

<sup>21</sup> Garkovets A.N. *Tiurskie iazyki na Ukraine*. – Kiev, 1988. – P. 45, 50.

<sup>22</sup> Liganova L. *Pro osoblyvosti panaira – prestol' nogo sviata grekiv Pryazov'ia* // *Shidnyi svit*. – № 1. – 2000. – Pp. 46 – 52.

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## **ЕТНІЧНА ІСТОРІЯ МАРІУПОЛЬСЬКИХ ГРЕКІВ: ПРОБЛЕМИ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ**

*Стаття присвячена проблемам етнічної історії мариупольських греків. На сьогоднішній день не існує обґрунтованих теорій їх походження та поділу на етнічні групи – румеїв (еллінофонів) і румеїв (тюркофонів). Ці питання можливо вирішити тільки за допомогою ареальних етноісторичних досліджень в Кримсько-Малоазійському та Балканському регіонах.*

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## **THE FORMATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND NATIONALISM: IMMIGRANTS FROM UKRAINE IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1870 – 1914)**

The immigration of Ukrainian people from their home country to North America both caused and resulted in the formation of cultural identities and nationalism. Although not demanding a territorial state of their own, people from Ukraine were simultaneously striving for the autonomy of their various traditions and, in particular, their indigenous languages.

From 1870 until the beginning of the First World War, more than a half million people belonging to the Ruthenian ethnicity immigrated from Ukraine to Canada and the United States and, almost all have been assimilated becoming Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian-Americans<sup>1</sup>. Seeking to establish new identity, these people formed nationalism that was suppressed (or tolerated) by governments of their new homeland which sought to Americanize or Russify them in the name of national destiny<sup>2</sup>. Ukrainians, however, considered the formation of nationalism as their right as well as the destiny of their people.

Viewing the immigration of Ukrainians to North America as an important factor in the development of Ukrainian nationalism, this paper focuses on the formation of various cultural identities and nationalism of Ukrainian immigrants in the “New World”.

The following questions will be considered: 1) were the ‘Ruthenians’ capable of developing their own tradition, beliefs and languages vis-à-vis the North-American culture?; 2) did the awakened in the mid-nineteenth century Ukrainian self-consciousness, experience a renaissance or will it assimilated to the North American culture?; 3) did the first Ukrainian immigration from Galychyna (Galicia) in 1870 – 1914 develop any identities other than that of ‘local peasantry’?

When immigrants relate the circumstances that made them leave their homeland, their stories reveal the organization of their lives with respect to family, neighbourhood, region, nation and religion. Moreover, immigrants and their experiences make apparent the tensions between individuals and nation states. They attest to the mobility of nation states, assimilated and meet their residents’.

The recollections of the Ukrainian immigrant William Andrew (Vasyl’ Andrii) Czumer to Canada and the publications by western historians of Ukrainian descent provide insight into the everyday life of an Ukrainian immigrant before World War I.

According to the Russian Empire census of 1897, 93 % of the so called “Little Russian” population within the Russian empire were peasants. 57 % of them were poor peasants, and 30 % belonged to middle-class peasantry.

Without industrialization, urbanization and some cultural freedom, nation building and the formation of identity would have been impossible<sup>3</sup>. The contemporary *risorgimento nationalism* was a movement absolutely unknown

to the peasantry. Loyal to the Tsar, fear of God, dread of the 25 year military service and of being uprooted from the village community (*mir*), the Ruthenian peasant all contributed to the estrangement from his home country<sup>4</sup>. Similarly social and economic conditions in Ukrainian lands under Austrian rule degraded Ruthenians to a poor, peasant minority. The Ruthenian elite of Galychyna had already assimilated with the Polish nobles in the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. As in Russia, Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary were rarely represented in the cities. In 1902, 95% of the Ruthenian population was peasant and of them 80 % was poor peasantry. A middle-class did not exist among the Ruthenians, the intelligentsia was formed by a numerous gentry<sup>5</sup>.

