

A memory of history . . .

The Rusins of Minnesota



*A cultural history of an ethnic minority
from the Carpathian Mountains of Europe.*



What happened to them? Who are they now? Why did they change?

The Rusins of Minnesota

William Duly

April 1993

Cover

Rusin family from Browerville

Left to right

**Nellie Kipta, "Baba" Pachan, Anna Repashy,
"Djido" Pachan, Nick Pachan**

Front

Mary Berezni

about 1920

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book, like most, would not have been possible without the assistance of several people. First, I must thank the Minnesota Historical Society for its continued support of projects such as this. Second, my thanks go to the Rusin Association of Minnesota and all of its contributing and supportive members including Lawrence Goga, President; John Haluska, Vice-President; and John Gera, Secretary. Credit must also be given to Rusin Association member Peter Hnath whose artwork appears in this book. For patient and insightful academic guidance and research support, great appreciation goes to my committee chair, Dr. Eugene Ogan (Anthropology); reviewer, Dr. David Lipsett (Anthropology); and history advisor, Dr. William Wright (History/East European Studies). As well, many thanks go to the late John D. Goman who assisted my research on Chisholm.

I wish there was enough room to list and thank the many contributors and reviewers of this book. Certainly, to the Rusin communities and informants of Northeast Minneapolis, Browerville and Chisholm, Minnesota, whose memories are the backbone of this work, I owe deep gratitude; thanks also to the many Rusin-Americans who contributed to this book but declined formal interviews. As well, special thanks must go to Fr. Vladimir Lecko (St. Mary's), Fr. Bryan Eyman (St. John's), and Fr. Simeon Johnson (St. Herman's) for their insights and observations on Eastern rite religion and their own respective church histories. Finally, I wish to thank Dr. Robert Lavenda (Anthropology) for his years of training, his patience, and his sense of humor.

PREFACE

This book was made possible by a grant from the Minnesota Historical Society. The grant was written by the Rusin Association whose purpose as defined in their bylaws is

to sustain, as worthy of preserving and perpetuating in their own right, the distinct nationality, history, language and heritage of the Rusin people and to collect, preserve, and disseminate historical, genealogical, linguistic and cultural information about the Rusin people, a nationality that has been, and still often is called by various other names which include, but are not limited to the following: Carpatho-Russians, Rusyns, Carpatho-Rusyns, Carpatho-Rusins, Rusin-Ukrainians, Rusyn-Ukrainians, Carpatho-Ukrainians, Karpato Russi, Podkarpatski Rusini, Podkarpatski Russiani, Ruthenians, Ruthenes, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians, Transcarpathian Ruthenians, Ugro-Rusins, Hungarian Rusin, Zakarpatski Rusini, and American Russians.

Lawrence Goga, John Haluska, and John Gera, charter members of the Rusin Association, were largely responsible for this project. It was predicated by their desire to assist the Minnesota descendants of Rusin immigrants in becoming better acquainted with their ethnic identity.

It was and is a little known fact that the majority of the people that claim the Northeast Minneapolis churches of St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Church and St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral as their own, are Rusin Americans. Yet, often times, these same people send out messages that contradict this. It is through no fault of their own that these mixed signals are sent.

This book makes, I believe, an attempt to identify this problem and to clarify the issues. The original Rusin immigrants, in some cases, were even unsure of who they were. They were often more sure of who they were not. This problem of ethnic identity has carried down to the present day.

The descendants, as a result, have--quite naturally--been confused. For example, some people from St. Mary's consider themselves of Czechoslovakian or Russian descent while others from St. John's think of themselves as Slovak. Those who have drifted away from either

church often see themselves, in addition to the above, as being of Austrian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, or Polish descent, depending on what was told to them--which all too often was incorrect, misleading, and in some cases, unjustified.

There was a felt need to make corrections and to explain how this quandary came to pass, especially, it was concluded, from a source who had no personal interest, contacts, or knowledge about Rusins.

The author, William Duly, researched and wrote this book about the Rusin past and present in conjunction with his Master's Degree thesis at the University of Minnesota's Department of Anthropology. The Rusin Association assisted Mr. Duly with whatever help and resources they could provide.

The Rusin Association has also over the years attempted to reach out to those with Rusin names and others about this identity issue. Monthly meetings, workshops, lectures, seminars, annual dinners, a newsletter (The Trembita), summer picnics (Rus' Kyj Den) and the annual staffing of a booth at the Festival of Nations, have been the tools to promote an ongoing forum for discussing experiences, thoughts, and ideas about Rusin identity.

In Europe, as a result of the "Velvet Revolution," Rusins have been re-emerging after years of suppression under Soviet Rule. After WWII, all Rusins in what was then Czechoslovakia were forced into a dilemma, either to identify themselves as Slovak or as Ukrainian. Ruthenia, where many Rusins lived and itself a province of Czechoslovakia, established in 1919 by the Paris Peace conference (The treaty of Trianon) was seized and turned over to Ukraine where it is the scene of a Rusin revival today.

In Poland, where after WWII Lemko Rusins were encouraged to move, in some cases forcibly so, are now returning to join others in their native region. In Vojvodina, Serbia, and in the Strem Region of Croatia, little is known of the Rusin population owing to the conflict currently taking place throughout former Yugoslavia.

