. An example of the importance of intercommunity visits, one popovtsy family planned to send their daughter to Australia (possibly without completing high school), in hopes that a change would have a good effect on her behavioral issues (which they considered willful and unruly), and that she might find herself a husband.

The institution of the Old Rite Russian Orthodox Church regulates membership, in contrast to the confusion caused by sobor deliberations over ritual propriety in bezpopovtsy villages. Unanimity, or the principle of sobornost' (conciliarity), is a major traditional tenant of ROC faith (Daniels 2006:92). The diffusion of responsibilities to elder males, as oppose to a priest authorized and guided by ROC canon, inhibits the decision-making process and the maintenance of congregational unanimity. Situated in different locations, diverse in language, society, and climate, bezpopovtsy villages must struggle to maintain the semblance of doctrinal unity. In order to maintain sobornost', a spouse (usually the bride for new couples almost always initially settle in the village of the husband) must convert if their home congregation is not co-religious with that of their spouse's. A change of congregation across internal lines necessitates the neophyte to convert, and replace their godfather with a member of the new congregation to aid their spiritual guidance. For the marriage to be properly sanctioned, all in attendance must be in sobornost', or unanimous in spiritual condition and understanding (Colfer 1985:81; Smithson 1976, Sabey 1969:38-9), which corresponds with historical debates between bezpopovtsy sects on how to legitimate novozheny without priests. For example, Theodosians and Pomorians formally organized a debate in 1788-9, after the Pomorian Pokrov Chapel in Moscow began to bless "mixed marriages," while Theodosians condemned intermarriage between sects and required "rebaptism" of novozheny before they could congregate or eat with the community (Paert 2003:153, 161).

Colfer describes the wedding ceremonies and laws of Oregoni Old Believers in great detail (1985:65-109). He outlines the canonical incest laws that require one to find a spouse at least eight steps apart from oneself on a family tree. This is made more difficult due to the Old Believer's notion of *rodstvenniki* (relatives),

which includes in-law and godparent relationships as well as consanguineal ones (97-109). Old Believers have had to break the godparent and family-in-law restrictions out of necessity, but communities are so small and kin-constructed that individuals still must primarily look outside of their village for a spouse (Smithson 1976:208). Intercommunity relationships are also necessary for Anabaptist diasporic endogamous marriages, and "young people intermarry freely among Amish districts and settlements which maintain fellowship with one another. It is impossible without serious consequences [meidung] to leave a church and join a more progressive one through marriage," although, "it is always permissible to marry into a more orthodox affiliation…" (Hostetler 1968:158). To explore the relevance of internal lines, diasporic endogamy and parents' reactions to various 'inter'-marriages should be further explored.

Doctrinal divides are not the only internal lines that are crossed by diasporic endogamy. Subgroup intermarriage has proliferated since the three original migrational groups were first united in Oregon. Nadejda, told me a story about one of her daughters coming home from school in fearful tears after learning from a classmate that there were foreign 'Sinziantsi' in the village. Nadejda laughed, after she and her daughter argued about the pronunciation of the subgroup (the child first hearing the moniker in a different dialect), when she told her daughter that she knew of their presence there, and that her daughter was in fact half Sinziantsi on her father's side. Differentiation between the subgroups remains, as the existence of subgroup nicknames demonstrates. Jaffe (1990) was told by an Old Believer bilingual aide "…that Old Believers from Harbin were called 'monkeys.' The Sinkiang group were 'fish,' and the Turkish group were 'turkeys.' She was a fish who had married a monkey" (58). Other nicknames are directly tied to regions of past residence, and more recent settlements are given simple monikers, such as Oregoni and Canadians.[83] Although the first-born American generation may not be aware of migrational subgroups, it's certainly an issue for middle age and elder Old Believers, as Nadejda brought up the subject to

[83] Mrs. Kolodin, had three or so (she questioned herself) cousins in Alberta, Kolodin's living room, June 17, 2007.

stress the vital importance of understanding the migrational dimension of Starover history.[84]

Throughout her life in Nikolaevsk, Efrosina has witnessed many marriages that have crossed the bezpopovtsy/popovtsy divide. She confirmed ethnographers like Colfer's (1981) claim that the close familial composition of villages necessitates intercommunity marriages. Lately, she has observed an increase in marriages resulting in the conversion of one spouse, especially as Old Believer youths make relationships with other Americans. Marriages to non-Starover American spouses, complicated by their lack of ritual and linguistic knowledge, have increased as two generations of adults have been born and raised in America. I heard from both a popovtsy and a bezpopovtsy mother that their daughters had dated an American and that they would accept an American husband- if it seemed best for the daughter. One mother and three marriage-aged (17-25) single women told me that an American might be preferable to a "Russian" husband, after expressing common prejudices of Russian men's drinking and spousal abuse problems (personal communication).[85] Intermarriage has caused ritualistic changes, validating elders' insistence on endogamy, as marriage ceremonies have been performed in English for such "American marriages."

The process of spousal conversion is exemplified by Efrosina's two marriages. Her first husband's family moved to Nikolaevsk from Oregon when he was 18, and they married three years later when she was 17. This marriage crossed two internal lines of the diaspora, one in that his family was Sinziantsi and hers Harbintsi, and more importantly in that the groom had to convert to the popovtsy faith of her family and (ostensibly) abandon relations with his bezpopovtsy family. Several years after her husband's death at sea, her second spouse, a non-Starover who moved to Nikolaevsk from Russia, also officially converted to please her family. The two other "Soviets" of Nikolaevsk, as they

[84] Nadejda's kitchen, June 9, 2007

[85] That the American would convert was an implied in these discussions, since mentioned in the discussion of conversions for marriage. The idea of their children leaving the church seemed too delicate to ask from their tenuous tone when speaking about the potential of such matches. There would certainly be a measure of distance between families if that occurred, but many families already see their children move far away from them geographically. I do not believe either mother would disown their children for leaving the faith through marriage.

are still called within the village, were married to children of Father Kondraty, indicating the popovtsy's closer relationship with the Origin. Another member of the popovtsy church married a Romanian, a connection made through the popovtsy's institutional connection with the Old Rite church in that state.[86]

Conversions, while aiding the perpetuation of one community, consequentially divide individuals from their natal communities, congregations, and families. Even without a change in sect, marriage will often separate a woman from her village. Visits to family member that have moved to other communities, in addition to trips to villages and kin left behind, keep the intercommunity flow of Old Believers constant. A popovtsy neighbor who converted from a bezpopovtsy congregation in Brazil, related regret to Annitta that she was now officially estranged from her mother-whom she would be expected to ignore if she ever visited Brazil. Annitta stated that she might have to tell people in the community that she has no contact with her mother, but she did not believe it, to which the woman gave a sheepish grin. She confessed that she was able to circumvent the doctrinal differences by paying members of her natal community to pray for her mother.[87] Payment for prayers is a tradition of the ROC for sacraments such as death rituals, for example I witnessed the family members in a popovtsy baptism hand money to the deacon and priest during their services.

Marital conversions occur not only when crossing the popovtsy/bezpopovtsy line, but between bezpopovtsy sects as well. Nadejda (Harbintsi bezpopovtsy) told Annitta and me the troubles concerning her marriage to a Sinziantsi bezpopovtsy man, although they were from the same area in Oregon. One day, her fiancé "came puffing out" of his parent's house very upset, but would not tell her what was the matter. She discovered later that her soon-to-be mother-in-law was adamant about the new couple becoming a part of her sect, a particularly conservative and isolated one. In a tone expressing trepidation of such ritual extremity, she told Annitta and me that they do not even accept use of

[86] Efrosina Selezniev's kitchen, August 1, 2007
[87] Annitta Roberts' living room, August 5, 2007

holy water or a lot of other things that the rest of the bezpopovtsy do. Although unable to remember the name of the sect, she explained that they are very small in number, and are not connected to the rest of the bezpopovtsy groups. With satisfied relief she related how he had told his mother he would not be married in her church, nor would he raise his children in it. Although, his mother converted so that she could be a part of their wedding, Nadejda speculates that the reason she afterwards returned to her own group because she did not want to be a hypocrite.[88]

Travel and communication, whether for economic or familial purposes, aids individual Old Believers' self-sufficiency and traditionalist goals. The frequency of diasporic endogamy, often necessitating conversion, suggests that preservation goals concern the Old Rite faith as a whole, rather than the closed, unified congregation alone. If Old Believers were only concerned with supporting their own community, then there would not be a growing rate of marriages resulting in conversion between sects. Bezpopovtsy would not marry their children into the heretic popovtsy church if there were not some conception of a wider community of believers that makes even disputes that have broken apart brothers less salient than their ideological othering from their neighbors. As discussed below, these ideological connections exist in collective memories of past places and struggles, and shared understandings of Orthodoxy and pious living.