The illiteracy rate in Western Ukraine was high just as in Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire: 90 % of Ruthenians were not able to read or write. The peasant from Galychyna, no matter whether he or she was of Polish or Ruthenian descent did possess an ethnical consciousness. However he or she was not so much as aware of two main components associated with the formation of a separate ethnical consciousness – language and tradition<sup>6</sup>. The Ruthenian peasantry under both autocracies, the Russian and the Austrian, was estranged from its Ruthenian heritage and largely subject to all forms of assimilation.

### Emigrating as “Little Russians” and “Ruthenians”

The first Ruthenian immigrants are recorded in the U.S. census of 1790<sup>7</sup>, but Ruthenian names occur in records even earlier<sup>8</sup>. However historically ‘first immigration’ of Ruthenians to North America is dated to the year 1870.

The great majority of these immigrants to the U.S. and to Canada<sup>9</sup>, immigrated from Austrian-Hungarian territories with a Ruthenian population: 85 % of the Ruthenians immigrated from the provinces of Bukovyna (‘Carpatho Ruthenia’), and from Galychyna and the remaining 15 % came from the districts (guberniyas): Volhynia, Podolia, Kyiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, and Kherson.

In the beginning, immigrants from Ukraine called themselves ‘Rusyn’, ‘Ruthenians’, or ‘Little Russians’ – reflecting Ukrainian self-perception as the “product of the colonial consciousness”. This ‘Little Russian’ – mentality was responsible for their unwillingness to identify themselves as Ukrainian or to display sentiments of Ukrainian nationalism<sup>10</sup>.

Being aware of their contradictory identity, many Ruthenian immigrants from Habsburg territories adopted the name, “Ukrainian” later on, in order to indicate that their national awareness and national aspirations as well as their native tongue were censored in the occupied Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire.

On the other hand, as is quite common among immigrants whose nation state had not yet come into existence, most of the Ruthenian immigrants defined themselves with the provincial regions in Europe from which they came from – like Germany, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

The economic hardship and exploitation in late feudal structures of industrially underdeveloped Galychyna made Ukrainians leave their home country for North America. This occurred before the official abolishing of serfdom in Austria in 1848, and in Ukrainian lands under the Russian empire in 1861. The peasants learned about countries in the so-called New World, which promised freedom and as land of plenty<sup>11</sup>.

There are in fact seven reasons for Ruthenian immigration: 1. the population explosion between 1880 and 1900 (80 % increase); 2. the lack of industrialization to provide greater employment; 3. the agrarian system and splitting of farming land into small pieces; 4. growing peasant indebtedness (due to excessive taxation) resulting in a feeling of hopelessness; 5. the prospect of the ‘quick dollar’ overseas; 6. the stimulation of shipping line agents and representatives of American corporate concerns in search of new labour pools for the expanding U.S. industrial complex; 7. letters and money from immigrant families telling about the opportunities abroad<sup>12</sup>.

Mykhailo Stests’ko from the village of Strilkvisti, Borshchiv region, Galychyna, is a good example for an illiterate Ruthenian peasant, working on a landlord’s estate and being aware of his possibility to escape from lord and the manor: “Mendel wanted us to work like oxen. I was married and we had three children. We had a small cottage and a piece of garden. My father didn’t leave me any property when he died because he too had worked all his life at the manor [...] The landlord was sitting on the veranda, smoking a long-stemmed pipe. [...] I walked up to him and kissed his hand. That was the custom. Peasants kissed the hand of the landlord and the priest. [...] “I came to tell you, sir, that I want to emigrate to Canada.“ [...] “You’re tired of serving on the manor, eh Mykhailo?” “No, I’m not tired of it, sir, and if worked for you alone, I’d work and stay on the estate till death, but to work for Mendel – honest to God, I can’t. I want to go to Canada and be my own master there. [...] In Borshchiv I found the bank, walked in and handed the note from landlord Khodorovsky. The cashier looked over it, verified the landlord’s signature and told me to sign on the reverse side. I blushed and told him that I couldn’t write. He then called another clerk who signed my name and told me to make a cross. This was the first time in my life that I signed my name with a cross and the first time in my thirty-one years that I owned a hundred crowns. In Canada I’ve made many crosses and since then have learned what a cheque is”<sup>13</sup>.

