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The globally connected Western Ukrainian village

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ABSTRACT

What analytical framework do we need in order to study villages shaped by intensive and long-lasting migration processes? The author tackles this question by scrutinizing the history of a Western Ukrainian village from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century in a case study. Migrants and non-migrants alike were closely interconnected to each other by manifold networks. This kind of interconnectedness proved to be amazingly persistent and did not lose its function even decades after the migration processes themselves had come to an end due to economic or political caesurae. In order to fully grasp this phenomenon, it is necessary to synthesize migration and village history, striving towards a 'micro history of the globally connected village'.

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Introduction

In summer 2007, Yulia Tymoshenko, wearing a completely white suit, stood on a grass-covered hill next to a white stone cross in a Western Ukrainian village and gave a passionate speech. The leader of a party named after herself (Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc) had just discovered a new group of previously completely neglected voters who should bring victory in her election campaign: Ukrainian migrants or, more precisely, female migrants working in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. One of them was Ol'ha Lypka, a woman in her early 50s who was visiting her family for the very first time after having worked in Naples for five years and was coincidentally at home when Tymoshenko appeared with her entourage. The film team also produced some footage in Lypka's home, filming her playing with her grandchildren and taking an interview with her elderly mother.¹

Tymoshenko's spin-doctors had chosen the site of her appearance with consideration. The stone cross was situated in Rusiv, a tiny village in Western Ukraine's Pokuttia region (Sniatyn county, Ivano-Frankiv'sk oblast') and had been erected in 1898 or 1899 by an elderly villager prior to his migration to Canada. The emotional suffering of the old peasant hesitantly leaving the village after being urged by his enthusiastic children infected with 'migration fever' inspired the writer Vasyly Stefanyk (1871–1936), a native of Rusiv, to his

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famous novel *The Stone Cross*.² Stefanyk's novel, published in 1900, is, to this day, the most renowned piece on migration in Ukrainian literature, creating with the literary figure of Ivan Didukh (who is a mixture of two villagers, Ivan Akhtemiichuk and Stefan Didukh) the idiosyncratic image of the Ukrainian migrant and his reluctance to leave his beloved motherland.³

Tymoshenko tried therefore to draw a straight line from the late nineteenth-century peasants' exodus from the impoverished Habsburg crown land of Galicia to which Rusiv village had belonged to until 1918, to the recent migration processes that haunted post-Soviet Ukraine in the early twenty-first century. In this period of roughly 110 years, the village had belonged to several different states. After the First World War, Eastern Galicia had become a part of the newly established Second Republic of Poland before it was annexed by the Soviets for the first time in autumn 1939 after the Hitler–Stalin Pact. Living through Nazi occupation from 1941 to 1944, the region became once again part of the Soviet Union before Ukraine gained independence in 1991.⁴

The symbolic significance of Rusiv as a *pars pro toto* for the history of Ukrainian migration seemed to me an interesting starting point for a case study investigating the long-term effects of migration processes.⁵ As Rusiv is the linking element between Vasyli Stefanyk's Ivan Didukh and Yulia Tymoshenko's Ol'ha Lypka, it is clear that the village itself had to play a pivotal role in such a study. In her movie, Yulia Tymoshenko tried to bridge the gap of roughly 110 years between those two migrants by referring to a narrative of national suffering. The history of Rusiv is, however, much more complex: from the late nineteenth century to date, the villagers were involved continuously in many different migration processes, had to cope with various political and economic transitions and to adjust to changing migration regimes in order to realize their agendas and projects. The main question is therefore on a more general level: what analytical framework is needed in order to study a village like Rusiv, shaped by intensive and long-lasting migration processes?

In tackling this question, I was much inspired by a concept of Peggy Levitt, an American sociologist working on villagers from the Dominican Republic, who have been migrating to the Boston area from the 1980s onwards. She argues that migrants and non-migrants left behind are, as a rule, closely interconnected to each other by manifold, tight-knit networks. Thus, not only do the migrants' lives change profoundly due to their migration experiences, but the lives of those not directly involved in migration processes also change. They, too, are affected by remittances, monetary as well as cultural or political ones, that transform the social relations within the village.⁶ The village is therefore perceived as relational social space constituted by networks between migrants and non-migrants Levitt calls a 'trans-national village'.⁷ Levitt's study comprises a period of approximately 20 years and does not pay much attention to external political or economic factors. In the case of a Western Ukrainian village in the course of more than 100 years, it is therefore necessary to modify her concept in order to consider numerous political and economic caesurae affecting both the village itself as well as the destinations of the migrants. Such kinds of caesurae determined the functioning of migration processes on different levels, shaped migration regimes and brought, more than once, an end to certain migration patterns (for example, Canadian migration after 1930) while new ones emerged (for example, those due to forced migrations, like the Nazi or Stalinist deportations). So, examining the networks between migrants and non-migrants alike, I pose the question not only of how they emerge and

function, but also of what happens to them when the migration processes themselves come to an end: do they just cease to exist, as one could suggest, or do they rather transform to adjust to new conditions?⁸

In order to grasp this phenomenon fully, it is necessary to somehow synthesize migration and village history, to link global factors to local ones, thus striving towards some kind of 'global micro history', or, in our case, a 'micro history of the globally connected village' as I call this concept. This is a universal approach applicable independently of time and place, for Rusiv as well as for a Scottish or Irish village in the eighteenth century, for instance. The indispensable precondition for realizing every kind of micro historical approach is, of course, the existence of sources. While traditional micro history focuses on lower classes like peasants or artisans, global micro history is, as a rule, applied to higher strata of society who have left more sources than the mobile 'underclass', like Armenian merchants or Hanseatic burgher families.⁹

To use the concept of the 'micro history of the globally connected village' successfully in the case of Western Ukraine poses for this reason a particular challenge. With regard to the availability of a sufficient range of varying sources, Rusiv is a stroke of good luck that highly predestines the village for a case study. The sources were, however, produced unequally by different groups: it was the migrants who produced more sources themselves by writing down their life stories for their offspring, while it was rather the non-migrants about whom sources were produced. As for Rusiv, there is a remarkable abundance of autobiographical accounts¹⁰, obituaries in Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers, as well as much published or unpublished material on the village's history collected by local historians and activists on both sides of the Atlantic.¹² A crucial source illuminating the functioning of networks is, of course, letters exchanged between migrants and non-migrants. In respect to the extended family of the abovementioned writer Vasyl' Stefanyk, letters have been mostly preserved, thus allowing unique insights into transatlantic networks over the course of several decades.¹³ Moreover, untypically for this part of Europe, many administrative sources have survived too. To name only the most important sources: files of the local county court in Sniatyn give insight into the everyday lives of the villagers.¹⁴ There are lists of informers of the interwar Polish police,¹⁵ questionnaires of the so-called emigration syndicate potential migrants had to fill out in the 1930s, personal files of villagers sentenced by the NKVD in the late 1940s and early 1950s¹⁶ as well as rich material on internal Soviet migration in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷ Moreover, I conducted many interviews with villagers of various ages during my research trips, thus elucidating many important aspects not covered by written material. This variety of sources enables us to stick consequently to the micro-historical approach and to focus on the village exclusively, although I sometimes make a compromise and include material from villages directly adjacent to Rusiv. Thus, I also place special emphasis on a narrative style that gives priority to the biographies of villagers, which I try to reconstruct and analyse within their networks and the social space of their native village.