While these Rusins struggle for renewed recognition and survival in Europe, the descendants here in Minnesota (as well as in other parts of the United States), also lack recognition. The churches that were built by Rusins, both Orthodox and Greek Catholic--have over the years--largely abandoned them as Rusin, instead committing to a denationalization process, contributing to the Rusin descendants

gradually becoming molded to be either Byzantine Catholic or Orthodox, often accompanied with a generic term Slavic/Slavish thrown in.

This book hopefully corrects that. It is also intended for the public as well as the descendants of the original Minnesota Rusin immigrants. It is desired as well, in spite of the many obstacles they have faced, that these Rusin descendants will become recognized as the ethnic group that they are, and that they will become better prepared to answer questions about themselves and that this book will insure that those original Rusin immigrants who settled here in Minnesota whether directly or indirectly will not be forgotten and that this book will serve as a special recognition of them.

Finally a special thank you to Russell W. Fridley, former director of the Minnesota Historical Society, for his recognition, encouragement, and assistance of the Rusin Americans of Minnesota.

Lawrence Goga
President, Rusin Association
Minneapolis, Minnesota
February, 1993

Author's Forward

Three years and then some have passed since I accepted this project. At the time, I was a graduate student in a Master's degree program and entering my second year of studies at the University of Minnesota. I had no prior knowledge of the Rusin or, for that matter, the various methods and theories of ethnicity. Three years and an M.A. later, I sit here and try to write something "fitting"--something that may or may not be personal; something that may or may not have to do with the Rusin, this project, or the exertion of writing a book.

In sum--and I am somewhat surprised by this--I am immersed in a feeling of angst; I find I want to convey to the reader what it was like to write this book--spending countless hours transcribing interviews, hunting for facts, and writing a lengthy history that will be evaluated and edited by others, academic and otherwise. There was also a degree of pain involved in writing this book--the pain of living a life for three years knowing that some part or another of this project always needed attention. And there is pain when I hear of a death of an informant who shared coffee and information about his or her life and the lives of the parents.

As I try to write this, I am thinking about this project and the people who are its focus. I wish I could make sweeping, academic problem statements and paradigms about ethnicity, and I wish I could present an encompassing picture of the Rusin--anything to prepare the reader for the next 225 manuscript-length pages that lay ahead--but that's what those next pages are for.

A colleague of mine once asked me about the Rusin-Americans I was studying. "What are they like?" he asked. But the manner in which he inquired led me to believe he wanted an answer encased in certainty--perhaps a model or a major conclusion or summation of the major outstanding "Rusin traits." I thought for a minute and asked myself, playfully, "Would the quintessential Rusin cosmology be found in a Rusin-American housewife or in a Rusin-American lawyer?"

The point is, there is no one Rusin manifestation or, more plainly, stereotype. As well, there is no **ONE** Rusin history nor is there one explanation for/of ethnicity. There is, however, a myriad of interpretations and opinions; and I and the Rusin Association have decided to print one. Further, the uniqueness of a people and the uniqueness of a person, I believe, is not to be found in their self-described or ascribed cultural, political, or economic prowess. Instead, I believe that the willingness and desire to participate in preserving a fast-disappearing past is what makes a person and a people unique. And, through the act of remembering people and events, sharing details and opinions, and, thus, preserving the past, a people will be remembered. And given the transitory nature of history and culture, to be remembered is to be unique.

. . . you must acknowledge that the Sclaves are divided into Sclavacks, Rusniacks, Croatians, and Sclavonians, and that they hate one another quite as cordially as they hate the Magyars, and Russia more than all.
[Paget 1850:II, 24]

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Introduction

NOTE: The purpose of this introduction is to present both the research problem at hand and the theoretical terms in which it will be examined. The majority of this book was written for an academic audience although, overall, it is quite readable; those readers who do not wish to immerse themselves in a theoretical analysis of the Rusin identity problem, may wish to proceed to chapter one.

In October, 1989, I became involved in a Minnesota Historical Society sponsored project that sought to collect and combine the archival and oral histories of a group of first- and second-generation Rusin-Americans living in Minnesota. Their ancestors, emigrants from East-central Europe, settled in several Minnesota communities during the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Anthropologically, this task seemed rather straightforward: examine their history in Europe, their immigration to the United States, and their settlements in Minnesota in order to answer the question, "Who are the Rusins?" My primary investigative tools would include archival research, semi-structured interviews with the descendants of the immigrants, and socio-cultural analysis of my findings, whatever they might be.

While pursuing archival research on the Rusins, I also began to conduct preliminary interviews in order to uncover background information that would help with subsequent interviews. These preliminary interviews were done with the assistance of the Rusin Association, an active ethnic organization in Minneapolis that administered the research grant and had requested the written history. However, the results of these preliminary interviews, as well as my initial archival findings, would warrant a dramatic change in this project's focus. Some of those interviewees who called themselves Rusin indicated that this identity was a relatively recent development; many had previously believed themselves to be Slovak, Russian, Bohemian, Ukrainian, Austrian, or Hungarian. Complicating the matter, the interviewees also indicated that I would find very few Rusins outside of the organization who were aware of their Rusin roots, even though local records showed a large number of Rusin immigrants settled in the area at the turn of the century. Subsequent interviews in Minneapolis and in outlying "Rusin" communities revealed this to be true: there were few Rusins--at least no sizeable contingent--who acknowledged or, more specifically, knew of this identity. As a result, the

project's focus shifted from "Who are the Rusins?" to "What happened to the Rusins?", "Who are they now?", and, more importantly, "Why did they change?"