Productive Pasts:

One of most important features of diaspora is the self-consciousness of belonging to a distinguishable community that resides in multiple locations. Old Believers, unlike other diasporic movements considered to be initiated upon emigration, were a minority in Russia, and so have a much longer experience of the processes of othering. Writing about the self, translating elders' oral histories, and recording material culture are the means by which the Old Believers are reflexively engaged. Ethnohistory also has a role in Hutterite society (in addition

[88] Nadejda, Annitta and I, Annitta's dining room, July 30, 2007

to sermons and the sacred history of God). Written and oral stories about martyrs, miracles, persecutions, and migrations have a large role in socializing new members (children) in the faith (Hostetler 1974:157-158, 172). Old Believers have a long record of autohistory. Avvakum and three other leaders exiled to Siberia in 1653 continued to write and disseminate adherence to the pre-Nikonian rites before the death of each at the stake in 1682. One of Avvakum's works was in fact the first autobiography in Russian history (Freeze 2002:76). These efforts were inhibited by almost universal illiteracy, a lack of printing facilities that required hand-written copies, and official oppression that made even possession of such texts illegal (Michels 1999:200-205). Nonetheless, these works slowly spread dissent, and later became essential to Old Believer ethnoconsciousness.

Old Believers are torn between the effort to maintain an unchanging Orthodoxy and the desire to make the faith accessible to the primarily English-speaking youth. The conflict is exemplified by the Old Rite Church of the Nativity's translations of sacred texts, and performance of marriage (and other) sacraments in English. This is a far cry from when the addition of one letter to the name of the Lord meant heresy and a break of the first commandment. The spread of bilingual religious texts (Prayer Book, Book of Hours etc.), and the stories and ethnohistories of the NPC have increased the Old Believer archive, and helped preserve their distinct dialect. Yet, NPC projects were also used to help teach Russian-speaking children English, facilitating their transition into American society. Such is the paradox of the diasporic condition.

The availability of NPC projects (since 2004) on the Nativity Bookstore online[89] indicates the broader audience of these texts. Bob Moore was very pleasantly surprised when I asked him if he knew how these texts came to be sold online, as he had not heard that they had been made available outside of Nikolaevsk.[90] A diocese link may be the source of the archival connection between the Church of the Nativity in Erie, PA and Nikolaevsk, AK. According to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR; also referred to as

[89] https://securehost85.hrwebservices.net/~cotn/shopping/
[90] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007

Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, ROCA), the only Old Rite bishop presides at the Eric church.[91] The two communities' cooperative dissemination efforts are also demonstrated by the fact that the Old Orthodox Prayer Book published by the Church of the Nativity is available in the popovtsy-run Nikolaevsk General Store.

Since the Nativity Bookstore is online, potentially anyone can access these texts. As a community that has otherwise stressed their aim for separation, 'boundary' maintenance, and self-differentiation (Colfer 1985; Scheffel 1991; Sabey 1969; Jaffe 1990; Crummey 1970), can the education of others be seen as a contradiction of these efforts? Or does this effort stem from the goal to encourage tolerance and understanding? That publication efforts are not a part of a wider proselytization objective, (Bookstore is run by an Old Rite church), sales could simply be explained by the need to raise money for a small community school. Homer resident, Jim Rearden (1972), who wrote the piece on Nikolaevsk for *National Geographic*, was certainly aware of the same stories (although his article predates the NPC), as he retold stories from three of the NPC oral-histories.[92] The distinctly 'Russian' character of these texts reasserts the ethnic identity-constructs of Old Believer lifeways and faith.

The recurrent theme stressed by Old Believers and outsiders alike is flight from persecution. There are significant gaps in the ethnohistory of the Old Believers, and Russian Imperial archives have provided few reliable estimates of the past (and present) extent of dissent. It must also be stressed that although there are early texts from the key leaders of the raskol, their leadership and reach to other, mostly illiterate, dissenters was posthumous. However, the Old Believer diaspora is tied by these memories of persecution found in now accessible old texts and current oral histories of more recent struggles. "Not only the pilgrims, but inmates of the convent [Solovetski] who escaped before and during the siege [1668-1676], carried far and wide over the Pomorye, as the drear coastlands of the

[91] Bishop Daniel of Erie, Vicar Bishop of the President of the Synod of Bishops for Old Believers; http://www.synod.com/synod/engrocor/enbishops.html

[92] All those that specifically pertained to migration to, and life in, China: "How we Escaped from Russia", "Guerillas", and "Hunting for Tigers"; all stories of Harbintsi life in Manchuria. Sinzantsi had better relations with neighbors in China, largely through trade, with their Mongolian nomadic groups (Smithson 1978:146, 220-221).

White Sea are called, the legends of the brilliant exploits and ultimate martyrdom of its gallant defenders," (Conybeare 1981:84). Themes of persecution-prompted migrations are reflected in contemporary Old Believers' conceptions of the past and present, and as shown above, helps frame their relationships with local state institutions and society.

As discussed further below, the historical context of the raskol and subsequent migrations cannot be extracted from analyses of their current lifeways. Muscovite ideologies prior to the schism: xenophobia, belief in the purity and purpose of Muscovite Christians convinced of the Third Rome ideology, and the popular expression of monastic living, supported conservation of the Old Rites. Dissenters not only argued that the rituals of the ROC should remain unchanged, but as is obvious in the Staroveri's dress, all aspects considered necessary for pious life outside the church have also been preserved. By "productive pasts" I am not only referring to the literal productions of historical texts, and their influence in perpetuating group consciousness and collective memories, but also how these memories have constructed Old Believers' interrelationships with society irrespective of location. The collective memory of oppression and necessary migration contradict the homeland orientation of diaspora and contextualize an ideological migration's nonterritorial distance from state institutions in general.

An Othered Home:

Diaspora theorists identify these others as, "multinational subjects," "dual citizens," and "dually-embraced selves" can misappropriate vocabulary and concepts for people unable to define 'their' labels. I cannot claim that the Old Believers I spoke to make a distinction between nationality and ethnicity. Nor do I think they would be able to define diaspora[93] although I continue to identify Old Believers as belonging to one. If the theoretically discredited and disillusioned nation-state ideal, flooded with overtones of fatality, is expressed by those anthropologists speak to, how can its existence as an identity-construct be denied? This analysis of Old Believers' relations with their Origin will direct the reader towards those facets of 'Russian' identity with which the Staroveri actively associate and voice.

First, I will reiterate the Russian historical context of Old Believers' conceptions of the origin state, and relationships with nonbelievers regardless of their origin. Interrelationships are in part a product of the religious culture (including some embedded xenophobia and ethnocentric authority of Orthodox) of Muscovy, which emphasized the segregation of pure believers. The ideals that initiated dissent, especially the unaltered preservation of ritual traditions, have been necessarily compromised by survivalist migrations. Next, I will discuss the Old Believers' expressions of this compromise, or *loss* and undesirable change. This usually relates to the diminished use of Russian and lack of knowledge of OCS, rituals, and general group history. Old Believers' direct and tangible connections with the land of origin (*i.e.* visits and material culture) are primarily a popovtsy diaspora feature, as they are institutionally connected with the ROC. Finally, I will discuss the associations between the location and origin states and that affected Old Believers' settlement in Alaska.

Purpose and Paradox in Survival:

Despite the distancing of persecution, and self-imposed exile from a nominally atheistic and socialist state, Old Believers' bond to one another is,

[93] The same for many of my own family and friends with whom I discussed my research

(although secondary to faith), essentially ethnic. The primacy of faith and the religious prescriptions that guide life should not overshadow the fact that the rituals they are trying to preserve untainted are those of the *Russian* Orthodox Church. Shared memories link the diverse communities of the Old Believer diaspora to an imagined homeland of yore. Yet those that fled, while looking back on secular and sacred Russian history as the manual of ritual, everyday propriety and the source of authority, have nonetheless forced themselves forward. Return to the homeland is not an aim, nor would such a regress even be considered an option, particularly for the bezpopovtsy. The origin was not lost from outside forces like the Babylonian exile, or the Roman destruction of the Temple, but from internal reform and revolution. The Old Believers learned early that migration can save their faith and lives, seclusion is safety, and that the Russian state is no longer in possession of the one, true, Christianity.

Staroveri have existed as a marginalized population long before their immigration from the Russian plains and tundra. For three and a half centuries they have upheld the Old Rites, but have also made many sacrifices, offering up pieces of themselves as well as the lives of those martyred. By "pieces of themselves" I refer to features claimed by ethnographers and locals to be essential to the Old Belief: rituals, dress and hair styles, sacred and profane language, gender roles, autonomy of their children's socialization, structure of the mir, and means of production. Nonetheless, they have preserved the faith. This process of compromise on the part of Old Believers and their local neighbors, and those changes linked to immigration discussed above *have,* however, altered their lifeways. The paradox of their diasporic condition comes to light: the necessity of migration to preserve the Origin's lifeways unaltered. The contradiction of the bezpopovtsy resisting all changes to rituals to the extent of forgoing certain sacraments altogether rather than performing them improperly or with a tainted priesthood illustrates this trauma. For example the debate over priestless marriage caused some current descendants' groups to diverge from originally celibate monastic communities (see Paert 2003).