Migration processes from the late 1890s to the break-up of the Soviet Union

The village of Rusiv had 1527 inhabitants according to the 1900 Habsburg census, 1429 of whom were Greek Catholics (Uniates) and indicated Ruthenian (as the Ukrainian language was called in the Habsburg Monarchy) as their *Umgangssprache* (language used at home). Furthermore, there were 20 Roman Catholics (versus 17 Polish speakers) and 77

Jews (versus 81 German speakers; in fact they spoke mostly Yiddish).¹⁸ The congruence of confession and language is typical for the ethnic composition of Eastern Galicia, which was also inseparably connected to the social stratification: the village was economically dominated by the local ‘*pan*’ (landlord) Józef Teodorowicz, a Pole of Armenian descent who owned much of the village’s arable land, while the Ukrainian-speaking peasants were, as a rule, smallholders, predominately grain growers thanks to the fertile black earth soil. Cattle breeding played only a minor role. The villagers’ plots were further diminished by divisions when it came to an inheritance.¹⁹

The idea of Ukrainian migration to Canada came from Iosyp Oles’kiv, an agriculturalist teaching at a Ukrainian teachers’ college in L’viv. This was a reaction to reports on the plight of Ukrainian migrants in Brazil in the 1880s and early 1890s²⁰, but also as a response to the strengthened endeavours of the Canadian Government to populate the province of Manitoba and the districts of Alberta and Assiniboia (today Saskatchewan)^{21,22}. Although the Canadian *Dominion Lands Act* had passed as early as 1872, the settlement of the Prairies was still in the initial phase in mid-1890s. Thus, Oles’kiv sought to grasp the opportunity and envisioned homesteading in the Prairie provinces as an elite project for relatively prosperous peasants owning at least 2–3 hectares of land, worth 1000 Austrian Gulden or more.²³ In 1895, he published a brochure, *Pro vil’ni zemli* (About free lands), in which he praised the advantages of Canada.²⁴ As there was already a relatively large literate peasant middle class who had access to reading halls in almost every Galician village towards the end of the nineteenth century, Oles’kiv’s brochure and its message disseminated quickly.²⁵ Ivan Akhtemiichuk (1836–1914), the first Rusiv migrant and one of the two candidates who might have erected the Stone Cross, fitted quite well into Oles’kiv’s scheme. Although he was obviously unable to read and write, he was one of the wealthier peasants in Rusiv and gained as much as 1600 Gulden when he sold his 3.5 hectares of land prior to his migration.²⁶ From 1898 to 1902, a total of 129 people left Rusiv in seven ‘waves’ – 37.2% of them middle-aged married couples (parents), 57.4% children, 3.9% elderly people (grandparents) and only 1.6% single persons without family.²⁷

One of the most important criteria for the classification of migration processes is the intention.²⁸ The first migrants who left Rusiv I therefore call intended permanent migrants, as they were literally emigrants who sold all their property and went in whole families with the intention of homesteading in the Canadian prairies and never coming back. As early as 1903, however, there can be observed a sharp transition towards intended temporary migration. Now it was mainly men, aged from about 16 to 50, single as well as married, who would go to Canada alone in order to earn money, sometimes commuting back and forth several times. I call this transition *Americanization* of the Canadian migration patterns as this type of migration had been characteristic of US-bound migration from Central and Eastern Europe since the 1870s. As a rule, intended temporary migrants strived to enlarge their farms by buying additional arable land with their savings. Generally they planned to go back although it is clear that in many cases temporary migration would become permanent over time, and not infrequently the intended temporary migrants would move their families to Canada after several years.²⁹ The Americanization of the Canadian migration patterns had been predicted by Iosyp Oles’kiv, the ‘inventor’ of Ukrainian-Canadian migration, although it developed not the way he had imagined.³⁰ It was not the intended permanent migrants, the homesteaders, whom Oles’kiv had deemed to form the future elite, who would employ intended temporary migrants. It soon turned out that the homesteaders themselves had

to look desperately for wage labour in order to afford the establishment of their farms, so they took the possibilities offered in the coal mines of Southern Alberta or (slightly later) the lumber industry in Northern Ontario and thus attracted intended temporary migrants from their native villagers who, too, were in need of money to extend their farms – only not in the Prairies, but at home.³¹

While the working conditions encountered by the two groups may have been similar for some years, the networks they created differed sharply. Settlement in the prairies had brought about traditional chain migration, with migrants luring their fellow villagers with enticing letters to make the journey too. But as they had sold their properties before leaving in whole families, their ties to their native villages were replaced by village structures they had ‘transplanted’, thus creating some sort of ‘Village No. 2’ on their homesteads – sometimes they even named it after their native village – with a wooden church and a Ukrainian reading hall. Their contacts with the old country were rather loose. Therefore, it was the intended temporary migrants and not the homesteaders who created robust networks with those left behind that would endure.³²

The Canadian migration patterns were exclusively Ukrainian. The Jewish population, not numerous in Rusiv, traditionally fulfilled a complementary economic function, working as tavern keepers, grocers and money lenders (often regarded as ‘usurers’ by the peasants). As a rule, the Jews had closer ties with their coreligionists in the nearby market town of Sniatyn where about one third of the inhabitants were Jewish, than with their Ukrainian neighbours.³³ That’s why the Jews had their own, New York City-bound migration networks which were much older than the Ukrainian-Canadian ones and dated back at least to the 1880s and anticipated much of the later ‘Americanized’ Ukrainian migration patterns.³⁴ The complexity and ambiguity of the interethnic relations between Ukrainians and Jews are best demonstrated by the almost completely unknown Ukrainian writer Dmytro Solianych (1876–1941), a native of Ustia and early migrant to Canada who tried to imitate Vasyl’ Stefanyk’s literary style without ever coming close to his model’s mastery. In one of his novels he unfolds a dramatic love story between a Ukrainian called Mykola and a young Jewish girl called Mamtsia who is described as being much more emancipated and self-confident than the Ukrainian girls, but as handsome as they were. When the villagers discover their secret, Mykola and Mamtsia are shunned both by Ukrainians and Jews, who in this special case even collaborate to separate them. Mamtsia’s parents kidnap their daughter and bring her to New York City where she is eventually reunited with her beloved Mykola, who had stepped out of his village’s social space to find her. It’s a conciliatory ending with a compromise: Mamtsia converts to Christianity (even in New York City) in order to marry Mykola.³⁵