These three questions imply change and a high degree of fluidity to the point that an original ethnic identity has been not merely altered but has, in general, been wholly transposed. The perplexing nature of a changed or changing ethnic identity is the focus of an article by anthropologist John Comaroff. In his article, "Of Totemism and Ethnicity: Consciousness, Practice and the Signs of Inequality" (1987), Comaroff explores ethnicity as a highly fluid phenomenon, not only subject to change but also effecting change. While his observations and analyses encompass several aspects of ethnic identity and totemism, the primary theme to be found in Comaroff concerns the role historical forces play in the shaping and altering of ethnicity.

As a point of departure, Comaroff states that ethnicity is not, itself, an organic human behavior or feature, nor is it a physiological phenomenon; ethnicity is acquired. Plainly stated, Comaroff believes ethnicity to be a PRODUCT of certain processes and not an inherent, universal human characteristic. In Comaroff's words, "ethnicity always has its genesis in specific historical forces, forces which are simultaneously structural and cultural" (302).

The structural component of these historical forces is the universal process of self-definition, "invariably founded on a marked opposition between 'we' and 'other/s'" (303). There are those with whom we group ourselves, and those from whom we set ourselves apart; and it is by setting ourselves apart from (or in opposition to) the "other/s" that we gain a sense of ourselves not only as a group, but more importantly as a group with certain identifying symbols that mark difference. The legitimation and enforcement of the marking of difference is the cultural, and culturally relative, component of these historical forces.

As noted above, Comaroff believes that all relations between social groupings contain markings of difference. However, the markings of difference, their practice and meaning, vary depending upon the political economy in which these social groupings occur/exist.

Comaroff believes it is within a political economy characterized by the unequal distribution of political, social, and material powers that markings of difference give rise to ethnic identity and consciousness. When one social grouping "extends its dominance over another through some form of coercion, violent or otherwise" (308), it results in what Comaroff refers to as "structured inequality." This formation of a dominant and a subordinate grouping causes a change in politico-economic status for both groupings and reinforces pre-existing cultural markings of difference, since membership in either group is defined by these markings. For either group, dominant or subordinate, as Comaroff states, there is a separate ideology and practice since "the way in which [ethnicity] is experienced and expressed may vary . . . according to their positions in a prevailing structure of power relations" (304).

For the dominant group seeking to justify its position, [ethnicity] takes on the assertive stamp of a protectionist ideology; a legitimation of control over economy and society. Concomitantly, it involves the negation of similar entitlements to others, often on putative cultural or "civilizational" grounds, and may call into doubt their shared humanity. [304-305]

In practice, the subordinate group is often assigned a lower position in the division of labor. The ideology and practice of subordinate groupings differ considerably from those of dominant groupings; however, the subordinate ideology and practice will be discussed in greater detail following an examination of the historical subordination of the Rusins in Europe.

To summarize this preliminary analysis of ethnic formation, we quote Comaroff:

[Ethnicity] appears to have two generally recognized and closely related properties. One refers to the subjective classification, by the members of a society, of the world into social entities according to cultural differences. The other involves the stereotypic assignment of these groupings--often hierarchically--to niches within the social division of labor. [304]

Comaroff's ideas concerning the impact of historical forces and, more specifically, the formation of dominant and subordinate groupings sets the stage for examining Rusin history, in general, and Rusin relations within various other political economies, in particular. As we shall see, the Rusin people have, with few exceptions, been the politically and economically subordinate group.

This reality is embedded in their history; their subordination within various political economies in Europe would leave the Rusins with few "markers of identity," and little access to political, material, and social resources. "The substance of their identities, as contrived from both within and outside," as Comaroff writes regarding subordinate ethnic groups in general, "is inevitably a bricolage fashioned in the very historical processes which underwrite their subordination" (309). Let us now explore the Rusin bricolage of identities and their historical processes and political economies.

CHAPTER ONE: RUSIN HISTORICAL FORCES IN EUROPE

The Carpathian mountains, 50 miles wide and 400 miles long, stretch from Southeast Poland through former East Czechoslovakia and the western tip of Ukraine and arc into Northern Romania and former Yugoslavia. Within and around these mountains, in the valleys and along the rivers, there is an East Slavic people called the Rus'. Our historical analysis of Rusin subordination and identity will focus on the three areas from which the majority of the Rusin immigrants in Minnesota came: the Lemkian region in Southeast Poland; the Presov region in former East Czechoslovakia; and the Transcarpathian region in West Ukraine. Their modern-day geo-political separation, attributable to the natural boundaries formed by the Carpathians, echoes the Rusins' historic past as a border people.

Being a border people, the Rusins were subject to the will and policies of dominant governments who feared not only Rusin irredentism per se, but also foreign influence that would use irredentist claims to weaken control of border regions and force annexation. This situation is clearly evident with regard to Habsburg and Imperialist Russian governments in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, but the practice extends as far back as 1000 A.D. to the reign of King Stephen of Hungary.