Beginning with the eighties of the nineteenth century, an organized emigration took place. Attracted by land

offers, twenty-four to thirty thousand impoverished peasants of the Eastern Galychyna region immigrated to Brazil. In September 1891, two peasants from the village of Nebyliv in Galychyna, Ivan Pillipiw and Vasyl' Eleniak became the first documented Ruthenians to Canada<sup>14</sup>. The following is an excerpt from the story of one Ruthenian called Ivan Pyllipiw, age thirty-two, married, father of three children, Greek Catholic, farmer: "Last year, 1891, I sold part of my land and after having paid my debts I had 156 crowns and 50 cents left. With this money I went to America [...]. We rode to Calgary because there was no railway from Edmonton yet. We made our way to Greenfields. There was land everywhere; land wherever you went, all empty. Just take a plough and start ploughing. Not like in the Old Country, where people worked small, narrow strips or didn't even have a bit of garden. [...] There was enough to drink and to eat. We spoke with the older people in our own language, but the young ones already knew English. They told us how hard it was in the beginning – for three, four years it was hard but once they established themselves, things got better"<sup>15</sup>.

Between 1870 and the beginning of World War I, 600,000 Ruthenians left the Habsburg empire for North and South America.

About 400,000 of them immigrated to the United States<sup>16</sup>, and 150,000 primarily for a agricultural settlement in Canada. The most impoverished Galychyna peasants (about 50,000) managed to get to Argentina and Brazil.

In earlier days, immigrants came as cheap labor with European and American steamships and fleeing from service in the Austro-Hungarian Army<sup>17</sup>; but the economic reasons for their immigration remained predominant at least until World War II. In this context, several tens of thousands of single men and women were sent to Canada by their families simply to earn money and to send it home<sup>18</sup>.

The Austro-Hungarian government was not content with the immigration at all<sup>19</sup>. Concerned about shortage of cheap labour, the Empire blamed the "Exodus of Transcarpathians" for the agricultural crisis in Hungary; on the other hand there was the positive impact on the Galician peasant economy caused by the overseas-earnings sent back to the home country.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia, as the defender of an Ruthenian identity at home, held different views about the immigration issue. While the clergy was concerned about a reduced population that would threaten the Ukrainian group in Galychyna, the Radicals legitimized immigration as a salvation for the peasant.

The prototype of the Ruthenian immigrant from to Canada was young, had only some rudimentary education, rarely any political understanding of the constitutional system of Austro-Hungary, spoke or/and understood some Polish and German, and was seeking the quarter section of 160 acres of land for a \$10 fee as offered by the Canadian homestead policy. The majority of them settled in the prairies of southern Manitoba east of Edmonton<sup>20</sup>. The first real colony of Ruthenians in Manitoba started in 1896, however, already in the next two years the number of close Ruthenian communities increased. They settled in communities to provide each other with material and psychological support in the unfamiliar and inhospitable lands<sup>21</sup>.

Following the fates of the early immigrants, the second problem beneath the extreme poverty was the language barrier<sup>22</sup>.

In contrast to the Ukrainian agricultural settlement in Canada, immigrants of Ruthenian descent to the U.S. settled from the beginning in the industrial cities of the Northeast – and until today 90 per cent of them inhabit the urban regions of the Northeast. They arrived after an economic crisis within in a period of industrial growth.

The minority of Ruthenians settled in the countryside. Before 1914, there existed farm communities with their own churches in Michigan, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Virginia, Georgia, Texas, and Hawaii. By 1936, 36 rural communities with 26,000 Ruthenian population were counted. U.S. statistics show that of 147,375 Ruthenian immigrants to the States between 1899 and 1910, 128,460 claimed to have had some former employment. The overwhelming majority among the immigrants to Canada (97,2 %), had been peasants, unskilled labours, or servants; only 2 % claimed to be a skilled worker and 0,08 % (109 Ukrainian immigrants) said that they used to be professionals or businessmen in their home country<sup>23</sup>. The situation of the peasant after his arrival on the American continent seemed altogether not to be better than their situation in the Old World. What remained and what linked the Ruthenians was their common hope for a new future and their deep faith in their God-given fate. As William Czumer states, ethnic awareness was simply unknown to the first Ruthenian peasant arriving in the U.S., though their common language and national and religious traditions bound them together<sup>24</sup>.