The First World War interrupted the networks between migrants and non-migrants for several years but was not a turning point. In contrast to US-bound migration from Eastern Europe, which virtually stopped due to the restrictive immigration policy of the early 1920s which aimed to ‘freeze’ the ethnic composition of 1890, Canadian migration patterns thrived until the summer of 1930, when Canada also shut its doors to migrants as a result of the Great Depression. For the globally connected village, the 1930s were probably the most sedentary period of the twentieth century – but the networks remained in place.³⁶ It was therefore undoubtedly Canada and not the United States where networks between migrants and non-migrants functioned unabated from the beginning of the ‘Americanization’ right up to 1939, even given the fact that only few new migrants made it to the New World after 1930. The continuity of these contacts with Canadian migration patterns over almost four

decades created a type of interconnectedness that was more reliable than in regions where the destinations of the migrants shifted over time (for example, from the United States to Canada) due to changing immigration policies.³⁷

At the start of the mass migration to Canada at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the level of political mobilization in the villages was already relatively high. The bulk of the migrants were literate and many of them were socialized in the village's 'Prosvita' reading hall or the paramilitary 'Sich' association. An essential role was played by the Ukrainian Radical Party which had a stronghold in Rusiv and Sniatyn County as a whole. The party's anticlerical and agrarian-socialist ideology served as a basis for a political mobilization that could – in different contexts – shift to the left or the right: towards Soviet communism or Ukrainian nationalism, respectively.³⁸ Migrants in Canada as well as non-migrants in the villages built their hopes on the Soviet system, thus creating for the first time a second, eastern-bound migration network to the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet networks are not comparable to the Canadian ones in terms of intensity, migrants from Western Ukraine sometimes held visible positions in Soviet Ukraine before almost all of them fell victim to the Stalinist purges of the 1930s. Some Ukrainian-Canadian enthusiasts even founded their own commune in Myhaii not far from Odessa, thus going directly from Canada to the Soviet Union.³⁹

In parallel, the 'Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists' (OUN) gained more and more influence in the villages. The most important nationalist activists in the villages were quite often former officers of the Ukrainian Galician Army who had fought in the Polish–Ukrainian War of 1919–20 for an independent Ukrainian state for the first time. Although the war ended in a disaster for the Ukrainian side – in Rusiv, 15 out of 52 villagers fighting in this war perished – the creation of a Ukrainian national state remained the long-term aim for most of the activists.⁴⁰

When Western Ukraine was annexed by the Soviet Union after the Hitler–Stalin Pact in autumn 1939, many villagers cheerfully greeted the Red Army soldiers as liberators from the 'Polish Yoke'. But their enthusiasm faded quickly when the collectivization campaign gained momentum, followed by mass arrests of people suspected to be OUN members. In Rusiv alone 12 villagers, most of them young men in their early 20s, were arrested, some of them even in the Far East where they did their military service in the Red Army. There were no survivors; all of them were probably shot by the NKVD.⁴¹

The first Soviet rule of 1939–41 was an irreversible turning point in terms of political orientation. When Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the bulk of the Western Ukrainian population had acquired a harsh anti-Soviet attitude and was ready to collaborate with the Nazi regime. For this period, too, the micro-historical approach allows new insights apart from the macro political map. So I ask, for instance, about the motives of young villagers who joined 'SS Division Galicia' to conquer the Red Army. Many of them apparently hoped in 1943 that they would create the core of a Ukrainian national army that would soon fight for independence, as was the case after the First World War with Ukrainian formations in the Habsburg Army. Others, often the more educated, just hoped to escape forced labour.⁴² Those who were chosen by the 'Dorfschulze' (Ukrainian village mayor under Nazi occupation) to be deported to Germany as 'Ostarbeiter' belonged, unlike the SS volunteers, as a rule to the lowest layer of village society as they were not able to contribute enough to the grain quotas required by the Germans.⁴³ Many of the 'Ostarbeiter' formed, together with members of the SS-Division Galicia and civilian villagers who had fled the

Red Army, the so-called 'displaced persons' (DPs), the majority of whom migrated to North America in the late 1940s, not infrequently thanks to the established pre-1939 networks.⁴⁴

In spring 1944, the situation in Rusiv changed again diametrically with the arrival of the Red Army. Now it was the village paupers who were promoted to administrative positions where they were to push forward the Sovietization of Western Ukraine, especially the collectivization of agriculture. One of them was Mykola Shovkopliias, an almost landless peasant in his early 40s who did not even have a patronymic because he had been born out of wedlock. He had spent the war as a forced labourer in Nazi Germany and now became the chairman of the Rusiv village Soviet. In May 1947, he was shot at a wedding by fighters from the 'Ukrainian Insurgent Army' (UPA), the paramilitary wing of the OUN, which waged a guerrilla war against the Soviets up until the early 1950s. The situation in Rusiv showed signs of a civil war then, with attacks by the anti-Soviet underground and counterattacks by NKVD troops. The murder of Shovkopliias was not an exception in this context. Mykhailo Mandryk, a 21-year-old Red Army veteran who had been keeping watch during the attack on Shovkopliias, received a 10-year Gulag sentence shortly afterwards.⁴⁵

His parents and siblings fell victim to 'Operation West', a major wave of deportations carried out in November 1947 that affected more than 75,000 Western Ukrainians, often relatives of UPA fighters.⁴⁶ The Mandryk family was deported to Kazakhstan where they were confined to a 'special settlement' in a surface-mining area close to Karaganda. Following de-Stalinization, Mykhailo Mandryk, who had survived his Gulag term, reunited with his family in Karaganda (his father had died in 1951). In Kazakhstan, a region highly promoted under Khrushchev, economic prospects were much brighter than at home in Western Ukraine where the collective farm workers still received their payment in kind, not money. Mandryk, his mother and sister Paraska would only re-migrate permanently in 1969, after 22 years, when the latter divorced her drinking husband. With the money saved in Kazakhstan, Paraska built a house in Rusiv for herself and her mother, while two other siblings would remain in Kazakhstan for the rest of their lives.⁴⁷

The conclusion to be drawn from the case of the Mandryk family is twofold. First, Gulag or deportation survivors created their own networks after Stalin's death, which, in some respects, resembled the Canadian ones 50 years before and were not exclusively aimed at re-migration to the village. Second, the Stalinist repressions in the late 1940s and early 1950s did not heavily depopulate the village because Gulag and 'special settlement' were no death sentences after the Second World War. As many as 93% of the Rusiv villagers serving Gulag sentences survived, and 69% even made it back home. In other words: 20 out of 29 Rusiv Gulag prisoners returned to their native villages or their immediate surroundings. At least three of them were still alive in late 2013 when I started my research.⁴⁸