Another factor that complicates Rusin historical identity and contributed to Rusin political and economic subordination was the issue of religious affiliation. Depending upon geographic location and the (in)tolerance of the dominant governments, the originally Orthodox Rusin people were religiously divided between Orthodoxy, Greek Catholicism, Roman Catholicism and, to some extent, Protestantism. As we will see, these religious affiliations often imposed an ethnic identity upon Rusin adherents or converts and, thus, encouraged Rusin participation in the political economy of one geo-political area while restricting it in another.

These two issues, geographic location and religion, are the principal themes that run throughout pre-emigration Rusin history. Their importance in relegating and maintaining Rusin subordination in various political economies will become apparent as these political economies are examined in detail below. These examples will show how Rusin subordination, in many economic, cultural, and political forms, laid the foundation for a fragmentation and loss of Rusin identity in both Europe and the United States.

While the history of the East Slavs--Rusins, Ukrainians, Russians and Byelorussians--warrants an academic discipline in itself, the focus of this thesis does not allow for such a detailed examination of their origins, migrations and assimilations. However, it is necessary to briefly trace the settling of the Carpathian Mountains, the Rusin homeland.

Some evidence suggests that the first East Slav colonizers of the Carpathian mountains came from the area of Kiev, now located in Ukraine. According to Rusin historian Paul Magocsi and Slavic historian Francis Dvornik (1956, 1962), the East Slavs migrated westward until they came into contact with Germanic and West Slavic peoples and then turned southward and spread over the Carpathian Mountains. This migration or succession of migrations is believed to have occurred between the sixth and eleventh centuries (Magocsi 1983:12).

The first large-scale government of this area also came from Kiev. The development of Kiev as a major trade center seems in accord with Henri Pirenne's (1862-1935) Thesis concerning the social and economic importance of gold and silver flowing northward from Western Europe in exchange for goods from the Middle East, with "norsemen" acting as the link between Western Europe, Scandinavia, and Kiev. The Kievan Rus' expanded their influence throughout the area of Kiev and beyond, owing to the prosperous trade. In time, the Kievan Rus' founded a number of city-states and monarchies that were unified by blood relations rather than by one ruler. This confederation, while politically weak, was culturally strong and heavily influenced by Byzantine culture and the Eastern Orthodox religion.

When Kiev fell to Mongol invasions in 1240, one city-state, Galicia, remained. The area of Galician influence was both immense and unmanageable for its rulers, who had to contend with Polish, Lithuanian, and Hungarian interests as well as Mongol and Tatar incursions. Slowly, pieces of Galicia were handed, sometimes voluntarily, to Hungary and Poland; Galicia as a principality disappeared in 1349 as Poland annexed the larger portion that included the Lemkian region north of the Carpathians and some parts of the areas south and east of the Carpathians (areas later known as the Presov and Transcarpathian regions). Our first examination concerns those Rusins living north of the Carpathians.

Poland was Roman Catholic and its aristocracy's treatment of its newly acquired Orthodox peasants was far from tolerant. As historian Alan Palmer writes:

. . . living around the fringe of the traditionally Polish lands were predominantly peasant peoples--Lithuanians, White Russians, Ukrainians--on whom Polish aristocracy imposed a largely alien culture. Among these groups, the Lithuanians were readily assimilated. . . . Other peoples, however, fared less well: both the White Russians and the Ukrainians were regarded as inferior stock and were treated accordingly. . . . [1970:4]

It is worth stating here that Palmer later clarifies his use of the word "Ukrainian" to mean "Ruthene," the Latin transliteration of Rusin (1970:12).

Prior to the first partition of Poland in 1772 when Poland all but ceased to exist, the Galician Rusins were divided and persecuted on religious grounds. The chasm of difference that separates Eastern Europe from Western Europe lies in the infancy of the Christian church. When Constantinople broke from Rome in the Great Schism of 1054, the foundation was laid for a religious and cultural rivalry--between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy--that would be fought with ink, sword, and scepter as the two forces of Christianity met, dividing and re-dividing the co-terminus spheres of geography and politics along religious lines. In sum, as Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism met in the cross-roads of Europe, their respective cultures met as well. This meeting of East and West impressed upon the East Europeans the consequences of belonging to either.

While this conflict between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy was generally played out in foreign political antagonisms, the end result of successful antagonism--annexation--inevitably resulted in the economic and political oppression of the new subject people. As John Goman writes,

In the Galician lands now united to the Polish crown, the situation was most complex. After 1349 when the region was integrated into the Poland of Casimir III and up to the first partition of the Polish realm in 1772, the Galician peasantry were the unfortunate victims of an unceasing struggle between the Orthodox and Catholic positions. From that date to 1509, Galicia as one of the provinces of Poland together with Volhynia and other territories including that in which Kiev is located, were systematically Polonized. The Polish overlords took into their own hands the ownership of the land; those few Orthodox petty nobles who managed to retain their ancestral lands were powerless in the ensuing struggle. [1990:16]

The impact of Poland's classically East European diarchy of church and state, with regard to the religious oppression of the Orthodox Galician Rusins, is best illustrated by the following passage:

Over the course of the next sixty years, the disdain for the Orthodox was to be demonstrated by the Polish kings in the many inappropriate choices made for the metropolitans. One occupant was not a monk, the normal requirement for anyone holding the rank of bishop in the Orthodox church. Another was twice a widower which is canonically prohibited for an orthodox bishop. A crisis point had been reached but further indignities were still to be endured. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII promulgated a calendar change. In Poland-Lithuania the Latin clergy insisted that the Orthodox also submit to the calendar reform which had not, however, been sanctioned by the emissaries of the Ecumenical Patriarch. The repressive measures taken went so far as to lock orthodox clergy out of their churches on Christmas day. The outrage of the Orthodox was so great that the Polish king was forced to curb the excessive zeal of the Latin clergy. . . .