Old Believers are still closely connected with the Origin in several aspects of daily life and language. The historical context of the Muscovy period ingrained a tendency to exclude or segregate outsiders that bordered on xenophobia. Innovations from the West, in terms of items and ideas from tobacco and tea, to astronomy and secular art, were seen as threatening infiltrations of infidels, and thereby associated with the devil (Scheffel 1991; on tobacco Billington 1970:136). Although, certain new inventions and ideas were desired by the state, the individuals that brought them were physically and symbolically segregated from Old Muscovite society. This segregation was carried out to an extent that foreigners were more or less confined to a walled-off section of Moscow; and in times of crisis often became the society's scapegoat (Scheffel 1991:17-20; Paert 2003:22). In this way, "…Muscovite elaboration of this [puritan] heritage as part of the ideological war with the West, the Old Orthodox Pharisaism must be regarded as the culmination of a centuries-long development during which evil and defilement came to be viewed as external agents attacking from without the community of the faithful" (Scheffel 1991:202). The Old Believer movement took its puritanical ideology from the Zealots of Piety (to which both Nikon and Avvakum had once belonged), who extended the prohibitory laws of holy books into the secular realm in the effort to isolate Holy Russia from the profaning threat of western intrusion (198).

This "elaboration" process entailed an extension of Church-specific prohibitions into secular life. These same sanctions later formalized the Staroveri's separation from the ROC, and consequently strengthened the boundaries between themselves and the profane world. That the heresy of Patriarch Nikon primarily involved steps that made the ROC more in line with the Greek Orthodox Church corresponds with this element of xenophobia. The subsequent reign of the "Great Westernizer," Peter the Great (r.1682-1725), whose many reforms including a change of Muscovy dress for western European clothing, and a ban against beards (excluding only clergy and peasants until the institution of the "beard tax"), were similarly rejected by the early Starover

movement. Since the 1720's beards,[94] (left untrimmed because one's physical appearance, made in the image of God, must not be falsified or altered) have been associated with the Old Rite (Scheffel 1991 50, 185-189; Colfer 1985:29).[95] In this way, the reforms of Peter the Great became associated with the contemporary reforms of Nikon, and as such were similarly rejected by the Old Believers. The context of rapid change associated with contact with 'foreign' elements conceptualizes the development of prohibitions through which the Old Believers became, and continue to be, visually and symbolically distinct from the societies in which they live (Morris 1981:89-91). As Hebdige notes (in discussing punks in Britain) dressing styles and accoutrement may be seen as "symbolic forms of resistance" and are involved in the process of negotiating and differentiating self from other (1979:79-80). Although I cannot go into the millenarian aspects of the early raskol at this time, the process of othering in the past (see Cherniavsky 1966 discussion of depictions of Nikon and Peter the Great as the Antichrist, Beast, Satan, in 18th century Starover manuscript illustrations) and present (see Scheffel 1991, "In the Shadow of Antichrist") is expressed in the language of spiritual danger.

Mary Douglas' rejection of "piecemeal" interpretations of particularly forbidden objects as, "…neither consistent nor comprehensive," (1966:60) should not be taken as a dismissal of prohibitions' contextuality. Such interpretations may not holistically provide the reason prohibitions exist, but they do explain in part why certain elements became taboo. Historical and social contexts must be explored to fully understand the justifications and utilizations of pollution laws. Another example of the association between Petrine and Nikonian/Nikon'yana reforms, and the conception of foreign influence as intrusively polluting, is in the

[94] Lv. 19:27 states that one must not trim beard or hair around temples; Old Beliefs defended in the Volga region; Cossacks settlers and merchants resisted state centralization and Westernification and when Peter the Great's representatives came to Dmitrievsk in 1700 to shave and militarize the Cossack troops to battle Swedes, aided and abetted by locals in support of Old Beliefs. "Heads without beards were cut off and mutilated, local collaborators were drowned in the Volga, and the *voevoda* was able to survive only by hiding out long enough to grow a beard and returning as a convert to the Old Belief," (Billington 1970:194)

[95] This has carried into a prohibition against wigs, hair dye, and cosmetics that would similarly alter a person's visage (Scheffel 1991:188-9).

prohibitions again tobacco and other "plants from beyond the sea" (*zamorskiya ovoshchi).* This explanation corresponds with Maimonides (1135-1204) interpretation of Leviticus as related to the fear of foreign influence and the need to segregate the Hebrew peoples' covenant with God from the rituals and practices associated with heathendom (Douglas 2002:60-1). For example, the pre-raskol prohibition of tobacco concerned the sacred realm, where it was forbidden from churches in belief that the smoke (incense smoke another matter) would defile the icons. Peter the Great's legalization and personal use of tobacco strengthened the Old Believers convictions against the substance, and extended the ban to secular life, where it remains one of the most serious transgressions. Similar logic supports the probations against tea and coffee held by the Old Believers, which were also introduced by Peter I and were and are believed to possess the intoxicating and devilish influence of zamorskiya ovoshchi (Scheffel 1991:51, 169, 198-201; Colfer 1985:29-30).

Explanations of the Old Believers' prohibitions against eating with poganyi individuals also stem from this sociohistorical context. During the early days of the raskol these purity laws and fears of pollution were carried to the extent that some would not take food that was served by members of the apostate ROC, or even use the dishes[96] the food was served on (Scheffel 1991:51, 201-202). This is another extension of ritual prohibitions into secular life, as the Greek Orthodox Church would not serve the Eucharist to Latin visitors. The Muscovites formerly excommunicated the Greek clergy as well, who were not allowed to take the Eucharist in Russian Orthodox Churches. The Muscovites also admonishing a similar warning that one should not take daily meals with Western Christians (and certainly not non-Christians) either (Scheffel 1991:31, 196; Palmer 1873a). This prohibition remains the greatest inhibitor of relations between Old Believers and non-believers, the latter category including those individuals that cross significant internal lines.

[96] Open dishes must further be covered so that a demon does not sit in the dish and become accidentally ingested (Smithson 1976:187). This further indicates the relationship between pollution laws and threats of defilement and infiltration.

Muscovite separatism was bolstered by the theory of the Third Rome, which in brief originated from Philotheus of Eleazer Monastery of Pskov in a letter to Grand Prince of Moscow Vasily III (r.1505-33) in 1511. Philotheus argued that the First Rome [Rome] fell due to the Apollinarian heresy (1054 schism between East and West Christianity), from whence power was transferred to the Second Rome [Byzantium], subsequently "…brought low by Hagarenes [Islamic Turks]" in 1453, and passed on to Moscow (Billington 1970:58; Zenkovsky 1957:42). The standardization and centralization of the ROC that began in the 1650's, furthered by Peter I's later subjugation of Church power to the state, was a political necessity for Muscovy's transition from city-state to empire (Zenkovsky 1957:44-5). Muscovite religious prejudices and areal-centric messianic theories (Billington 1970:58) were incongruent with the expanding multiethnic state. "In the 1650's and 1660's Moscow relinquished its traditional ideology and ceased to be a purely Great Russian state, in order to become an All-Russian Empire. The Tsar and his advisers repudiated the policy of Muscovite cultural and religious isolation, the 200-year old tradition of Russian's exclusive historical mission, and the messianic theory of the Third Rome" (Zenkovsky 1957:46). The raskol conflicts between the institution of the church and popular religion in Russia were perceived by dissenters as the fall of the Third, and last (apocalyptic theory only posited three holy cities), Rome. Old Believers were not just resisting change and the centralization of the local-led congregations, but resisting the overthrow of Christianity by the forces of Satan and the Antichrist (see Cherniavsky 1966 and Scheffel 1991).

Old Believers may at times address themselves as Russians, or their culture as Russian, but their initial segregation from society began in Russia. Old Believers' cannot call Russia "Home," for they have not been imagining the original homeland in the present, or as an expected goal of the future. To Old Believers, Russia, in terms of its sacred history, religion, and language is entirely a thing of the past. Old Believers must be content to uphold their traditions as best they can. This has led the diaspora to four continents, necessitating re-situation to different locations and languages, which has consequentially altered

and affected the aspects of life that they were migrating to maintain unsullied. The survival of the faith and people has entailed many tribulations, compromises, and losses. The most noted loss concerns the lingua sacra of Church Slavonic and the communities' Russian vernacular, the primary language of familial and diasporic communication.

Language and Loss:

The intrinsic role of language in ethnic, religious and other cultural identity-constructs is well accepted by Old Believers as well as anthropologists. Efforts to preserve ritual use of Old Church Slavonic, and their distinct Russian vernacular, have been persistent. Amish, Hutterites and the more conservative, ("Plain"), Mennonites also have a linguistic connection with their Origin. These communities self-actively maintain the use of their archaic dialect of Low German, which again like the Old Believers differentiates them from the language of the land of Origin that has altered since their migration. These groups also have a sacred language- the High German reserved for services and spiritual texts. Like OCS classes taught by Staroveri elders, the High German liturgy is learned by rote memorization (Hostetler and Huntington 1971; Hostetler 138-142). Identity-constructs of ethnoreligious diasporas are primarily ideological and connections to the Origin are primarily collective memories (such as the persecution that now contextualizes relationships to Local states), rather than direct monetary (remittances and trade) or personal connections. The Hutterites might dress like "Germans" and be called "Pennsylvanian Dutch" by their neighbors, but the contemporary German costume is nothing like the one that distinguishes the Amish and Hutterites from other North Americans. The "Sleeping Beauty[97]" metaphor employed by a "Soviet" teacher (specifically concerning Staroveri language and dress in 1981) at Nikolaevsk School is certainly applicable to the Local's and Origin's conceptions of these conservative ethno-religious diasporas.