In Western Ukraine, which came under Soviet rule only in 1939 or 1944, respectively, many political, social and economic processes generally called 'Sovietization' took place in a delayed or weaker form. This had far-reaching ramifications for internal Soviet migration processes that were gaining momentum from the mid-1950s onwards. Many agricultural territories, in Central Russia as well as in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, were heavily depopulated as a consequence of collectivization and an exodus to the industrial cities and thus suffered from a chronic shortage of labourers they had to compensate with migration.⁴⁹ Villagers from Rusiv, in particular young women, were going to Kirovohrad oblast, one of Central Ukraine's grain-growing areas, mostly on a seasonal basis during harvest.⁵⁰ They were paid, as a rule, in money as well as in grain, which was even delivered to their homes

by their employers as some kind of special service, as collective and state farm managers in sparsely populated regions found themselves in a capitalism-like competition for workers. Half-hearted attempts by the Soviet authorities to prohibit the illegal hiring of labourers proved to be futile as the ‘Orgnabor’ (organized hiring of workers) was incapable of allocating the Soviet workforce in an appropriate manner. The same holds true for the lumber industry in Northern Russia and other remote regions.⁵¹

Thus, the internal post-Second World War Soviet migration patterns of many villagers were very similar to the Canadian networks prior to 1914. Simply speaking, the main difference was the destinations, which were now located in the Soviet Union and not Canada. In both periods, before the First World War and after the Second World War, Western Ukraine remained a rural region with an abundant labour supply and no larger cities which could have absorbed these people. Therefore, the kind of intended temporary migration observed in Rusiv served as a substitute for urbanization processes in the *longue durée*.⁵²

The village as a point of reference for migrants and non-migrants alike

The point of reference that conjoined all the people involved in the networks was their native village and their family of origin, respectively. Village and family were closely intertwined and hard to separate out. Many villagers were close or distant relatives due to endogamous marriage patterns (out-marriage was a female phenomenon). This is illustrated best by the remarkable biography of Oleksa Herylevych, who had migrated to Canada for the first time in 1911 at the age of 16. After his re-migration in 1921 – a ‘career’ typical of an intended temporary migrant – he was unhappy with the bride and piece of land chosen for him by his parents and moved to Stetseva next to Rusiv instead, to marry the sister of another re-migrant he had known earlier in Canada. After a second stay in Canada he again relocated with his family to his wife’s native village in the aftermath of the Great Depression (with starting capital of \$2500 he had managed to save after having worked for seven years in a paper mill), only to return to Canada with great difficulty for a third and final time in 1939. In the 1970s he complained in his memoirs that he had never felt fully integrated in Stetseva, not because of his lengthy sojourns in Canada (this was nothing special) but because he had been a ‘*zaida*’ (incomer), a man born outside the village.⁵³

Endogamous marriage patterns were, by the way, a phenomenon that was still present in Canada. The overwhelming majority of the intended temporary migrants were male, many of them bachelors. When they married in Canada, their brides quite often came from their native villages and had arrived only weeks earlier. Data from passenger lists and newspaper articles on various marriage anniversaries corroborate the hypothesis that many young girls went to Canada at least in expectation of marrying a young migrant. This can be explained by the almost complete lack of ‘female’ jobs in the mining and lumber areas, the main destination of the intended temporary migrants of Rusiv, so that girls had few other possibilities than to marry, and a migrant may have been viewed as a more prosperous marriage candidate than a non-migrant.⁵⁴

The importance of common origin from the same village also becomes clear when I look at male migrants-to-migrants networks in Canada. Being an ‘*odnosel’chanyin*’ (fellow villager) was the determining factor shaping relations not only in the early years after migration, but also over decades to come. This can be shown by the biography of Yurii Lychuk (1895–1966), who has written detailed memoirs. Migrating to Canada in 1913, he spent

almost his entire working life as lumberjack and miner in the inhospitable territories of Southern Alberta and Northern Ontario. Whereas his fellow villagers proved to be literally lifesaving in the first years after this arrival (especially when it came to unemployment and housing problems during the winter season), they were gradually replaced by fellow workers who were also Slavonic-speaking migrants like Poles, Yugoslavs or Belarusians. Being in poor health – he suffered like many miners from silicosis – and penniless after a short-lived marriage, it was again migrants from his native village who sheltered him, the fact notwithstanding that they had migrated 20 years later and had not even known him personally back home. Not surprisingly, it was also his fellow villagers who arranged his funeral after his death following a long illness.⁵⁵

With regard to the long-lasting interconnectedness there has to be posed the question not only of whether the family economies and social relations but also the political lives of the villages took place in a globally connected context. In Canada, apart from the homesteaders who were not too numerous, most migrants from the villages investigated worked as miners and lumberjacks. The political consciousness brought from Galicia as well as the harsh working conditions in Canada were a breeding ground for the emergence of Canadian-Ukrainian socialist and communist organizations. One of the migrants, the novelist Dmytro Solianych from Ustia mentioned earlier, even wrote a letter to his acquaintance, the renowned Galician writer Ivan Franko, asking him to send Ukrainian books for their reading hall in the Rocky Mountains.⁵⁶

From the mid-1920s onwards, the pro-Soviet *Labour and Farm Temple Association* had risen to become the most influential secular Ukrainian organization in Canada, one which also absorbed most of the newly arrived interwar migrants and proved to be amazingly durable.⁵⁷ Therefore, it was not an exaggeration when Ivan Shlemko from Bebeluia next to Rusiv, who was living in Edmonton, stated that almost all Shlemkos in Canada had taken the ‘progressive’ (that is, the pro-Soviet) path, as almost all migrants from Bebeluia were living in the mining areas of Southern Alberta and British Columbia. In the case of Bebeluia, there was no difference between village and political networks – it was almost the same.⁵⁸ Another Shlemko from Bebeluia, Dmytro, published an ad in the pro-Soviet Ukrainian-Canadian newspaper *Zytia i Slovo* in January 1978. He wished all members of the *Association of United Ukrainian Canadians* and, at the same time, ‘all fellow villagers from Bebeluia’, a Happy New Year.⁵⁹ It was exactly this congruence of pro-Soviet orientation and village identity that explains the persistence of pro-Soviet organizations after the Second World War.