[Goman 1990:17]

Polish demands for religious capitulation and cultural assimilation coincided with Papal foreign policy. Rome was concerned with the formation of a Christian obstacle to Turkish expansionism and also desired to drive a wedge between the (Galician) Orthodox Rusins in Poland and the Orthodox Slavs of Russia. In addition, Jesuit militancy in the wake of Protestantism, and successful Polonization of high-ranking Orthodox clergy and bishops, made Papal and Polish overtures for union between Orthodox and Catholics possible.

For the Orthodox Rusins, "the desire to alter their own unfavorable sociocultural status" (Magocsi 1984:9) and "to raise the moral and intellectual level of their clergy to that of the Western clergy" (Attwater 1947:I, 69) led many to consider seriously an offer of union. These various self-interests led to the Union of Brest in 1596.

The Union of Brest was a break-away from the Orthodox fold and into Communion with Rome through Polish channels. It was not a complete capitulation for the Rusins in practical terms; the ecclesiastical language--Church Slavonic--and the appointment of married clergy would continue. In terms of ecclesiastical theory, several Orthodox tenets were nullified while others were maintained as the Articles of the Union of Brest testify:

1. We confess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and not from two sources, the Father and the Son;
2. We wish to maintain our liturgies, our prayers, our rites and ceremonies without change and in our own language; As has been our custom the Eucharist is to be given in both species;
3. Concerning Purgatory we do not argue but learn from the Church;
4. Concerning the calendar if we are forced to change we ask that our method for determining Easter be maintained and that our holiday of Epiphany be allowed and that we are not compelled to celebrate your holiday of Corpus Christi;
5. That the married clergy be maintained;
6. That the metropolitans, bishops and other clergy be either Rus' or Greek;
7. That our bishops not be compelled to go to Rome for their elevation and that even though the metropolitan may need to go to Rome that upon his return he be sanctified here by our bishops;
8. That no one be allowed to change from our rite to the Roman Rite;
9. That we not be prohibited to ring our bells, to carry the Eucharist in procession to the infirm, and to carry the cross in procession;
10. That our churches and monasteries not be converted to Roman churches;
11. That the brotherhoods recently established and confirmed by the Patriarch, if they accept the union, be continued;
12. That we be allowed to have our schools and seminaries in which instruction may be carried out in the Rus' language and in Greek and that we be allowed to maintain printing presses;
13. And that no one returning from Greece be allowed to create confusion among the pastors and people. . . .

The primary effects of the Union were three-fold: first, it weakened Polish hegemony by at least legalizing Orthodox practice in Poland; second, it strengthened Russian desire to use Orthodoxy as a practical subversive tool

against the Polish; and third, it divided the Galician Rusin people and clergy into three camps--Orthodox with homage to Moscow (Constantinople fell in 1453 and the Orthodox patriarch transferred to Moscow), Latin rite with homage to the Holy See in Rome, and a hybrid of both that became known as the Greek Catholic Church (practicing Orthodoxy but in Communion with Rome).

The Union of Brest collapsed in principle in 1633 when Orthodoxy--in toto--was legalized again in the Polish commonwealth owing to a sizeable rejection of the Union by clergy and parish alike; however, the seeds of division among the Rusins had been sown.

South of the Carpathian crests that border Southern Poland's Lemkian Region, other groups of Rusins had settled in an area that would later be known as the Presov Region. Nestled between the Danubian basin and the mountains, this area is located today in East Slovakia. Magocsi's description of the Presov Region's physical environment alludes to the general economic limitations experienced by a mountain people:

Geographically, the Presov region lies within the lower Beskyd ranges of the Carpathian Mountains, which rise 450 to 900 meters above sea level. . . . There are a few passes through the mountains, the most important of which are the Javorina pass north of Bardejov and the Dukla Pass, north of the city of Svidnik. Thus, the vast majority of the 292 [Rusin] villages are located in the mountain valleys. . . . The region has always been agricultural, even though the mountainous and forest terrain does not permit large-scale farming. Besides farming, lumbering and raising sheep and cattle have been and still remain the primary economic activities. [Magocsi 1983:9]

To the east of the Presov Region, another large Rusin settlement is located on the curve of the Carpathians where the range stretches into modern-day Northern Romania. The Transcarpathian Region, still inhabited by Rusins, is now located in Western Ukraine. Although both groups of Rusins lived under Hungarian rule for almost one thousand years, each, as we shall see, was treated differently, especially after the Kingdom of Hungary became a Crown land of the Habsburg Empire in 1526 and ceased to exist as an independent state.

The land that would later become the Kingdom of Hungary was conquered toward the end of the ninth century A.D. by a nomadic tribe called the Magyars, who it is believed came from the Urals and crossed the

Carpathians. These people were not Slavs; instead of a Slavonic language, they spoke a Finno-Ugrian tongue.