[97] Applied by a recent Soviet émigré who taught at Nikolaevsk in discussing their dialect and dress (O'Meara, HN, 11-5-81); the three good fairies put the whole town asleep when this beauty pricked her finger, leaving the society unaltered until her awakening

Although the teacher is struck by the lack of linguistic change compared to the Russian spoken in the former U.S.S.R. and that formally taught in school, the native tongue is at constant risk of muting. The decreasing use of Russian by children is one of the concerns most frequently voiced by Old Believer parents when discussing the difficulties of their diasporic condition (Smithson 1976:247). Some parents in Nikolaevsk have complained that children are not speaking Russian in the homes anymore, or able to understand the OCS of services, and that, "the students just don't want to learn Russian" (Volt 2004). The Nikolaevsk School has gone far beyond providing basic bilingual education for the socialization of Russian-speaking kindergarteners. Offering higher-level Russian language courses provides the formal, grammatical, and orthographic instruction that is not garnered from aural learning. Russophones are one of many minority populations that the KPBSD struggles to educate, as 29 schools within the district are bilingual, instructing students in 15 different languages (Jackinsky, HN, 11-9-06:7B). The bilingual texts produced by the NPC demonstrate the school's dedication to the conservation of Old Believers' linguistic, historical, and cultural knowledge, but they are equally English as well as an instrument of English instruction.

Parents are adamant about speaking Russian in their households (Sabey 1969:52), and children enter school speaking only Russian. The principle of Voznesenka and Razdolna Schools reasoned that this explains the children's lower marks on the benchmark English test they must pass in the 3rd grade (Jackinsky, HN, 11-9-06:7B). Standardized test marks are low in other subjects due to the intensive English instruction necessary in the first few years of school to catch up to Anglophone American children (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88). The connection between standardized test scores that in part determines federal funding has further complicated the Old Believers' ability to both protect their language and adjust to the U.S. school system. Over 100 parents of Katchemak Selo, Voznesenka, and Razdolna Schools protested the KPBSD's decision to cut Russian languages classes for the 2007-8 school year. One parent from Razdolna said that the villagers agreed that English should be the first language, but their

schools also deserve the right for second language classes that other public schools have. Parents did not argue against the necessity of English acquisition, but stressed that, "'if we lose our Russian language, we will lose our culture,' another parent added, 'we are trying desperately to hang on to that. It's on your hands whether our children will progress or not.'" Parents also felt that they were entitled to the language courses because of their lack of art and music classes (which religion prohibits) and other extracurricular programs (Pearson, HT, 3-22-06:11). Unfortunately, emphasis on the standardization of public schools since the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) and a troubled state economy has forced the KPBSD to cut this accommodation as financially unfeasible.

The generational conflict over Russian and English use first became apparent in Oregon. Parents continue to insist on speaking Russian in the homes. Nadejda always gave directions to her children in Russian (even at Annitta's house), and teenager Antonia confirmed that, "'we speak mostly English at school and *have to* speak Russian at home,'" (Mulcaster, HN, 3-2-89:36, italics added). As early as 1976, Smithson noted that Oregoni villagers began to speak less Russian, and students gained literacy in English, but not in their native tongue, in which they were not formally educated. As children acquired English proficiency, and grew to adulthood in the States, they were able to out-compete their elders in the labor market, and garner higher wages. Elders' needs to correspond with governmental institutions also introduced a degree of dependency on the younger generations, a new concept to the traditional valuation and respect of elders (235, 251-253). But the addition of a new language is not as problematic to parents as the lost of the native language. A local Alaskan comparison follows.

> Like the Yupik parents on the Kuskokwim delta, Old Believer parents say they are deeply concerned today about the erosion of language skills in their children. 'The old people nag us every day: talk Russian, talk Russian, talk Russian,' said Anna Martushev, a 19 year old bilingual library aide at the school. She said many teenagers in the village work to lose their accents so they won't stand out as different when they go to the stores in Homer, just as girls sometimes where long coats in town to shroud their characteristic brightly colored dresses. [Kizzia, ADN, 4-15-90]

The main dilemma was not that teenagers had begun to prioritize English, but that they strove to hide the linguistic feature of their culture that their parents consider necessary to the community of believer's salvation.

Old Believers have been involved in the linguistic education of OCS, Russian, and English. Bilingual aides employed at Nikolaevsk and other Alaskan schools are often Old Believer women. For example, Natalia Basargin aided Mr. Bell with Russophone first graders (HN, 3-29-84). Nadejda's brother told me that his daughter used to teach Russian and English at the school, and that she was currently helping her American husband learn Russian.[98] KPBSD these Russian language aides had to be dismissed once the No Child Left Behind Act required all teachers[99] to have a teaching certificate and a minimum of two years of higher education (Pearson, HT, 3-22-06:12). Retired Nikolaevsk principle and teacher, Bob Moore, expressed concern that this act, and the standardization of education trend in general, would negatively affect the multiculturalism of the U.S.[100]

When I first read online articles about Nikolaevsk, I was struck by the spelling of the popovtsy church as Saint Nicholas rather than Nikolas, and wondered if the authors were mistaken, ignorant of Russian-English transliteration conventions.[101] However, when I arrived in the village, and saw the sign before the church, my inquiry was transferred to the villagers. Why did they spell their patron's name Ni*ch*olas? Regardless of spelling, the fact remains that the church is named for the patron saint of Russia, and its similar namesake-the village where Harbintsi settled (Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) before flight from the Bolsheviks into China. Naming has a strong role in Russian identification, as parents pick from a list of acceptable saint's names depending on the child's birthday. Although many Old Believers are either called by Amerikanski 'equivalents', such as Greg for Grigori, or Bill for Vasili, and other nicknames such as Sally, Polly, or Walt (Vladimir).

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[98] Nadejda, her brother and I, Nadejda's yard July 19, 2007
[99] Specifics are determined by the state.
[100] Bob Moore, Homer Public Library private study room, August 8, 2007
[101] The name of the village illustrates the standard Russian transliteration of sound [k], which is the letter [к] in Cyrillic, yet here spelled in the common Germanic [ch]

OCS is taught privately to children so everyone can follow the liturgy, but only clergy (priests, deacons or nastavniki) can fully understand the language. Marikky Kalugin remarked on this lack of understanding to the *Homer News'* journalist who reported on the differences in Old Believers' Easter Services from Western Christian ones. The journalist saw the youth singing along with the canon, so he asked him what it meant, to which Marikky astutely explained, "'I don't really know. I understand only part of it,' he said. 'It's in Old Slavic. It's like Old English would be to you'" (Cardinal, HN, 4-19-90:8B). Although the younger generations have little understanding of OCS, the elders insist on continuing services in the ancient language of the ROC. While the elder's are still around Efrosina said that services cannot be in English because they would not understand or accept it. Although she seemed in favor of offering English services, she still had her children taught OCS so that they can participate in the lingua sacra of the Old Rite liturgy. Illustrating a popovtsy institutional relationship in addition to those discussed in the following section is that a member from the Romanian church where Father Fefelov was ordained came to Nikolaevsk on a visa to teach OCS.[102] In the early years of the community, these classes were collectively held after public school each day. In 1972, it was 70yo Epifan Reutov who instructed Bible studies (Rearden 1972:408-9), and as of 1988 Nikolaevsk's children were still taught OCS directly after school (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88:11).

To Old Believers, language is essential to the preservation of their faith and lifeways as a whole. Their Russian vernacular, although lacking the sacred mission of Old Church Slavonic's use, is also deemed a fundamental and unalienable feature of their identity. How could they be "Old Believers" or "Old Rite Russian Orthodox Christians" if not *Russian*? Can one be Russian without speaking Russian? The correlation of OCS with the pure and unalterable Word of God, or lingua sacra, (in addition to their idiosyncratic rituals), unites language, ethnicity, and religion. One evening with the Mikhaelov's and other popovtsy villagers the word "hope" came up in conversation. They all discussed (in

[102] Efrosina Selezniev's kitchen, August 1, 2007

Russian) what "hope's" equivalent was in Russian, tossing around several words without agreement. The younger son's wife said to wait until her husband returned, as he would know, and sure enough he immediately suggested another option that all agreed upon. Disparagingly, she rhetorically asked, "how bad is it we don't even know how to translate anymore?" Then she cynically joked about them only being "half Russian."[103]

To other American's however, the Old Believers' Russian vernacular makes them "Russians," although Native villagers speaking Russian and attending Russian Orthodox Churches are never called such. While visibly and audibly expressing 'Russianness' more than Native Americans Christianized by Russians, Old Believers are also differentiated from natal-Russians. When an entourage of Soviets came to visit the village on their goodwill delegation trip to Alaska, they expressed surprise at the villagers' ability to keep the language despite generations of migration and settlement in other states. Besides English words for new appliances, they confessed that the Old Believers' tongue was "still relatively pure." Villagers, including 14yo Valentina Fefelov, stated that although the Soviet's Russian sounded "weird," it was nice to hear Russian spoken by others (Mulcaster, HN, 3-2-89:36). Twelve year old Tonia Fefelov, one of two Old Believers who went on an educational trip with 26 other Alaskan students to Magadan, also noticed differences in their Russian. She said, "'we have a different (old) language than what they speak over there now,' she said. 'It has changed over the years. They were surprised we could speak Russian.'" Although communication was sometimes difficult, the children understood each other and were able to learn more about the Russian language (McHenry, HN, 2-22-90:1B).