Maintaining the networks: from letters to tourism

The most basic means of communication between migrants and non-migrants was the exchange of letters, a practice that existed from the very beginning of the migration processes and would not change much over time. Letters passed back and forth over the Atlantic, interrupted by the First World War and Second World War, but the networks proved, as a rule, strong enough to regenerate afterwards. The intensity of communication via letters was in many cases, however, quite low: Ivan Akhtemiichuk (John Ektion) of Rusiv, who had migrated to Canada in the late 1920s, was constantly sending letters to his father and siblings until his death in the early 1990s. (The Akhtemiichuk family was, by the way, except for the family of the writer Vasyl’ Stefanyk, the only case in Rusiv where letters had been preserved over a longer period of time). The content of the letters is amazingly uniform:

Ivan Akhtemiichuk greets his relatives, wishes them God's blessing and good health and informs them about the weather in Canada. His first post-Second World War letter from 1947 does not sound much different from this correspondence in the 1930s. In other words: although the networks were maintained to a great extent thanks to the letters, migrants and non-migrants did not have much of an idea about the lives of their relative counterparts. This would change only later when visits were possible.⁶⁰

The first post-Second World War visitor to Rusiv was, ironically, not one of the numerous Canadian migrants but Mykola Len'ko (1924–86), a man with an obscure biography who had come to Poland during the war and disguised himself as a Pole (even his wife hadn't been aware of his real identity at the time of their marriage). In the aftermath of his short trip to Rusiv in 1956 (where he learnt that his fiancée had just married a different man)⁶¹ he took advantage of the comparatively liberal political conditions in Poland and wrote several letters to his fellow villager Yurii Stefanyk in Canada, trying to convey as much information as possible. Len'ko stated in one of his letters that the people in Rusiv would 'live as wealthy as the Sernets'kyis and the Kostashchuks before the war' – a sentence only a fellow villager was able to decode, as those two families had belonged to the village paupers prior to 1939.⁶²

Mykola Len'ko became the vanguard of a development that would eventually reach Canada too. By the late 1950s, when contacts between migrants and non-migrants intensified thanks to the Khrushchev Thaw, there was still a large group of migrants in Canada who had arrived in the late 1920s and thus had numerous relatives in Soviet Ukraine. This is a major difference to the United States where the bulk of the Ukrainian migrants had arrived either before 1914 or after 1945, and the Communist Party had been outlawed. Many of the Canadian interwar migrants had been active in pro-Soviet Ukrainian-Canadian organizations. As they had, in contrast to the DPs, no first-hand experiences of National Socialism and Stalinism, they had preserved an unabated pro-Soviet stance. Both factors – the relatively high number of relatives in the villages and a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union – precipitated the intensification of contacts between Canada and Soviet Ukraine. The Soviet authorities were well aware of the propagandist potential of pro-Soviet or at least apolitical Ukrainian migrants. While prior to de-Stalinization only a handful of Canadian-Ukrainian communist activists like Petro Kravchuk (1911–96) were granted entrance to the Soviet Ukrainian Republic,⁶³ the situation changed fundamentally in 1960 when the 'Association for Cultural Contacts with the Ukrainians Abroad' was founded in Kyiv with the explicit aim to attract Ukrainian migrants to Soviet Ukraine as tourists as a means to battle anti-Soviet attitudes in the Diaspora by convincing them of the superiority of the Soviet system over capitalism.⁶⁴

The next year, two so-called 'Jubilee Tours' were organized in collaboration with the 'Association of United Ukrainian Canadians' (AUUC) in the spring and summer of 1961 in honour of the 100th anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet.⁶⁵ Several hundred Canadian migrants travelled to Soviet Ukraine for the first time after their migration and were allowed to stay in their native villages for as long as 10 days on this occasion. The lists of close to 900 participants of the 'Jubilee Tours' provide us with unique data, allowing interesting insights into the nature of their networks. Fifty-nine percent of the tourists were male and had an average age of 60; women had an average age of 55. As many as 62.6% of those visiting the Soviet Union had migrated between 1926 and 1930, when the doors to Canada had been wide open for the last time before the Second World War, while 17% of them had migrated between 1905 and 1914 and 12.7% between

1919 and 1925. A total of 60.4% named their siblings as their main contact in the Soviet Union, 10.9% their mother and only 1.7% their father (which is understandable, given the advanced age of the migrants). There is a striking absence of spouses (2.1%) and children (5.3%) among those to be visited, which indicates that temporary separations did not so often become permanent after 1939 – although there are such cases. There is an amazing congruence of those counties identified by the historian Orest Martynowych as the place of origin of pre-First World War migrants and the villages the ‘tourists’ wanted to visit in 1961 and 1962. The most ‘globally connected’ county was, therefore, Kitsman in the former Austrian crown land of Bukovyna with 54 visitors, while the neighbouring Sniatyn county (which included Rusiv village) took second place with 48 visitors.⁶⁶ This is another strong indicator that networks created in the early 1900s proved to be robust and persistent over decades.⁶⁷

The ‘Jubilee Tours’ marked a major step in the history of the globally connected villages – the stream of Canadian-Ukrainian tourists would never run low, right to the break-up of the Soviet Union. From the late 1960s and increasingly in the 1970s, not only migrants came as tourists, but villagers were also granted exit visas and thus could visit their relatives in Canada. Paraska Vasylyniuk (née Lazarenko) of Rusiv, born in 1937, for instance, met her uncle Illia Lazarenko (1913–2011) who had migrated in 1929 as often as five times in the course of 25 years. Four times – in 1962, 1966, 1982 and 1987 – Uncle Illia travelled to the village, while Paraska paid a family visit to Canada in 1976. Although there were always numerous obstacles to overcome (for example, bribing a KGB agent who would sleep in his car during the uncle’s visit to the village), Paraska Vasylyniuk’s family life definitely took place in a global context. Ironically enough, the family visits took place *only* in Soviet times, as Paraska was too poor to afford a trip in the 1990s and her uncle too frail to travel.⁶⁸

The relative porosity of the Iron Curtain from the early 1960s onwards should not veil the fact that there were still many restrictions in place that heavily impaired the contacts between migrants and non-migrants. Although many tourists were honestly impressed by some Soviet accomplishments such as the newly built ‘*budynok kul’tury*’ (culture building) or the unexpected presence of a street lamp in the village, they were baffled by some aspects of the Soviet system in which they had so eagerly believed. Travel permits to the tourists’ native villages were arbitrarily granted or not, without explanation. The visitors had to learn that people they addressed on a Kyiv street in Ukrainian could answer only in Russian, a language they did not fully understand and did not expect to hear in a country where Ukrainian culture was blossoming according to the pro-Soviet Canadian-Ukrainian press.⁶⁹

All these problems notwithstanding, some pro-Soviet migrants even re-migrated permanently to Soviet Ukraine but were unable to re-adjust to their native village. In Rusiv, there were two such cases. One of them was Ahafia Dzvidzins’ka (1886–1980) who re-migrated from Hamilton, Ontario, to her native Rusiv in 1972 at the age of 86 after 60 years of absence. Being a staunch Canadian-Ukrainian communist and atheist, she was appalled to find the *obrazy*’ (sacred images) of Holy Mary and Jesus still hanging on the wall of her nephew’s home instead of her adored Lenin – which led to a family rift that was hard to overcome. Her last wish was to be buried next to her husband in Canada, which was, of course, impossible to realize.⁷⁰

The ‘life span’ of the Canadian networks was about 60, sometimes even 70 or 80 years, as shown by the examples above. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, they came to an end in most cases – the contacts between the descendants of migrants and villagers became

dysfunctional, not least due to the language barrier.⁷¹ The current boom of Canadians showing interest for their Ukrainian roots in various ways I would call rather 'secondary contacts' than networks as they have little to do with the original networks.⁷²