Hungary as a state came about after the first true king of Hungary, Stephen, recognized Roman Catholicism in 1000 A.D. as the curio regis, and was in turn recognized by the Papacy as a legitimate ruler of a legitimate land. For four hundred years, between the reign of Stephen and the Battle of Mohacs (1526)--when Hungary lost its land and unity to a Turkish onslaught and subsequent civil war--the Hungarians pursued a mixture of policies with regard to their Slavic and non-Magyar minorities. These policies included, at different times, tolerance, racism, cultural exclusion, and serfdom.

According to Magocsi, the first Magyar/Hungarian rulers, the Arpads (850?-1301), were quite tolerant and even interested in the Eastern Orthodoxy that had come from Byzantium (1978:22). Not surprisingly, the Arpad King, Stephen (975-1038), is said to have set Arpad policy around the phrase, "Monoglot kingdoms are never strong" (Dvornik 1962:105). However, the "racial" difference between the Magyars and the Slavs around them was too great for either to ignore and "made it difficult for the Slavic elements to make contact with the center of authority, the king and his council of nobles, and to leave their mark on the political life of Hungary proper" (Dvornik 1962:106). In fact, as Dvornik continues, Arpad isolation in a Slavic sea led to the Arpad policy of admitting large numbers of Turkic elements with full rights in order to counterbalance the large East Slavic population. Also, the Arpads encouraged German colonization of Northern and Eastern Hungary, although this colonization was for military and economic, rather than cultural, reasons.

These two policies of privilege and colonization were only made possible by the seizure of non-Magyar lands, a policy begun early on as Dvornik illustrates:

The Slovaks were not so privileged. There are, indeed, some indications that after the definite annexation of the Slovak lands in the early eleventh century, the Hungarian kings used to bestow the territory in northern Hungary, which covered most of modern Slovakia, as a ducatus or dukedom on their sons. Yet the Slovaks and their lands never achieved a status in Hungary. . . . [Dvornik 1962:133]

In sum, the Slavic elements in Hungary were viewed as both racially and culturally insignificant, "a requisite condition for the success of the designs of the Hungarian kings for hegemony among the Slavic populations" (Dvornik 1962:106).

It is perhaps the imposition of the socio-economic order of serfdom that best exemplifies early Hungarian, pre-Habsburg, oppression of non-Magyar peoples. The conditions enjoyed by Magyar nobility were to remain in place and unchanged until the land reforms of the Czechoslovak Communist party were implemented in the post-World War II era.

When the Golden Bull was introduced by Andrew II (1205-1225) in 1222, feudalism with its requisite first, second, and third estates created an economic and political system previously unheard of in Hungary. Roughly nine-tenths of the population would lead the life of a serf--unfree. Often, the peasant owned no property and could not even be taxed (Komjathy:1976).

Hungary's coming to terms with feudalism was interrupted in 1241 by the invasion of the Mongols led by Batu Khan. Moving westward, the Khan entered Hungarian territory, torched the Carpathian forests and laid waste to several Hungarian villages on the Great Plains.

Up to this time, Hungarian border policy was based upon the gyepuelve ("no-man's land") system. This system dictated two boundaries, each of which was several day's journey wide. The inner boundary surrounded and protected the villages while the outer boundary was "a deliberately devastated wilderness" (Bonkalo 1990:7). The region that divided these two strips of land was called the gyepuelve. This region as well as the outer ring had already been settled by migrations of Rusins from Galicia (Southern Poland). These Rusins would later be organized by the Hungarians into border guards and defensive border settlements. After the Khan laid waste to several villages on the plains, this system was abandoned in favor of colonization and the "importing" of Rusin "workers" as the Hungarian ethnographer Bonkalo describes:

. . . our ancestors began to build castles on the mountain tops after the Tatar invasion, and they began to settle the no-man's land areas in order to hold them more easily and to link them with the rest of the country. The hills of the northeast Carpathians [the Transcarpathian Region] were utilized not so much for defence as for economic purposes. . . .

The kings gave large estates in those areas to their faithful followers. Thus, the settlement of the lands became necessary. While there was enough, perhaps too much land, workers were lacking. Therefore, the landowners imported workers from wherever they could. They found them in particular on the

northern and northeastern slopes of the Carpathians in Galicia, Bukovina, and Podolia. [1990:8]

Bonkalo goes into detail about these transactions that combined the "benefits" of feudalism--an un-free peasant class--with an unstable border:

Rusyn settlers were delivered by contractors to the estates after their assignment to the landlords. In the western regions, the contractors who transported Rusyns were called sholtaz (in Hungarian: soltesz); in the eastern regions they were known as kanaz (in Hungarian: kenez). As entrepreneurs, the sholtaz and the kanaz would make an agreement with a property owner to bring, under certain conditions, serfs to the land. The settlers were to cut down forests, build homes, and establish villages. One condition usually was that the sholtaz or kanaz would be chief magistrate of the village. He would collect the taxes and look after the fulfillment of obligations to the landlord. He received additional privileges, such as a larger land allotment or a mill. He was also entitled to receive money or dues from the serf. [1990:13-14]

While many Rusins became peasants working for the landowners, "there were several military-like settlements in Hungary which were inhabited by free Rusyns" (Bonkalo 1990:10). These free Rusins, who served as bodyguards and doormen, received the title of Rutheni Regia Majestatis from the Arpad Hungarians. However, in his explanation, Bonkalo states that all bodyguards received this title and,

Consequently, if in Latin documents written in the twelfth to sixteenth centuries we find the word Ruthenus, we should not always ascribe to this term Rusyn ethnic origin, because the reference could be to the occupation of the person in question. [1990:11]

Adding to the economic hardship of feudalism, the Anjou dynasty that replaced the Arpad dynasty in the early fourteenth century began to use the Catholic Church as a means of cleaning house and consolidating power at the expense of the Orthodox Church. "From then on it would have to struggle continually in order to maintain jurisdictional and liturgical independence from the ruling Roman Catholic hierarchy" (Magocsi 1978:22).