Uncertainty prevails concerning the historical and doctrinal explanation of specific practices, an issue I encountered in Nikolaevsk several times when questioning ritual and textual specifics. There is a discontinuity in the oral stories of the Old Believers, who discuss the initial raskol, later exile from Russia, and subsequent migrations, without much mention of the 250 years in between. The

[103] Feodor and Lyudmila Mikaelov's driveway, June 10, 2007

intrastate migrations are mapped as an arch across the Russian steppes and Siberian tundra, without signposts of villages- 'homes'- along the way. The loss of ethnoreligious knowledge, or at least the lack of authoritative confidence, was apparent in several villagers' protestations of their ability to provide any information in an interview (in addition to the fact that the short Alaskan summer is an incredibly busy season). Trauma over the loss of language and ritual knowledge are inextricably intertwined, and as seen below, the ROC's formal authority and priesthood offer a nonterritorial "grounding" for diasporic popovtsy Old Ritualists.

Popovtsy and Institution:

Highlighting the closer connection of the popovtsy to the land of origin does not imply that the popovtsy are *more* Russian than the bezpopovtsy, for memories of othering within the Origin frame both groups' past and present conceptions of Russia. One must not overlook that the popovtsy suffered ROC and state oppression from the imperial to post-Soviet periods as well. After a series of reforms instituted by Tsar Nikolas II (r.1894-1917) in 1903, culminating in the *Ukase* (degree) of April 17th, 1905, the popovtsy received a number of concessions and the right to practice the Old Rite. After 238 years the Old Ritualists anathematization from the ROC as heretics was eliminated (Crummey 1970:23; Conybeare 1981:101, 237-239). However, when the large-scale return of nationalized church properties began in 1992 the ROC was still privileged. Other Christian minorities (Russian Catholics, Baptists and other Protestants as well as Old Believers) had to pay large fines to regain their properties, despite pre-revolutionary legalization of ownership and building rights on minority faiths' property. Orthodox groups that had split with the ROC over its cooperation with the Soviet government likewise were not able to regain their property (Daniel 2006:56-7).

The Magadan dignitaries that visited Nikolaevsk in 1989 provided the villagers with the ability to show, with pride, that they managed to survive in spite of the best efforts of imperial Russia and the U.S.S.R. Father Kondraty led them

to the church, even allowing their video cameras, and showed them a 300yo Bible explaining how rare it was. He allowed the visit,

> …because he wanted word to return to the Soviet Union that the religion still exists. 'I want them to know that this isn't some kind of museum'" and they did not need their help or support. Through an interpreter he shared his belief that 'It is good that we should talk', and the Deacon agreed, 'It was good to have them here. I think they were really surprised at how well we received them. We are citizens of the U.S. but we are Russians as well.' [Mulcaster, HN, 3-2-89:36]

This self-conscious recognition of dual identity is the hallmark of diaspora. Confusion caused by equally voiced claims of Russian and American belonging is an illusion of nationality that transnationality tropes and deterritorialized identity-constructs seeks to deconstruct.

Villagers also have a deep link with Russian cuisine. Naturalization ceremonies and other village events describe the variety of Russian homemade foods displayed. Old Believers' dress, food, and even certain behavioral patterns (such as reports and complaints of drunkenness, both insider and outsider) support the statement that, "the symbols that diasporic subjects strategically engage signally include stereotypes about themselves" (Boyarin and Boyarin 2002:26). The growth of ethno-tourism has even hit the tiny village of Nikolaevsk. Tourism (primarily for salmon and halibut fishing) is already a major part of KP's economy. Nikolaevsk's effort to tap into this resource is another example of entrepreneurial, self-sufficiency efforts, although these may be antithetical to the purpose of segregation when economic endeavors bring Staroveri in greater contact with Amerikanski. Utilizing the one resource that Old Believers' are undeniably blessed with, a unique and esoteric culture, and a few villagers have participated in economically-exploiting these stereotypes. Russian material culture is sold at the General Store and Nina's Café/B&B to the few tourists who find their way into Nikolaevsk. Throughout the summer, I saw several cars parked at the bend in Nikolaevsk Road while curiosity-driven families snapped pictures where the pavement ends and the popovtsy church stands with its intricate, golden, iconic paintings glittering in the long summer sunlight.

I became aware of an article about Nina's Café,[104] situated on the unpaved portion of Nikolaevsk Road before it makes a second ninety degree turn towards the 'back villages', when I saw the cut-out article in a clear plastic sleeve on the top of the glass case in the Nikolaevsk General Store. The case holds the items she buys on her regular visits to Russia. On top of the case was also the empty box for the VHS (to encourage people to order it for $15, not available for rent like the other videos in the General Store), "Finding Nina: a documentary." The café sells classic Russian foods: borsch, piroshkies, pelimeny, homemade bread, and deserts. Further exploiting other American's conceptions of this "quaint Russian village," the proprietor invites quests to have their pictures taken (for a fee) in Russian fur hats, silk embroidered shirts (rubashki), or dresses and a scarf. I found it remarkable that the entire article stressed the preservation of Russian culture in Nikolaevsk while never mentioning the "Old Believers," or religion in general. Instead the issue was skirted around, which seemed particularly artificial for a local newspaper read by those who were already well aware of the village's cultural history (Jackinsky, HT, 4-3-02).

Father Kondraty also used to go to Russia quite frequently. His daughter, who runs the General Store/Post Office, sells items that he obtained on his trips there: hand painted boxes, babushka dolls, golden crosses, prayer books (one from the Church of the Nativity in Erie) and other trinkets and crafts in a glass case taped shut. Nina's case in the store held the same type of items. Contrasting his obviously apparent Russian heritage in the States, in Russia, she explained that Russians were able to tell he was from America, and so assumed he had money and approached him to buy such souvenirs of Russian material culture.[105] I heard of very few other trips to the origin state, even after the fall of the communist government so abhorred by Old Believers. Deacon Paul Fefelov visited the former U.S.S.R. for religious purposes in 1988 to celebrate the 1000 year anniversary of the ROC (Gay, HN, 9-22-88:7). It is important to note that none of

[104] The perception of Nina and her café in the village is generally negative. This was evidenced (as I'm told happens every summer) by the signs leading tourists to the village being removed, spray-painted, or otherwise damaged.
[105] Nikolaevsk Store, July 31, 2007

the few trips, and direct material connections to U.S.S.R./Russia discussed during fieldwork none were bezpopovtsy.

Contact with "Soviets" and Russians has also served to highlight and reinforce Old Believers' ideological and cultural differences from the homeland. One of the young girls who acted as a translator for the two Soviet teens from Magadan who came to visit Nikolaevsk, said "'we thought maybe when we saw them they would look Russian, that we would know them right away'…'But they didn't look Russian at all. They looked American'" (Mulcaster, HN, 3-2-89:1). What does a Russian look like? According to this thirteen year old Nikolaevsk villager the reason the Soviets did not look Russia was that, "'they cut their hair and they dress like Americans…'" (36). To Old Believers' Russian means their traditional culture and modern means 'American.' To the Old Believers, especially those under the age of 60 who had never been to Russia, the assumption was that they would look like them, or that their common ethnic identity would be immediately recognizable. As discussed below, these constructions of 'American' and/or 'Russian' identity and relations to the origin were framed by the Cold War relations between the states.

AK Russian Heritage and U. S. *vs.* U.S.S.R.:

Diasporic relationships and visits are unquestionably affected by the rapport between the states of Origin and Location. This is a particularly multifarious process on the KP due to the Russian heritage of Alaska, which was colonized by the imperial Russian state from 1741, and in 1867 sold to the U.S. Therefore, Old Believers are not the first, or the majority, of Russian Orthodox in Alaska. When Russian Old Believer families began to settle in Alaska, the local population was familiar with the sight of Russian Orthodox Churches (Loshbaugh S., HN, 6-10-93:22), and generally informed of Russian history and material culture (certainly more than in Oregon and other states). A look at the Sister City program, which pairs international cities (for example, my high school in Lake George, NY was Sister Cities with Saga City, Japan) to share cultural items and exchange students, illustrates Alaska's continued association with the state just

beyond the Bering Strait. Siberian cities have been so tied to non-Old Believer schools on the Kenai Peninsula, for example Soldotna's Sister City is Magadan (Mulcaster, HN, 3-2-89:36); and Homer's Bogorodskoye (Post, HN, 11-14-91) and Yelisovo (HN, 5-18-95 and 9-28-95). The Sister City program, and Russian-Alaskan heritage and exchange inspired hopes of reconciliation during the Cold War.