According to Procko's study almost none of the early immigrants from Galychyna or Transcarpathia were able to reply to the immigration officials, whose job it was to place all the immigrants in a national identity category, either about their Ukrainian or their Ruthenian origins. This is why they merely became Austrians or Hungarians in the immigration records.

There is no doubt the 'first immigrants' were quickly aware of their shared culture. The church and the traditions of religious life were factors of integration, at least for the Ruthenians in the Austro-Hungarian empire yet meant an integrating factor<sup>25</sup>. However, instead of forming their all-Ruthenian-immigrants' national identity, they separated into different churches. Since then, the church played the leading role in religious patriotism, but rather

separated<sup>26</sup> than united the Ruthenian matter in the U.S. Another example is the consciousness of peasants who came to Canada as Ruthenian-Galician Greek Catholics (the overwhelming majority) or Ruthenian-Bukovynian Orthodox renaming themselves Ukrainian Catholics or Ukrainian Orthodox or Russian Orthodox<sup>27</sup>.

These different identities correspond with three different emancipation processes of the Ruthenian American in general: The forming of an ethno-national Ukrainian identity (ca. 40 % of the Ruthenians), of an Carpatho-Ruthenian (ca. 40 per cent), but among the Orthodox Church also a Russian identity (ca. 20 % concerned)<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, it was this very shared religious culture which formed the common ground for the next two emancipation steps on the way up from the 'local' peasant-identity to a more significant identity: education and language.

Immigrations flowed so quickly into Western Canada that the provincial departments of education were not able to find enough qualified teachers. Other populations who came to Canada in an organized manner, had however many teachers with a background of higher education. From 1910 on, schools tended to be more organized.

The poor education of the Ruthenian peasant fostered discrimination against them. They were compared with Native Americans, because of being the poorest coming to Canada and not knowing the English language<sup>29</sup>. Though in theory already with the Public School Act of 1897, bilingual education in English and Ukrainian language had been established. The government of Manitoba by advise of the élite of the intellectual immigrants opened a three-year-program for young, intelligent, secondary educated Ruthenians in Winnipeg in order to educate them to become teachers.

The motif for the subconsequent rise of the educational organizations in Canada were parents, who saw that their children would not have a future unless they would be properly educated.

By the end of 1907, twenty-eight Ukrainian-English teachers graduated in Winnipeg. The first Ukrainian-English teachers, among them William A. Czumer from the so-called 'School for foreigners', were not only fine instructors, but simultaneously leaders in the Ukrainian settlement of Western Canada, who worked either with educated and non-educated<sup>30</sup>.

#### **Emancipation of American and Canadian citizens and ethnonational Ukrainians<sup>31</sup>**

A small group called *narodovtsi* (populists) or *Drahomanivtsi* had been the most prominent promoters of the formation of an Ukrainian identity in Canada. Their hope for progress in the everyday life of Ruthenian immigrants was education and national awareness on a 'bread-and-butter-basis'<sup>32</sup>. Under the leadership of the editor T.D. Ferley they spread Ukrainian messages in reading clubs, during lectures, plays, concerts and all kinds of entertainment, Czumer remembers<sup>33</sup>. Due to a proper command of English and public school education for the children, the general awareness of becoming a citizen of Canada was raised among the Ruthenian immigrants.

Fereley became aware of doing something for Canada when clearing the land of bush, pulling stumps and roots from the ground, building roads, farms, public buildings, schools, towns and villages. They became more and more interested in their new home country and in the politics of Canada. On the other hand, the Canadian politics revealed this ethnic minority as voters and taxpayers. What the Canadian politicians had not expected was the enormous awareness of their constitutional rights. It was on 20 August 1913 when the Canadian minister of education, J.R. Boyle, shocked the Ruthenian community in Canada, announcing the 'Control of Ruthenian schools'. The "Galicians", according to Boyle, would continue to keep their children from attending public schools, blamed Ukrainian English teachers for 'political instigation's and published a law with the title 'Strong measure are necessary'<sup>34</sup>. The context behind this conflict was that Boyle did only send English-speaking-teachers, so that no Ruthenian child would make progress in learning. The pro-Boyle press moreover accused the native "Ukrainian (English – *F.G.*) teachers' of separatism: "These Ruthenians teachers have only one idea, and that is to instruct the children and parents that as they were persecuted in Galicia by Polaks, in Russia by Russians, so they are persecuted in Canada by English fanatics; at election time their idea is to work against the Government.