Although this struggle between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy would not reach its apex in Hungary until 1646, tensions between the Roman Catholics and Orthodox constantly simmered. Anjou policy, based upon the anti-schismatic efforts of Louis of Anjou (1342-1382), mimicked Arpad policy

of land and property annexation. Anjou property seizure, however, was directed toward Orthodox Church holdings rather than toward whatever land remained in non-Magyar hands.

During the fifteenth century, the persecution of the religious reformer Jan Hus' preoccupied the Hungarian Kingdom; the Orthodox Church was left alone, and Roman Catholicism was not yet imposed upon Hungary's Orthodox Rusins.

The sixteenth century began with a Turkish invasion that led to the final defeat of the Hungarians at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. The Hungarian loss of this battle and the flight of nobility northward, in turn, contributed to Rusin hardship. As Magocsi explains:

Hungarian control over the Presov Region and indeed all of the northern part of the kingdom (that is, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus') increased. . . . [T]he Christian princes were forced to seek refuge in the mountainous areas to the north (Slovakia, Presov Region, Subcarpathian Rus') and to the east (Transylvania). The more concentrated presence of Hungarian authority led to increased feudal dues upon the Rusyn peasants and Vlachs. Thus . . . Rusyns in Saros county had to cut hay for their landlords one and one-half days per week and to supply them with dairy products from their herds. [1983:14]

Between the Battle of Mohacs in 1526 and the year 1718, when complete Habsburg rule in Hungary would be established, the Rusin people in both areas of Hungary--the Presov Region and the Subcarpathian Region--fell victim to a rivalry that would force destruction, economic hardship, and more religious change upon them. Although this rivalry began as an internal dispute as to whether the legitimate heirs and protectors of the now Turkish occupied Hungary were to be the Austrian Habsburgs or what remained of the Hungarian nobility in Transylvania, it quickly became an issue of Roman Catholicism versus Protestantism, the former supported by the Habsburgs and the latter supported by the Hungarian princes in Transylvania. Civil war ensued as the surviving Hungarian nobility sided with either Austrian Habsburg Roman Catholic designs or with Transylvanian Protestant aims.

When the Habsburgs stepped in to rule and reconquer Hungary, the country divided into three spheres. The rump or western lands of Hungary, including the Presov Region, passed easily into Habsburg hands, owing to the predominantly Roman Catholic views of the Magyar nobility in the area. A second area, the central and most fertile part, remained in the hands of the

Turks. A third area continued as an independent principality in Transylvania, tolerated by the Turks, and set up by the now Protestant leader John Sigismund Zapolya; this area also contained part of the Subcarpathian Region.

Hungary, in its tri-partite state, experienced great bloodshed and persecutions as the Roman Catholic Habsburgs went head to head with the Protestant factions in Hungary and, as well, attempted to hold back a Turkish onslaught. For eighty years, between 1526 and 1606, this struggle raged throughout Hungary, and the Rusins were inevitably caught in the middle of the military conflict. As Bonkalo illustrates,

By the seventeenth century, Transylvania had become an independent state ruled by the Rokoczi family, which fought against both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. Rusyn-inhabited Subcarpathia became the boundary between the Habsburg and Transylvanian spheres of influence and, therefore, often the scene of bloody battles and the repression of civil disorder. [1990:22]

Pointedly, while the Presov Region was firmly in Roman Catholic Habsburg hands and Transylvania in Protestant, the area between them, the Subcarpathian Region and its inhabitants, became the target of both. Subsequently, their efforts were not limited to military maneuvering but included religious conversion as well.

Protestant missionaries were active in this region and succeeded in converting several Rusin villages from Orthodoxy (Magocsi 1978:83) but, as historian Walter Warzeski states,

The nobility of Ruthenia were followers of the Protestant religions. . . . The conversion of the peasants was very slow. The new doctrines made very little headway among the illiterate peasants. They rejected this new religion, because psychologically, it was against the old order: socially, it was the religion of the nobility; nationally, it was tied up in a Magyar revival and culturally, it was a dispute involving Catholic theology and not that of the Greek Orthodox Church. [1971:33]

The Roman Catholic Habsburgs were also attempting to convert Rusin peasants and monies to their cause to the point of attempting to seize the Orthodox diocese of Mukacevo at the suggestion of the Jesuits--or at least considering it an option. For as Magocsi observes, in the Counter-Reformation struggle, the Habsburgs "would stop at nothing in the struggle against the 'heretics.' In such a context, it seemed inappropriate to have Orthodox 'schismatics' living within the eastern lands of the Habsburg realm" (1978:22).