From dollars to kerchiefs: remittances and family economies over time

I committed a fatal error: I sent \$20 to my family back home. I understood that they were in need of money, but I forgot that I was living in a foreign country, I forgot my bitter experiences, I was not thinking anymore of what I had gone through for the last months ...⁷³

Yurii Lychuk, whose networks in Canada have already been scrutinized, reflected in this section of his memoirs on his first winter in Canada in 1913. The dilemma he faced was typical for almost every single migrant: how much of his hard-earned money should he keep for himself and how much was he obliged to send home? Home – that means, in this context, the family economy in which the migrant was embedded and which, as a rule, financed his migration. In Lychuk's case, his parents had sold their only cow in order to afford his ticket. In other words, they had accepted some temporary economic losses with the hope their investment would pay off in the near future. It did pay off for the Lychuk family, however, to the disadvantage of the migrant himself, who had deprived himself of his whole savings.⁷⁴

Most migrants used them to buy some additional arable land or to replace their thatched roofs with metal ones. Sometimes they would also invest the migrants' money in the education of a family member. Monetary remittances could enhance the socioeconomic status of a migrant's family within the village but would hardly ever bring about much cultural or agricultural innovation.⁷⁵

The family economies thus became globally connected, without most of its members ever migrating themselves. Bluntly speaking, the unemployment of a migrant in Southern Alberta or Northern Ontario had direct ramifications on the economic situation in the village.

This kind of global interconnectedness is best exemplified by the disaster in the Hillcrest mine in Southern Alberta on June 19, 1914, which claimed the lives of 189 miners, making it the deadliest mining accident in Canadian history. The victims were almost exclusively migrants, among them seven men from Karliv and Beleluia next to Rusiv. Five of them had left behind wives and children in the village.⁷⁶ When the terrible news spread to Galicia, the villagers composed a song lamenting the dead. The author was said to be Ivan Sanduliak, a peasant politician who had lost one of his sons in this incident.⁷⁷ The disaster was, however, soon overshadowed by the outbreak of the First World War (one of the three surviving miners from Karliv decided to re-migrate only to die as an Austrian soldier shortly afterwards).⁷⁸ For this reason, the question of a monetary compensation by the mine owner for the families of the deceased could only be resolved after the end of the war. The case of Ivan Tkachuk, a miner from Karliv who had perished at the age of 22 in the disaster, was finalized only in 1924. His mother's lawyer, Ivan Semaniuk of Sniatyn, better known under his pen name Marko Cheremshyna, had to demonstrate to the Polish consulate in Winnipeg which was now responsible for the case the amount of remittances Tkachuk had been sending back home. The young man had supported his mother with \$517 in less than two years, a remarkable sum given the average wage of about \$125 for a miner in Hillcrest. In the end Tkachuk's mother was awarded compensation of \$850, of which she received \$601 after tax.⁷⁹

Monetary remittances played as major a role in the interwar period as they did prior to the First World War, the fact that the migration processes themselves slowed down after 1930 notwithstanding. Out of 38 preserved letters that Yurii Stefanyk (1909–85) sent from Canada from 1935 to 1938 to his brother and father, the famous writer Vasyly Stefanyk (1871–1936), in Rusiv, 31 address the subject of money – asking who should transfer how much to whom, whether to pay off debts in the village or in Canada. Apart from his father and his two brothers, Yurii mentions many uncles, aunts and cousins – some closely related; others more distant – and other villagers as well as members of his immediate family. Thus, in the case of the Stefanyks, the term family economy does not fit anymore, as family and village networks appear almost indistinguishable.⁸⁰

The violent Stalinist collectivization campaign in the late 1940s and early 1950s completely levelled the economic improvements the globally connected villagers had accomplished in the almost 50 years previous. For the very first time since the onset of the migration processes, the migrants lost their economic significance for the non-migrants in the village completely. This was, however, a temporary phenomenon. In 1955, a Soviet–Canadian trade corporation called *Ukrainska Knyha* was established, which provided a reliable parcel service between the two countries.⁸¹

This was a landmark it is hard to overestimate. As most migrants lived in much better material conditions than they had been in the 1930s and were anxious to support their kin in the village, remittances in favour of the non-migrants gained new momentum – this time not in terms of money sent back (which was almost impossible in Soviet times) but in terms of textiles. An impressive example is again the Stefanyk family. Yurii Stefanyk, who had migrated for a second time after the Second World War – supplied not only his two brothers and their families generously with Canadian textiles – predominantly kerchiefs, sweaters and jeans – in the course of 30 years, but also numerous other relatives and fellow villagers. Ideological rifts played a minor role in this context: Yurii was fiercely anti-Soviet, his two brothers held relatively high positions in the Soviet *nomenklatura*. Of course, the villagers would not wear all those kerchiefs themselves, but rather sell them at the bazaar. Yurii's cousin, Ol'ha Pleshkan, regarded two parcels with kerchiefs a year as sufficient support for her. In 1965, she was even satisfied with one parcel a year.⁸² The black-market price of a Canadian kerchief is hard to determine, as the memories of my interview partners vary, but in every case it exceeded the average monthly wage in the Soviet Union (which was 115.17 roubles in 1970).⁸³

It is no exaggeration to state that Canadian kerchiefs became some sort of alternative currency in the villages; due to the chronic shortage and low quality of consumer goods in the Soviet Union, the perceived value of 'Western' textiles exceeded the purchase price in Canada many times. Relations between migrants and non-migrants were therefore characterized by an immense economic imbalance in favour of the first that increased sharply during Soviet rule. In many cases the long-lasting separation led to growing estrangement between spouses, fathers and children that sometimes had serious repercussions for the migrants' propensity to materially support their relatives left behind. As rule, the migrants nevertheless maintained their place in the transatlantic family economy, even after decades of physical absence.

The economic significance of migrants to non-migrants can also be shown when it comes to Canadian inheritance. Soviet heirs could exchange their foreign currency into vouchers that entitled them to buy in the special 'Vneshposyltorg' (foreign mail order) shops, enabling

them to receive unattainable goods like private cars, of which most ordinary Soviet citizens could not even dream.⁸⁴ The first private car in Rusiv, a ‘Moskvich’, appeared in 1972 thanks to the inheritance of Mykola Didukh (1900–71) of Edmonton, Alberta, bequeathed to his two siblings. Not surprisingly, in many cases inheritance disputes – transatlantic as well as within the village – were an unavoidable consequence, causing serious family rifts.⁸⁵