We all saw teachers Czumer, Sytnik, Bozik, Mykytiuk, etc., on the platforms at Vegreville and Mundare talking to the people and telling them that 'the rule of the English cowboy is finished; we are now in charge; we are a nation able to govern our own matters, and so on'<sup>35</sup>.

Aware of their ethnic Ukrainian identity (calling themselves no longer 'Ruthenians') and aware of their rights were two aspects which guaranteed them a status as Canadian citizens and taxpayers by the democratic Canadian constitution. The Ukrainian English teachers defined themselves different from the Canadian government in order to win over the Ruthenian community for the building of a conscious Ukrainian movement<sup>36</sup>. The new possibilities for a Ukrainian consciousness in a democratic country is well expressed by the resolution of the Ukrainians of Edmonton forwarded to the premier's deputy. Hereby, the Ukrainians protest against provocative actions that would have taken by Minister Boyle. Boyle, in his dislike of everything Ukrainian, insulted publicly all Ukrainians and their language by publishing at public expense a translation of the School Act in Russian language: "It is the language of traitors and renegades, used exclusively by provocateurs and paid agents of the

Russian government to disseminate the glorification of the tsar among the Ukrainians and to support the lie that there is no such thing as a Ukrainian nation, but only 'Little Russians' who speak a Russian dialect. 4. We declare that we will not tolerate further provocation from the Department of Edmonton until we are shown respect for our language and our civil liberties"<sup>37</sup>.

In the U.S., the ethnic Ukrainian community finished its emancipation process already around 1894. This was because of the earlier immigration to the U.S. as well as the industrial context (daily-life and strikes in concurrence with other ethnic minorities etc.) in the Pittsburgh steel mills that favoured the identification process, at least more than the agricultural idyll of Alberta and Manitoba could. With refer to the model of Jan Molenda, the Ruthenians peasant in Canada had only reached the first stage of consciousness until World War I, including their attachment to the native language, religion, land, and folk culture of the region. Instructed by teachers and priests the immigrants had gained an awareness of one's ethnical separateness, here of the Ruthenian peasant's and his children as belonging to the Ukrainian traditions. Whereas the Ruthenian peasant who immigrated to the United States was aware of this heritage already in the last years of the 19th century. Regarding that what Molenda<sup>38</sup> calls the second stage and applying it to the condition of the first generation, means the realization of the immigrants' existence in a democratic society as well as the desire and challenge of realizing this society as their very own.

In 1894 Ukrainian priests from Galicia formed in Shanokin, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of priest and editor Hrushka the Ukrainian National Association (Ruskyi Narodnyi Soiuz – "UNA"). Already on 1 November 1893, Father Hrushka published in *Svoboda* an article entitled 'We need a National Organization' with a clear appeal to the Ruthenians for an national awaking within a national Ruthenian organization<sup>39</sup>. In 1894 the UNA had 439 members, by 1912 there were already 14 917 members . Moreover, between 1895 and 1907 the UNA became a strong vehicle of Americanization, Ukrainization, and political action in the Ukrainian ethnonational camp<sup>40</sup>. At hand of the slogans "Let's Americanize" and "Let's be critical of that which is bad in America but by all means let's take advantage of that which is good", the UNA-organ tried to Americanize the Ruthenians from American Ruthenians ("It is clear that we are Americans because we live on American soil, we eat American bread") to Ukrainian-Americans<sup>41</sup>.

The adoption of the American or the Canadian identity was for the Ruthenian peasant far more matter-of-course than the formation of a Ukrainian ethnic identity. Above all, there was the adoption of a citizenship. Because of the United States and Canada, and not due to either a not even existing Ukrainian State nor an abstract Ukrainian consciousness, which guaranteed the immigrants their welfare.