However, tensions and miscommunication between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. stalled a Sister City school trip of KP students (two from Nikolaevsk) and educators (including Bob Moore) to the Soldotna-Magadan Youth Summit in Russia. *Homer News* suggested in, "U.S-Soviet squabble delays trip," that Soviet officials said they could no longer waive the Soviet navigator requirement on any flights into Magadan as a reaction to the U.S. denying a flight from Siberia to Alaska because of the flight crew's missing paperwork four days earlier (Ortega, HN, 11-22-89:front and back). The flight was delayed until January, while visas and other paperwork were being processed (Ortega, HN, 12-7-89:8A), but the trip was eventually reported a positive visit (McHenry, HN, 2-22-90:1B).

American's perceptions of the Soviet Union framed their conceptions of the Old Believers, who came to the States at the height of the Cold War. Americans views and discussions of Old Believer culture and history have been influenced by these prejudices. Local articles stress that Russian Old Believers are anticommunists. For example, *ADN* recorded the same paragraph in two of its articles about Nikolaevsk, stressing the differentiation of Old Believers from their Location and Origin. "Few people outside the village know the *Old*Believers* well. Those who do describe them as patriotic Americans, fierce anticommunists and unrepentant capitalists" (Chappell, ADN, 5-1-88 and 9-21-88). American newspapers and journals also had no qualms about vilifying the Bolsheviks. Especially right after the fall of the Iron Curtain, there was a renewed interest in Russian culture in general, but in particular for the Old Believers whom the former-Soviets were reintroduced to and both sides of the Cold War marveled at the survival in the Old Believers' myths of migration.

Melnikov estimated the total number of Old Believers in Russia to be 10.3 million in the 1870's (Zenkovsky 1957:52*n*19), a number estimated to have risen to 20 million before the Revolution (Chappell, ADN 5-1-88:8-9; Gay 1988:27; personal communication; Billington 1970). Given the relatively low number of Starover refugees, it has been estimated that some 19 million died in the course of Revolution, flight, deportation to the U.S.S.R. by the Chinese, and the hardships of starvation and winter. Although the unknown numbers of covert Old Rite practitioners, communities in the U.S.S.R./Russia and elsewhere in Europe, and those that re-converted to the ROC (forced, "fake," or otherwise) inflates this estimate, persecution has been a constant, and significant impact on Old Believer life. Relating these stories allows Americans the pride of belonging to the promised land of religious freedom. The particular Russianness of Old Believers is 'forgivable' since they can be differentiated from their enemy Origin. Again, the themes of persecution and coerced migration have framed not only Old Believers' group consciousness, but local perceptions of their identity.

The relationship between the states of Origin and Location have also affected Anabaptist diasporas, as their unwillingness to participate in either of the World Wars and their use of the German language raised prejudices of their support and/or affiliation with Kaiser, and later Nazi, Germany. But Amish, Hutterites, and Mennonites have not sought to return to the land of their ancestors. Like the Staroveri, these groups' histories are full of state persecution and religious oppression, to the point that they became "extinct in Europe," (Hostetler 1968:38-44), and their connections to the Origin are held in the imagination of a past home, and only actualized in material and linguistic culture (Hostetler 1974:148-151). The similarities of these ethnoreligious diasporas, particularly in sociopolitical relationships and *nonterritorial* identity-constructs, demonstrates that the distance of diasporic subjects from former homes and other sects cannot be shortened by global time-space compression alone.

As the extreme complexity of Old Believers' relationships within the Location, diaspora as a whole, and Origin societies demonstrates: transnational studies must look at the internal divergences of identity-constructs when

attempting to delineate what defines a group, movement, or diaspora. It is not enough to say that Old Believers are "Russian," while noting that Locals call them such is telling, it does not holistically clarify the diaspora's connection to the Origin state. Likewise, differentiating ethno-religious groups must not forget all the claims for "American" or "Canadian" identity that are made by the Staroveri, and their active efforts to gain citizenship. By looking at ideological diasporas' myths of migration, theorists will better contextual the deep historical relations have to both the Origin state and to other groups that came from (both within the Old Believer diaspora as a whole, and non-Starover Russian transnationals) that have the same Origin. Diasporic relationships with the societies and governments of current Locations are also illuminated by inquiry into the ideological history as well as migration patterns of non-territorial identity-constructions.

Chapter 4
Conclusion and Future Study

Nikolaevsk is situated within a diverse and loosely ideologically and ethnically connected diaspora. Contemporary doctrinal disputes on the KP underscore and reiterate the disjointed and gradual establishment of the Old Believer cultural group. "Each manifestation of liturgical dissent was a distinct response to the growth of the ecclesiastical center and its penetration into local and personal religious autonomies. Instead of one great schism, one should probably refer to numerous small schisms that occurred in particular monasteries, parishes, and communities and involved individual monks, nuns, priests and laymen" (Michels 1999:223). Old Belief, as a measure of ethnoconsciousness, has always involved this aspect of distinct congregations. Co-religious communities are no longer isolated or hidden from the poganyi, however centuries of persecution and marginalization have fashioned contemporary congregations into similarly autonomous protectorates. The Starover diaspora is not merely a rejection of former and current state relations and identities, but a preservation of the city-state type, or local self-sufficient mir ideal, of governance of the pre-Nikonian, decentralized ROC. This mir ideal and the desire for self-sufficiency, autonomy, and segregation from potential pollution also affects the Old Believer's connections with co-religious communities as well as those belonging to groups that cross internal ideological lines.

Not even in Alaska do Old Believers form a collective church or communion (community of believers), rather the diaspora consists of a flexible network of closed congregations (Rearden 1972:404). That Old Believers never were, and still cannot be viewed as a unified group does preclude the existence of an Old Believer diaspora. Local autonomy is not antithetical to diasporic networking, but rather is in keeping with an important Starover identity-construct. Since the defining features of diaspora repeatedly stress ethnoconsciousness, collective memories, and self-awareness of an international group identity, theorists must center analyses on ideological identity-constructs. Distinct

communities share common histories and struggles, language, material culture, and Old Rites of a bygone Russia. Ethnohistories and sacred texts (including the icons that are the cornerstone of new households), are still produced, translated, and disseminated internationally. Analysis of the bilingual texts of the Nikolaevsk School evidences the value and importance of oral histories, and cultural and linguistic knowledge. Co-religious communities also constantly exchange information, and resources both economic (loans, labor) and human (spouses, although these entail conversion if communities are not co-religious).

The deterritorialized conception of identity can also elucidate the networking of other ethnoreligious diasporas, such as the Amish and Hutterites who could also claim diasporic status, as they share many of the characteristics of Old Believer international networks. But are they two separate diasporas, or are both a part of a larger Anabaptist diaspora? I would argue that the primary differentiation between the Amish and Hutterites (and reason for the latter's faction from the former) is too great to say the groups belong to the same diaspora, although they are historically, culturally, and linguistically more related to each other than any other ethnoreligious community. The communal living of Hutterites socializes children with a concept of community that is perhaps too dissimilar to other Anabaptist groups to belong to the same community of believers as the Amish. Although one may convert between Amish and Hutterite sects respectively, I would not expect that the few who leave either faith join the other (while Hostetler notes that these individuals often join less-conservative Mennonite congregations). I leave these questions, which will expand both the understanding of internal lines of belonging and notions of diaspora for further research. The multiplicity of similar elements of diasporic dimensions (namely interrelations with origin, location, and diaspora) between Staroveri and Anabaptist groups must be analyzed, because cross-cultural research will illustrate additional characteristics of migratory networks. Exploring other potential ethnoreligious diasporas that prioritize metaphysical over territorial conceptions of identity will expand the applicability of the diasporic framework. Not all migrational networks that are also communities of believers should be considered

diasporic; however, analyzing international congregations' relationships to one another, and to various locations will aid the study of the so-called 'world religions.'

Identification of ethnoreligious groups, or ideological diasporas, is complicated by multiple waves of migration, multiple new homes, and sectarian factionalism. Future study of ethnoreligious dispersals should be conducted to better understand the variations of diasporic existence and broaden the dimensions of group belonging. The analysis of internal lines will reveal those aspects of identity that are most salient to the composition of group consciousnesses. Each diaspora is so multifariously composed as to make one definition of diaspora fitting all such networks of belonging unrealistic. Using the most basic elements that diasporic groups have, (relationships between the temporal and geographic diversity of settlements sharing the group-defined identity-constructs), as guidelines for analysis will reveal the identity-constructs and interrelationships of distinct diasporas. This method of analysis, when used on ideological dispersions that form a community of believers (or 'federation' of distinct communities of believers) that may, or may not, be diasporic, will expose markers of identity and belonging.