Migrants and non-migrants in the Cold War

Propaganda did always matter when visitors from Canada showed up. The Soviet authorities tried hard to demonstrate the superiority of their system to the ‘Western’ tourists, even more so when they were of Ukrainian descent. Yustyn Lychuk (1901–86), the manager of the local collective farm in Stetseva next to Rusiv, a colourful figure who had been deported from Canada during the Great Depression, had even been elected to the Supreme Soviet several times where he was said to be the only one out of more than a thousand deputies who was wearing a ‘*vyshyvanka*’, an embroidered Ukrainian national shirt. Moreover, he was twice awarded the honorary title ‘Hero of Socialist Labour’, the second time, according to an apocryphal version, thanks to radioactive waste he allowed to be buried in the village. The hatred he encountered by the locals notwithstanding, Lychuk was presented not only as a symbol of the opportunities offered by the Soviet Union to a migrant who had failed to succeed in capitalism, but also as living proof of the unimpaired functioning of a pronounced Ukrainian national culture.⁸⁶

Cold War propaganda was not, however, limited to a rather representative function on the village level, but penetrated the most private spheres, as demonstrated by the case of the Plaviuk brothers. Mykola Plaviuk (1927–2012), the older of the two, had left his native village of Rusiv in Western Ukraine’s Sniatyn county in 1944 as a OUN fighter, while his younger brother Yaroslav (born 1932) had been prevented from studying law at Chernivtsi University because he had kept silent about Mykola in a questionnaire. However, his career had experienced a sudden boost after Mykola had become more active in anti-Soviet Ukrainian circles in Canada. Yaroslav became the local leader of the Soviet Youth organization Komsomol in Sniatyn county and shortly thereafter, the 27-year-old headmaster of a rural school without any technical education was put on a list of Soviet engineers elected to travel to Western Europe and Canada. There were few questions to pose – for Mykola who had been surprised by Yaroslav’s visit during a business trip, it was completely clear that his brother had been sent by the KGB. Nevertheless, he tried to maintain a friendly face and invited Yaroslav for dinner to his family home in Hamilton, Ontario. Their troubled encounter was the starting point for a strained transatlantic communication. They exchanged numerous letters in which each brother tried to convince the other of the correctness of his ideological position and the communist or capitalist system, respectively. After several years, Mykola and Yaroslav stopped their semi-public, highly polemic discussion that had been closely watched by the KGB as shown by frequent marks in the preserved letters, some of which Yaroslav showed me during one of my visits to Sniatyn. Later, the brothers’ careers developed in ways diametrically opposed to each other: Mykola rose to leader of the staunchly anti-Soviet ‘World Congress of Free Ukrainians’ (later ‘Ukrainian World Congress’) and eventually became the last president of the so-called Ukrainian government in exile in 1989, whereas Yaroslav’s career was seriously hampered by the KGB’s abortive attempts to instrumentalize him in order to compromise Mykola. In the early 1960s, Yaroslav ended up

as collective farm manager in a village close to Sniatyn and held this post until the farm's dissolution in 1992 following the break-up of the Soviet Union. Respected by the peasants for his calm leadership, he nevertheless could not fully unfold his managerial abilities. Always under KGB surveillance, he could not refer to illegal methods of supply – and the access to the 'Second Economy' was the key to running a collective farm successfully in the Soviet Union. The Plaviuk brothers are a stunning example of how relations between migrants and non-migrants were overshadowed by political and ideological factors at the climax of the Cold War. Their highly political letters also contained many quite down-to-earth passages on textiles sent by Mykola to Yaroslav and their father. So the economic role Mykola played as a migrant had, all political issues notwithstanding, not become completely dysfunctional.⁸⁷

Outlook: the globally connected post-Soviet village

In terms of migration history, the time after the break-up of the Soviet Union can be divided into four periods. The first decade after 1991 was perhaps the most sedentary one after the 1930s. Most villagers survived as smallholder subsistence farmers, living off their garden plots and slaughtering two pigs a year. This proves, once more, that extreme poverty does not necessarily trigger migration processes. It was not before the turn of the millennium when completely new migration patterns emerged, opening a 'Southern European decade' in the history of Ukrainian migration. In the early 2000s, the number of Ukrainian migrants in Italy was estimated at approximately 200,000, in Portugal at 115,000, in Spain at 100,000 and in Greece at 125,000. The numbers increased strongly in the course of the next years.⁸⁸

In the same period there were about 300,000 Ukrainian citizens working in Poland and 200,000 in the Czech Republic.⁸⁹ This time it was not predominately young men like 100 years before, but middle-aged married mothers and grandmothers in their 40s who decided to migrate – women like Ol'ha Lypka, one of the heroines of Yulia Tymoshenko's 2007 campaign movie. Most of them would engage in live-in domestic work or elderly care.⁹⁰ After the Southern European period which lasted slightly less than 10 years and virtually came to a halt due to the economic crisis in these countries, Russia and even Belarus gained importance as pronounced male destinations for migrants – especially for short-term migration as construction workers in big cities or in the oil industry. This third migration period, which I call 'post-Soviet', lasted for several years and passed almost completely unnoticed by outsiders before it came to an end too – due to the Russian–Ukrainian conflict in early 2014. Currently Ukraine is witnessing the fourth migration period since 1991, which is characterized by a significant decrease in destinations. Today it is predominately Central Europe – Poland and the Czech Republic – which still offer attractive migration possibilities, for short-term trips as well as for longer sojourns.⁹¹

To some extent, the networks function today in a similar manner as their predecessors in the 1930s, when an economic crisis stopped migration processes. Although some migrants returned from Southern Europe after 2009, the majority of them stayed there due to grim prospects in Ukraine. Remittances still play a crucial role in Rusiv. As a rule, it is the wives and mothers who are sending money to their husbands, children and grandchildren, financing the latter's education or a flat in Ivano-Frankiv'sk. Thus, remittances are now more often invested outside the village than in the first half of the twentieth century, although there are, of course, plenty of cases where homes are renovated or rebuilt thanks to money from Italy. At the same time, male villagers have often lost their traditional positions as breadwinners

for their wives and not infrequently succumb to alcoholism. However, in many cases the chronology is unclear: that is, whether male alcoholism is the consequence or the reason for a woman's absence, as, obviously, their husbands' behaviour was a major push factor for women to migrate. The long-term ramifications of the current networks on the development of Rusiv remain, nevertheless, unclear at the moment. Many things in the village – from running water to an early age of marriage – do not seem to have much changed. Maybe the networks are still too 'young' for a conclusive judgement.

As of 2013, according to the village council of Rusiv, 72 inhabitants were residing outside Ukraine permanently (thus, this list does not include short-term trips to Poland or Russia). Female destinations have clearly been Italy which leads among all countries (18 out of 20 migrants in Italy were women) and Spain (15 women, 4 men). A more balanced ratio with a slight male dominance can be observed for Portugal (three women, five men) and the Czech Republic (four women, seven men), which can be explained by the opportunities in the construction sector offered to male migrants there.⁹²

What can be stated for sure is that in contrast to many other villages in Eastern Europe, Rusiv, the 'globally connected village', survived the twentieth century without being heavily depopulated. This was not despite of but because of the varying migration processes and the global networks and the remittances they generated: networks that were even strong enough to penetrate the Iron Curtain and therefore force us to rethink the common image of a hermetically sealed-off Soviet Union.