In North America, the former manor peasant became a farmer with at least 10 ha land. In other words, he emerged from serfdom to ownership. Around the 1910 U.S. census, the UNA gazette urged its readers to indicate that they spoke the 'Ruthenian language'. The national-progressive identity 'to be an Ukrainian' in contrast of the passive existence as a Ruthenian became increasingly popular among the immigrants from the Ukrainian lands. Indeed, the national propaganda of the UNA and its newspaper *Svoboda* did not aim at establishing a national Ukrainian identity by convincing their members and readers to read *Svoboda*, Franko, and Shevchenko<sup>42</sup>, to awake and afterwards to preserve the Ukrainian ethnical identity far away from the Ukrainian lands. On the other hand they were aware that basic Americanization was a necessary development for a identity as Ukrainian-American citizens.

We may conclude that the first modern Ukrainian State of mind declared its independence in North America and not in the Ukrainian lands. The New World formed the right frame to enable the immigrants to speak their own language, develop their cultural heritage, and even form an ethnonational identity<sup>43</sup>. With regard to the Ukrainian national questions this "state" had only apolitical implications.

Widely known, in this context, is the dilemma of Poland having its Paderewski, the Czechs their Masaryk, but the Ukrainians failing to present leadership, to form an Ukrainian lobby, strategic planning and contacts to the establishment in Western democracies – to demonstrate the Ukrainian matter as a matter worth fighting politically for<sup>44</sup>.

This study aimed at outlining the process of identity formation in North America. First, the Ruthenian peasant – for whom the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox denomination was equivalent to their cultural and ethnic heritage at all – adopted either the Canadian and the U.S.-American identity. Thus, Canadianization and Americanization was perceived by the Ruthenian peasant not as being similar to Russification, but only as a mere increase in civilization, offering them last not least constitutional rights.

With knowledge of these rights, the Ruthenian American/Canadian peasantry was facing the next step of identity formation. This next step introduced by the progressive élites, the priests and the Ukrainian English-teachers. The message of the medium was called 'Ukrainization'. While in the countryside of Alberta and Manitoba the Ruthenian-Canadian farmer took the campaign for what it was: benefits in form of clerical service, schooling, and cultural life on a low level. Whereas in the industrialized U.S.-American context Ukrainization was already given a national-political sense.

The agitators of UNA and *Svoboda* conceived the Ruthenian immigrant to form a Ukrainian-American identity

in the positivist sense of fighting for an autonomous Ukrainian State on the basis of American citizenship.

Finally, we may come up with the question, whether the nowadays assimilated Ukrainian North Americans are not the better patriots compared to 48 million people in the Ukrainian Republic said to live in a “state of national unconsciousness”<sup>745</sup>

In general, the modern Ukraine could benefit from the experiences of the immigration of their forefathers as citizens to Canada and the United States for many reasons.

<sup>1</sup> According to current official Ukrainian statistics some two million ethnic Ukrainians live in the United States, about one million in Canada. The largest number of Ukrainians abroad live in Russia (4,3 million), “Informatsiyni Biuletyn Mds. NmiR”, 1995. – № 1. – Pp. 45 – 46.

<sup>2</sup> Thelen, David. *Toward a Comparative and Transnational Perspective on History*. // *Skhid – Zakhid: Istorychno-kul'turovyi zbirnyk*. Vyp. 3. – Kharkiv, 2001. – Pp. 5 – 22, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Takach, Arthur. In search of Ukrainian national identity: 1840 – 1921. // *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 19 (1996). – Pp. 644 – 645.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem. “[...], there is no doubt that the Ukrainian awakeners had to encounter almost insurmountable obstacles in their efforts to disseminate national ideas among the peasant population. What further complicated their efforts was the fact that the language of instruction was Russian, which in Ukraine was poorly understood, and that the public school system served as a potent agency of Russian imperial socialization. Consequently, as many scholars have stated, the overwhelming majority of peasants had only a very poorly developed sense of national identity, if any at all”.

<sup>5</sup> “Thus, Western Ukrainian society in the last century consisted mostly of two social groups: peasants and priests”. – Ibidem. – P. 647.