In addition to cross-cultural analyses of diasporas, communities in different locations within a diaspora should be similarly studied to determine internal differentiations. Some diasporas have been mistakenly (an extrapolation from the Jewish archetype) been discussed as if they were distinct entities in the land of origin prior to migration. "This notion emphasizes the preservation and/or non-discontinuous evolution of a single, previously available identity, and tends to overlook the possibility that quite loosely related populations possessed of many different, locally circumscribed identities in their homelands, but regarded as 'one' in the hostland, can be turned into a diaspora by the gaze of the hostland" (Tölölyan 1996:13). Although Old Believers were differentiated in the homeland, they were "quite loosely related," and even unaware that other co-religious communities existed. Although they were not without hope that other communities did exist, and therefore imagined themselves a part of a larger

nonterritorial group. For other diasporas, 'oneness' is merely the self-reinforcing facet of the diasporic condition, and not the perception of the group in its origin, or more importantly the group's perception of itself. When Old Believers compare themselves to the unfamiliar lifeways of their new neighbors, similarities with other communities in the diaspora are accentuated. The conditions of minority status in a new area may impel the aggregation of formerly distant, ideological relatives. Diaspora is unique from other migrational networks in that connections are actively maintained between communities in distinct locations and are an essential part of the group's ethnoconsciousness.

I have proposed here the myth of migration as an alternative to the focus on dispersed people's 'belonging' to the 'home' they left, rather than to the one they presently reside in. Alaska has proven a positive settlement for Old Believers, who are more or less able to keep to themselves (especially in the KB and back villages that I was not able to access during my short visit), and even prosper beyond the basic goal of self-sufficiency. Contentment in location has not stopped Starover migration or the settlement of new villages. They have "found freedom," but their flight is not finished, nor do I expect it to. My fieldwork this summer revealed that bezpopovtsy communities have also begun to settle in Minnesota. One Old Believer grandfather (a converted, non-natal Starover) spoke of the house he had co-signed for his daughter's family (when explaining why he did not encourage their complaints of extreme winters and summers as reasons to return). He explained the difference of the Minnesota settlements, which are much more spread out than the condensed KP mir structure, with individual farms located 5-10 miles from one another. On a trip to Kodiak Island off the Kenai Peninsula (a 9 hour ferry ride from Homer) I learned that Old Believers not only docked in and fished off the island (which local knowledge and papers had informed me), but lived there as well. Discussion with an old fisherman and an atlas also pointed out islands off southeast Alaska with more secluded (indeed, I had only heard one other whisper of their presence there) Old Believers villages. Impelled by desires for further seclusion, the ideal mir,

small-sized, controllable village structure, migration itself has become a significant feature of Starover identity.

Religious communities are an important mode of diasporic living that could further elucidate the idealization of belonging and place in this world. Metaphysical worldviews would certainly serve to deterritorialize diaspora. I am not claiming that all religions should be considered ideological diasporas, as *active* migration (forced, coerced, or voluntary) is the chief factor in the spread of the population, and belonging is primarily natal. Old Believers are such a *diaspora,* as their self-conscious and active international networking, and shared collective memories and worldview, evidences. While Old Believers belong to individual, bounded, co-religious congregations- these overlap and exchange individuals through marriage and continued migration to create a larger community of believers. Intercommunity exchange of resources, labor, and information are providing villages with a measure of self-sufficiency and support that is utilized to protect their faith and lifestyle by a means that formerly could only be solved by further migration. Although the myth of migration is a story of the past, present, and future for some Staroveri, others have settled into comfortable communities to leave to their children. Whether or not their children and grandchildren remain in the village they develop is largely inconsequential, (other than the desire to be with them). As long as the ways are kept, their true Home will be waiting, and the true faith preserved.

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Appendix 2:
Glossary and Abbreviations

ALHN- American Local Home Network

Bania- steamed bath, used by Old Believers before services as a purifying ritual; Annitta's house, which was built by a Starover, had one in the basement

Bezpopovtsy- without priests, or 'priestless', in communities without a priest for doctrinal reasons (lost chain of authority) the nastavnik/nastoyatel from within the parish performs the ritual duties of a priest

Edinoverts/y co-religious, unanimity

Harbintsi- name of subgroup that fled Russia during the Civil War; for Manchurian city of Harbin near where they resided

KB- Katchemak Bay

KP- Kenai Peninsula

KPBSD- Kenai Peninsula Borough School District

Khristian/Khristianiki- Christian/Christians, self-designation for Old Believers, others (whether ROC, Protestant, Buddhist or Atheist) excluded

Meidung- Shunning, practice of Amish of excommunicating the morally divergent from church and table

Mirskii/Mirskie- Mir means world, peace, or community, also term for commune in the collectivization of farms during the Soviet period. Mirskie is used as both an adjective to describe "worldly" things, or a noun to indicate people who are "of the world". The 'outside' community in which they live is talked of in these terms. Anyone who is not Staroveri is non-Christian/poganyi/mirskie.

Nashi- common word to describe relatives, 'our people'

NCC- Nikolaevsk Community Council

Novozheny- new marriages, refers to those that married with the 'heretic' priests of the post-Nikonian ROC, or those that married after baptism in a bezpopovtsy community

NPC- Nikolaevsk Publication Company/formerly Nikolaevsk School Press/Publications

OCS- Old Church Slavonic

Poganyi/Pagana- Scheffel states as colloquial synonym of mirskii (1991: 60); used to refer to people, actions and things which are not Khristianiti

Pomieshchanie- the concept of 'mixing-up,' refers to association with the poganyi

Popovtsy- having officially ordained priests, or 'priestly'

Post- Fast, generally referred to as a Lent

Raskol- schism, specifically that of the Old Believers in the 17th century;

> **раско́л, а *т.*** (*relig., hist.)* schism, dissent. 2. (*pol., etc.*) split, division (Concise Oxford Russian Dictionary)

Raskol'niki- schism-ers, refers literally to those that 'split' from the ROC; Old Believers to not refer to themselves as such, the term can be considered insulting and use of the term is also associated with both tsarist and Soviet inquiries and persecution (Scheffel 1991:4); Billington (1970:196) also notes Old Believers rejection of the term, to which they instead associated with the official ROC

> **раско́льник, а *т.*** 1. (*relig., hist.*) schismatic, dissenter. 2. (*pol.; fig.*) splitter (Concise Oxford English Dictionary)

раскол/о́ть, ю, ~ешь 1. *Pf.* of коло́ть. 2. (*impf.* Ьаскáлывать) (*fig.*) to distrupt, break up (Concise Russian Dictionary)

раскол/о́ться, юсь, ~ешься *pf.* (*of* раскрываться) to split (*also fig.*) (Concise Russian Dictionary)

раско́льническ/ий *adj.* 1. (*relig., hist.*) schismatic, dissenting. 2. ~аятáктика (*pol.*) splitting tactics (Concise Russian Dictionary)

Raskol'nye dela- schism cases

ROC- Russian Orthodox Church

ROCOR- Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia

Rodstvenniki- relatives

Sarafan- type of dress

Sinziantsi- name of subgroup that fled Russia after the Bolshevik revolution, after the northwestern Chinese province of Sinkiang; currently Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

Skit- hermitage, small monastery, settlement

Sobor- decision-making council of Old Believer elder males (stariki) and male heads of individual households, who discuss secular and sacred matters, usually after Saturday night vespers

Sobornost'- conciliarity, the principle of the ROC that emphasizes the need for a congregation to be unanimous for proper covenant with God, and to assure the ritual propriety of sacraments

Staraia vera- Old Belief

Stariki- elders, the stariki (comprise the sobor) elect the village's starosa; alternately the stariki can refer to the elected officials of the church

Starosa- 'head' elder, functions as mayor of the village in dealing with secular matters

Starozheny- Old Believers who were married before baptism into an Old Rite community, or married by 'unpolluted' priests before the schism

Talichka- type of dress

Appendix 3
KPBSD[106] Variance Calendar 2007-2008

Katchemak Selo/Voznesenka/Razdolna Schools:
August 9, 2007-May 20, 2008

"Legal Holidays and Vacation Days"

Legal Holidays (all KBPSD):

July 4, 2007	*Independence Day*
September 3, 2007	*Labor Day*
November 22 and 23, 2007	*Thanksgiving Break*
December 25, 2007	*Christmas (Gregorian)*
January 1, 2008	*New Year's Day*
May 26, 2008	*Memorial Day*

Vacation Days:

August 28, 2007	*Dormition of Mother of God, Patron Holy Day of Sydney*
September 11, 2007	*Beheading of St. John the Forerunner*
September 21, 2007	*Nativity of the Mother of God*
September 27, 2007	*Exaltation of the Holy Cross of the Lord*
October 9, 20, 2007	*Repose of St. John the Theologian*
November 26, 2007	*St. John of Chrysostom*
December 4, 2007	*The Entry of Mother of God into the Temple*
December 19, 2007	*St. Nikolaevsk the Wonder Worker, Patron Saint in Nikolaevsk, AK*
Winter Break[107]	December 24, 2007-January 8, 2008; 22nd through 8th counting weekends. *Jan. 4th, Kazan Icon of the Mother of God; Jan. 7tth, Nativity of Christ; Jan. 8th Synaxis of the Mother of God, St. Joseph the Bethrothed, Hieromartyr Euthymius of Sardiss*
February 12, 2008	*Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John of Chrysostom*
February 15, 2008	*The Meeting (Presentation) of the Lord, our God and Savior Jesus Christ*
April 7, 2008	*Annunciation of the Mother of God*
Spring Break[108]	April 28, 2008-May 2, 2008; 26th through 4th counting weekends

[106] <http://www.kpbsd.k12.ak.us/students_parents.aspx?id=262>
[107] District-wide December 24, 2007-January 4-2008; 22nd through 6th counting weekends
[108] District-wide March 17, 2008-March 21, 2008; 15th through 23rd counting weekends

	Bright Week: Sunday April 27th, The Bright Resurrection of Christ, Holy Pascha (Easter)
May 21, 2008	*Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian*

Saturday School:

September 15, 2007
October 13, 2007
December 1, 2007
January 12, 2008
February 16, 2008
April 12, 2008

Nikolaevsk School:

August 20, 2007-May 22, 2008

Legal Holidays same for all KPBSD

Katchemak Selo/Voznesenka/Razdolna Vacation days on which Nikolaevsk School is not closed:

August 28, 2007	*Dormition of Mother of God, Patron Holy day of Sydney*
November 26, 2007	*St. John of Chrysostom*
February 12, 2008	*Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John of Chrysostom*

Same Breaks except Nikolaevsk students return from Christmas Break January 8th (Synaxis of the Mother of God, St. Joseph the Bethrothed, Hieromartyr Euthymius of Sardiss) rather than January 9th

Saturday School:

December 8, 2007
April 12, 2008

Appendix 4
KPBSD[109] Variance Calendar 2008-2009

Katchemak Selo/Voznesenka/Razdolna Schools:
August 5, 2007-May 20, 2008

"Legal Holidays and Vacation Days"

Legal Holidays (all KBPSD):

July 4, 2008	*Independence Day*
September 1, 2008	*Labor Day*
November 27 and 28, 2008	*Thanksgiving Break*
December 25, 2008	*Christmas (Gregorian)*
January 1, 2009	*New Year's Day*
May 25, 2009	*Memorial Day*

Vacation Days:

August 19, 2008	*The Transfiguration of the Lord; Blessing of Fruits*
August 28, 2008	*Dormition of Mother of God, Patron Holy Day of Syndey*
August 29, 2008	[Saturday in 2007] *Icon of Christ not made by hands*
September 11, 2008	*Beheading of St. John the Forerunner*
	[September 21, 2008, *Nativity of the Mother of God,* a Saturday]
	[September 27, 2008, *Exaltation of the Holy Cross of the Lord,* a Saturday]
October 9, 2008	*Repose of St. John the Theologian*
October 14, 2008	[Sunday in 2007] *The Protection of the Mother of God*
November 21, 2008	[2007 an "In Service", teachers-only day] *Synaxis of the Holy Archangel Michael*
November 26, 2008	*St. John Chrysostom*
December 4, 2008	*Entry of Mother of God into the Temple*
Winter Break[110]	December 19, 2007-January 2, 2009; 19th through 4th counting weekends
January 7, 2009	*The Nativity of Christ*
January 8, 2009	*Synaxis of the Mother of God*
January 14, 2009	*Circumcision of our Lord*
January 19, 2009	*Holy Theophany of the Lord; Blessing of the Holy Water*

[109] <http://www.kpbsd.k12.ak.us/students_parents.aspx?id=262>
[110] [District-wide December 22, 2008-January 2-2009; 20th through 4th counting weekends]

February 12, 2009	*Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom*
[February 15, 2009 a Sunday]	
April 7, 2009	*Annunciation of the Mother of God*
Spring Break[111]	April 20, 2009-April 24, 2009; 18th through 26th counting weekends
	Bright Week: April 19th The Bright Resurrection of Christ, Holy Pascha (Easter)
May 13, 2008	*Holy Apostle James, son of Zebedee; St. Nikita, Bishop of Novgorod*
May 21, 2008	*Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian*

Saturday School:

August 23, 2008
September 13, 2008
November 22, 2008
January 17, 2009
May 16, 2009

Nikolaevsk School:

August 13, 2008-May 21, 2009; May 21, 2009 a Vacation day

Legal Holidays same for all KPBSD

Katchemak Selo/Voznesenka/Razdolna Vacation days on which Nikolaevsk School is <u>not</u> closed:

August 19, 2008	*The Transfiguration of the Lord; Blessing of Fruits*
August 28, 2008	"In Service Day", *Dormition of Mother of God, Patron Holy Day of Syndey*
August 29, 2008	*Icon of Christ not made by hands*
October 9, 2008	*Repose of St. John the Theologian*
October 14, 2008	*The Protection of the Mother of God*
November 26, 2008	*St. John Chrysostom*
Same Winter Break	
February 12, 2009	*Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John of Chrysostom*
Same Spring Break	
May 13, 200	*Holy Apostle James, son of Zebedee; St. Nikita, Bishop of Novgorod*

[111] [District-wide March 16, 2009-March 20, 2009; 14th through 22nd counting weekends]

Saturday School:

September 13, 2008
January 10, 2009

Appendix 5:
Table of Nikolaevsk Publishing Company Texts

Title[112]	Bilingual	Coloring	Children's Story	Oral History and Songs	"How to…"	In Nik. Store	In Nik. School Library	In Nik. School Lobby	Church of Nativity Online Category[i]
Russian OB Cookbook	YES								
Our Village	YES					YES		YES	Children Russian Culture (RC)
Folk Songs of the Staroveri	YES					YES	YES	YES	
Russian Wedding Songs	YES					YES	YES		
A Story of Nik.	YES								Old Rite Studies (ORS)
How We Escaped from Russia	YES					YES	YES		
Tiger Hunting	YES					YES		YES	ORS[113] Children
Guerrillas	YES							YES	

[112] As listed on NPC order form.
[113] This book no longer found in either of these categories as of 25 April, 2009

Title	Bilingual	Coloring	Children's Story	Oral History and Songs	"How To…"	In Nik. Store	In Nik. School Library	In. Nik. School Lobby	Church of the Nativity Online Category
5th Grade Taxidermy	YES					YES			
Fur Hats	YES					YES	YES		
...Mount a Fish	YES					YES	YES	YES	
...make a Talichka	YES					YES	YES	YES	ORS
...make a Sarafan	YES					YES	YES	YES	
Granny Lusha and the Fantastic Hat	YES					YES		YES	Children
Filinka and Ulinka	YES					YES		YES	Children
Golden Ears	YES					YES		YES	Children
Russian Embroidery Patterns	N/A	[114]				YES	YES	YES	ORS RC

[114] I met three young girls who used these patterns as coloring books.

Title	**Bilingual**	**Coloring**	**Children's Story**	**Oral History and Songs**	**"How To…"**	**In Nik. Store**	**In Nik. School Library**	**In. Nik. School Lobby**	**Church of the Nativity Online Category**
Fall Traditions	English only					YES	YES	YES	ORS
Russian Wedding Song Cassette	Russian Vocals Only								
Russian Games	English only					YES	YES	YES	Children RC
Nikolaevsk: 1st 25 years	English only[115]					YES	YES		
Folk Medicine of the Staroveri	YES					YES	YES	YES	
Brief History of Nik.	English only								
Russian Alphabet Book	YES							YES	Children

[115] This was a recording of Anglophone Bob Moore's recollections.

Title	**Bilingual**	**Coloring**	**Children's Story**	**Oral History and Songs**	**"How To…"**	**In Nik. Store**	**In Nik. School Library**	**In Nik. School Lobby**	**Church of Nativity Online**
Stitch after Stitch: New Russian Embroidery Patterns	N/A								ORS
Tanya's Hairstyles	English only					YES			
Stories	Russian only								
Old Believers	Unknown							YES	
TOTAL		3	4	11	11	19	12	16	12

[i] Categories of the Church of the Nativity Bookstore Online https://securehost85.hrwebservices.net/~cotn/shopping
First number represents what available in August 2008, second number that available in April 2009
CD-ROM (2/3); Leaflets and Booklets (79/80); Books: Apologetics (36/35), Art & Architecture (2220), Becoming Orthodox (21/21), Bible & Commentaries (44/47), Children (114/113), Contemporary Strugglers (22/21), Cookbooks (9), History (65/67), Instructional (91/95), Lives of Saints (139), Marriage& Family (28/29), Old Rite Studies (27/26), Orthodoxy & Other Religions (46/45), Patristics (84/89), Pilgrim's Guides (7/8), Prayers & Services (40/42), Russian Culture (41), Theology (78/79), Other Books (18); Icons & Crosses (51/59); CDs & Tapes (16/19); Videos & DVDs (35/36); Miscellaneous (26/28).