Notes

1. *Maty i machukha*. Directed by Yulia Timoshenko. Kyiv, Ukraine, 2007; Ol'ha Lypka (née Fedirchuk) in conversation with the author, Rusiv, November 10, 2013; Yulia Tymoshenko debiutiruet v kino, *Podrobnosti*, September 18, 2007, <http://podrobnosti.ua/457104-julija-tymoshenko-debjutiruet-v-kino.html>.
2. Stefanyk, *Kaminnyi Khrest*.
3. Yurii Stefanyk, "Heroii Vasyliia Stefanyka v diisnosti," in *Rozdumy pro bat'ka*, ed. Yurii Stefanyk (Kyiv 1999), 103–10 (109).
4. On this region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see: Maner, *Galizien*; Snyder, *Bloodlands*.
5. This article is based on my book.
6. Levitt, *The Transnational Village*.
7. On the terms 'global' and 'transnational' see: Pries, *Die Transnationalisierung*, 258; Komlosy, *Globalgeschichte*, 211–17, 238–44.
8. On the methodological significance of networks in the analysis of rural space, see: Claire Lemerrier, "Formal Network Methods in History: Why and How?," in *Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies*, ed. Georg Fertig (Turnhout 2015), <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00521527/document>.
9. On different approaches to global micro history, see: Otto Ulbricht, "Divergierende Pfade der Mikrogeschichte. Aspekte der Rezeptionsgeschichte," 22–36 (24–7); Angelika Eppe, "Globale Mikrogeschichte. Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen," in *Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis*, ed. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler (Innsbruck 2012), 37–47 (37–8).
10. The most important biographical accounts are the following: Teren and Chorunzhyi, *Mykola Plav"juk*; Zvarych, *Spomyny*; Lazarenko, *A Voice from the Wilderness*; Lychuk, *Na chuzhyni*; Frolick, *Between Two Worlds*.
11. The most important newspaper used is "Zhyttja i Slovo," <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/12262>.

12. Korol'ko, *Sniatynshchyna*; Kharyton, *Naseleni punkty Sniatynshchyny*; Ivaniichuk, *Karliv*; Bazhans'kyi, *Krasa Sniatynshchyny*; Bazhans'kyi, *Vichno zhytymut'*.
13. Only a small part of the letters has yet been published: *Daleko vid Bat'kivshchyny*, ed. Mariia Kosmenko (Sniatyn 2010). The rest is preserved in: Library Archives Canada (LAC), Yury Stefanyk fonds, MG30-D329; privat archive Motria Bohdanivna Stefanyk, Lviv, Ukraine.
14. Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. 118. 15.
15. Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. 78.
16. Security Service of Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivs'k, 6134P, 5634P, 13791P, 15466P, 6249P, 6733P, 13133P, 210P, 5627P, 1206, 7952P, 13983, 7991P, 13486P, 21, 7096P.
17. Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. R-1577.
18. Gemeindelexikon der im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder. Bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1900. Herausgegeben von der k. k. Statistischen Zentralkommission. XII. Galizien (Vienna 1907), 612–16.
19. On the social and economic situation of the Eastern Galician peasantry on the eve of mass migration see: Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise*.
20. For migration to Brazil prior to the First World War see: Kacharaba/Rozhyk, *Ukraiins'ka emihratsiia*, 70–80.
21. Officially, those lands became a part of Canada only in 1905 (as the newly formed provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan).
22. For a more general study of the encounter between European migrants and the indigenous population in the Canadian Prairies, as well as on the ecological situation see: Liza Piper and John Sandlos, "A Broken Frontier. Ecological Imperialism in the Canadian North," *Environmental History* 12, no. 4, Special Issue on Canada (Oct. 2007), 759–95.
23. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 79–83.
24. Oles'kiv, *Pro vil'ni zemli*, 31–6; O. W. Gerus, "Olesków, Józef," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/oleskow_josef_13E.html.
25. Struve, *Bauern und Nation in Galizien*, 170–80.
26. Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. 185, o. 1, s. 51, a. 365–75, 482–3, 546–9; *Pride in Progress. Chipman – St. Michael – Star and Districts*, ed. Alberta Rose Historical Society, 239. For the everyday life of an average Rusiv family see: Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. 185, o. 1, s. 1058. On the social and economic situation of the Eastern Galician peasantry on the eve of mass migration see: Hryniuk, *Peasants with Promise*.
27. *Pride in Progress. Chipman – St. Michael – Star and Districts*, ed. Alberta Rose Historical Society, 239; Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. 185, o. 1, s. 51, a. 365–75, 482–3, 546–9; Joseph M. Lazarenko, "Rusiw Pioneers in Alberta," in *Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta*, ed. Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton 1975), 38–43.
28. For classification of migration processes I use the concept of Dirk Hoerder: Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing of Migration Processes," in *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern, 1997), 7–84.
29. Canadian Passenger Lists, 1865–1935 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010, <https://www.ancestry.de/>; Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 22–4, Map 2, 109; Pilch, "Emigracja z ziem zaboru austriackiego (od połowy XIX w. do 1918 r.)," 252–325, 262–71. For a more general perspective, see Wyman, *Round-Trip to America*.
30. Oles'kiv, *Pro vil'ni zemli*, 36.
31. Zvarych, *Spomyny*, 143–4, 151, 156–61; Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 79–81.
32. Zvarych, *Spomyny*, 133, 160; Kaye, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta*, 21–4, 57, 64–5, 87, 155, 227, 309; Joseph M. Lazarenko, "Rusiw Pioneers in Alberta," in *Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta*, ed. Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton 1975), 40–1.
33. Die Handels-, Industrie- und Gewerbebetriebe von Galizien und Bukowina. Handelskammerbezirke Brody, Krakau, Lemberg, Czernowitz. Österreichischer Zentralkataster. X. Band (Wien 1903), 748, 1207, 1238–43, 1267, 1268, 1300, 1315; John

- Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, Howard Aster (Edmonton 1988), 111–58; Struve, *Bauern und Nation in Galizien*, 384–433.
34. For Jewish migration and memory patterns see: Mendelsohn, *The Lost* (kindle edition), position 53–121.
 35. Dmytro Solianych, "Mamtsia", in *Khto vynuvatyi ta inshi opovidannia z zhyttia selianstva na Pokuttii*, ed. Dmytro Solianych (Edmonton 1932), 132–61.
 36. Ivano-Frankivs'k State Archives, f. 260, o. 1, s. 3722, a. 1–21; Canadian Passenger Lists, 1865–1935 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010, <https://www.ancestry.de/>; Mrs. S. Slemko dies Thursday, *The Lethbridge Herald*, February 21, 1955, 10. On immigration to Canada in the interwar period: Brian Osborne, "'Non-Preferred' People: Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," in *Canada's Ukrainians. Negotiating an Identity*, ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto 2012), 81–102.
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 38. Binder, *Galizien in Wien*, 127–32.
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