<sup>6</sup> Zięba, Andrzej. *Gente Rutheni, Nazione Poloni*, in: *Polska Akademia Umiejętności*. Vol. II (1995). – P. 69; As in Russia, so in Austro-Hungary urbanization didn't play a role in the formation of a modern Ruthenian industrial society – in 1900 only 14% of the urban population in Western Galicia, and 25% to 30% in Eastern Galicia, was Ruthenian; “In fact, ethnicity enters the political sphere as ‘nationalism’ at times when cultural homogeneity or continuity is required by the economic base of social life, and when consequently culture-linked class differences become noxious, while ethnically unmarked, gradual class differences remain tolerable”. See Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. – Oxford, 1993. – P. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Magocsi, Paul Robert. ‘Ukrainians’. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic groups*. – Harvard 1980. – P. 998.

<sup>8</sup> Kuropas, Myron B. *The Ukrainian Americans*. – Toronto, 1991. – Pp. 16 – 20.

<sup>9</sup> Gerus, O.W. and Rea, J.E. *The Ukrainians in Canada*. – Ottawa, 1985. – P. 4.

<sup>10</sup> “The Little Russian mentality is the consequence of that dramatic cleavage of the collective self, which means that million of ‘locals’ on the one hand no longer have the courage to identify themselves with Ukraine or the Ukrainian national feeling and on the other hand do not want to renounce the remains of their Ukrainian heritage and move on to a full identification with Russia and the Russian nation. The ethnic schizophrenia gives rise to that curious halfway-house formula, – We aren't Russians; we aren't Ukrainians either. We are from Odesa, we are from Donbas, we were born and bred in Kyiv. The anaesthetic phrases ‘it doesn't matter’ or ‘they are almost one and the same nation [the Russians and the Ukrainians]’ or they have the same origin”, Ryabchuk, Mykola: From ‘Little Russia’ to ‘Indo-Europe’: the stereotype of the nation in the Ukrainian social consciousness and social thought, in: Teresa Walas (ed.). *Stereotypes and Nations*. – Krakow, 1995. – P. 124.

<sup>11</sup> According to contemporary sociological studies of the International Organization of Migration economic aspects have been, in comparison to religious and political aspects by far (70 %) the main motivation to leave Ukraine, Malynovs'ka, O. Vid analizu do rozrobky kontseptsii. Osoblyvosti mihratsiinoi sytuatsii v Ukraini. // *Polityka i Chas*, 1995 (10). – P. 47; see also Andrushchenko /Mykhalchenko/ Prybytkova. *Mihratsiine buttia v Ukraini*. R. VIII. // *Mihratsiini protsesy v suchasnomu sviti*. Entsyklopedia. Pid. red. J. Rymarenka. – Kyiv, 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Kuropas. *Ukrainain Americans*. – Pp. 21 – 22.

<sup>13</sup> Czumer, William A. *About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*. – Edmonton, 1981. – Pp. 28 – 31.

<sup>14</sup> Gerus, op. cit. – P. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Czumer, op. cit. – P. 14, 20.

<sup>16</sup> “Officially, a total of 254.376 Ruthenian immigrants arrived in the United States between 1899 and 1914” / Kuropas. *Ukrainian Americans*. – P. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Magocsi. *Ukrainians*. – P. 998.

<sup>18</sup> Gerus, op. cit. – P. 6.

<sup>19</sup> The continuous mass emigration of peasantry alarmed the Austrian authorities and especially the big land owners, faced with the loss of cheap village labor. Despite all efforts to stem the tide the land hungry peasants were so interested in Canada's free land that nothing could stop them from going. Not only the poor went, but even the well-to-do who had the resources and money for such a long trip. How could one not go when it was possible to acquire 160 acres of land for only ten dollars. These 160 acres were what lured the peasant to think he could become rich”. / Czumer, op. cit. – P. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Sifton was sharply criticized for his „policy of encouraging ‘herds of half-civilized Galicians’, as the Ukrainians were commonly known, to settle in Western Canada”. / Gerus, op. cit. – P. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

- <sup>22</sup> Czumer, op. cit. – Pp. 45 – 47.
- <sup>23</sup> Magocsi. Ukrainians. – P. 999.
- <sup>24</sup> Czumer, op. cit. – P. 49.
- <sup>25</sup> “The loss of religion – their longing for their homeland and their native customs and way of life - spurred the pioneers to united action to create familiar surrounding in a foreign land” / *ibidem.* – P. 51.
- <sup>26</sup> “By the time structured religious life took root within the Ukrainian Catholic community, secular influences, absent in Galicia, had begun to assert themselves in Canada. The inability of the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop, Budka, to adjust new conditions generated tensions which by 1918 led to a division within the Catholic community and the formation of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church. The new church consisted of former Catholics and Bukovynians” / Gerus, op. cit. – P. 14.
- <sup>27</sup> Czumer, op. cit. – P. 135.
- <sup>28</sup> Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – Pp. 124 – 125.
- <sup>29</sup> Czumer, op. cit. – Pp. 61 – 64.
- <sup>30</sup> “Out of a frightened, downtrodden Galician-Ruthenian, these teachers created an aware Ukrainian Canadian” / *Ibidem.* – P. 70.
- <sup>31</sup> “The making of an Ukrainian in America, that is, the metamorphosis of the immigrant from Ukrainian lands from a Ruthenian religiocultural identity to a Ukrainian ethnonational identity, [...]” / Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – P. 74.
- <sup>32</sup> Magocsi, Paul R. A history of Ukraine. – Toronto, 1996. – P. 377.
- <sup>33</sup> Czumer, op. cit. – P. 87.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibidem.* – P. 105.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibidem.* – P. 112.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibidem.* – P. 114.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibidem.* – Pp. 117 – 118.
- <sup>38</sup> Molenda scopes on the formation of the national consciousness of the Polish peasants enslaved by the Poland occupying empires. The term ‘national consciousness’ fits not on the Ukrainians in immigration, because a nation defines itself by the territories the nationality is living on, too, Molenda, Jan. The formation of national consciousness of the Polish peasant and the part they played in the regaining of independence by Poland. / *Acta Poloniae Historica* 63 – 63 (1991). – Pp. 123 – 124.
- <sup>39</sup> Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – Pp. 75 – 76.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibidem.* – Pp. 76 – 77.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibidem.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibidem.* – Pp. 85 – 86.
- <sup>43</sup> “Over all, the pre-World War I period especially prior to 1910, proved to be the most enlightened and productive era in Ukrainian-American History. [...] In terms of ethnonational growth this was an era that would never be equalled” / Kuropas, Myron B. The Centenary of the Ukrainian emigration to the United States. / Paul Robert Magocsi (ed.), *The Ukrainian experience in the United States.* – Cambridge, Massachusetts 1979. – P. 42.
- <sup>44</sup> Compare for example: Pavliuk, Oleksandr. *Borot’ba Ukrainy za nezalezhnist’ i polityka SSHA (1917 – 1923).* – Kyiv 1996.
- <sup>45</sup> Ryabchuk, op. cit. – P. 120.

**Франк ГРЕЛКА**  
**Бохум**

## **ФОРМУВАННЯ КУЛЬТУРНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ І НАЦІОНАЛІЗМ: ІМІГРАНТИ З УКРАЇНИ В КАНАДІ І СПОЛУЧЕНИХ ШТАТАХ АМЕРИКИ (1870 – 1914)**

*В статті зазначається, що процеси формування ідентичності в Канаді і США відрізнялися один від одного. На першій стадії українські селяни, для яких греко-католицьке або православне віросповідання було цілком рівноцінним їхній культурній і етнічній спадщині, сприйняли також канадську і американську ідентичність. Канадизація і американізація, на відміну від русифікації, сприймалася українськими селянами як зростання рівня цивілізованості, забезпечення конституційних прав. На основі цього американські/ канадські українські селяни були чутливими до наступної стадії формування ідентичності. Цей процес був підтриманий в засобах масової інформації передовою елітою, священиками, вчителями і дістав назву “українізація”. Українські селяни в Канаді слабо підтримували її здійснення, тоді як в промислово розвиненому американському контексті українізація набула національно-політичного змісту.*