In time, the Peace of Vienna (1606) would guarantee the religious liberty of the Hungarian Protestants and allow the Habsburgs to concentrate their efforts on removing the Turks, a process that would last until 1718. However, while the Peace of Vienna guaranteed the choice of faith and legitimacy of Protestantism, this choice was granted only to the nobility, and the feudal vassals did not receive it until 1657 (Great Britain Foreign Office 1920:I, 34-35). And while Roman Catholic Habsburg success against the Protestants allowed such a peace, Habsburg success, in turn, encouraged further Roman Catholic ventures. For the Rusins, there was no "Peace of Vienna." There was, instead, the Union of Uzhorod in the year 1646 and another religious struggle.

Prior to 1646, two attempts were made to bring the Orthodox Rusins into the Roman Catholic fold. The first, the Union of Brest (1596), had collapsed in 1633 (see above) and concerned those Rusins living in the Lemkian Region of Poland. The second attempt at union took place in the Presov Region under the direction of the once Protestant, but now staunch Roman Catholic, Prince Drugeth III (d. 1629) in 1614 (Magocsi 1983:15). This second union attempt, situated mainly around the town of Mukacevo, failed due to peasant opposition and subversive Protestant Transylvanian influence which "had no sympathy for the growth of Habsburg influence in the form of a Greek Catholic Church" (Magocsi 1983:15). Drugeth did, however, establish with the aid of the Jesuits a secondary school at Humenne--later moved to Uzhorod--that was "designed to educate the sons of the aristocracy and prospective Greek Catholic priests" (Magocsi 1983:15).

Efforts to convert the peasant population of the land continued. As Warzeski states,

The Orthodox clergy in Ruthenia were desirous of improving their position both socially and politically. In order to do this, it would be necessary to remove the servile duties which were imposed by their territorial rulers. The Latin Rite priests were not under these feudal restrictions, and this factor was very important in convincing the Orthodox priests in Ruthenia to rejoin the Roman Catholic Church. [1971:32-33]

Finally, on April 24, 1646, in the chapel of the fort at Mukacevo, sixty-three priests made an oral pledge of loyalty to Rome (Warzeski 1971:35). Soon after, every Rusin village in the area with few exceptions became Greek Catholic, or Uniate, while Orthodoxy continued among Rusins in the Transcarpathian Region (Magocsi 1983:15-16). The Union of Uzhorod,

modeled after the Union of Brest (1596), allowed a married priesthood, retained the Slavonic liturgy and Julian calendar, and gave the Greek Catholic priests equality with the Latin rite clergy. However, as Goman points out with regard to the union and its implications vis-a-vis canonical law, "the peasantry may in fact not have known that a fundamental change in their church and its doctrinal faith had occurred" (1990:22).

While the Greek Catholic Church would spread, the years that followed the union (1646) would be difficult for both the priesthood and the Rusin people for two reasons: first, the priesthood would not receive the benefits of the union until 1711 and, second, the political power struggle between the factions of the Habsburgs and the Transylvanian princes continued on, regardless of the decree of religious tolerance in the Peace of Vienna in 1606.

By the late seventeenth century, Rusin religious identity in Hungary was divided into three camps: the Rusins living in the Presov Region were Greek Catholic while those Rusins living in the Transcarpathian Region were either Orthodox or Protestant.

While the Rusin priesthood was contending with their new religious identity and place on the social stratum, the Greek Catholic leadership was for a time unable to lead, owing to conflicts of interest between the Roman Catholic elements overseeing the office of the bishop, and Transylvanian Protestant attempts to appoint an Orthodox bishop at Mukacevo.

The Greek Catholic priests were encountering great difficulties on two fronts, the first ecclesiastical and the second secular. While they were paying tithes to the Roman Catholic Bishop at Eger, they were simultaneously trying to prove to the Holy See in Rome their legitimacy and equality in the hope of appointing their own Greek Catholic Bishop. In addition, they were attempting to exercise their rights to education and also free themselves from serfdom and Hungarian and Habsburg hegemony. These conflicts were to continue until a papal bull in 1771 recognized Mukacevo as an independent diocese, separate from Roman Catholic influence (Warzeski 1971:51).

While the Rusin Greek Catholic priests would see some gains in the post-union years, the social and economic well-being of the Rusin people continued to deteriorate, as Magocsi observes:

The decades that followed the Union of Uzhorod in 1646 were marked by a decline in the status of the Rusyn peasantry. The ravages of war and increases in feudal dues had a devastating effect. In comparison to the first half of the seventeenth century, peasant dues doubled and even tripled. Each homestead was liable

for a wide variety of payment in agricultural goods (grain, chickens, eggs, vegetables) and in physical work, sometimes far from the peasant's native village. As the economic conditions resulting from the anti-Habsburg conflict grew worse, the landlords would try to make up for their losses by demanding still more of the peasants. The peasants, in turn, often joined in the military conflicts. . . .

. . . and the only result for the Rusyns was their destruction of their villages followed by the eventual restoration of the feudal system. [1983:16]

From the early eighteenth century until 1848, Rusin history in the hands of the Habsburgs was a mixture of advances and setbacks. The majority of their existing written history of this period concerns Greek Catholic priests' continued attempts to gain, first, equality with the Roman Catholic elements and, later, independence from them. It was not until Leopold I's (1657-1705) decree of 1692--not implemented until 1711--that the Greek Catholic priests were freed from the duties of serfdom and, as Magocsi points out,

In time, the Greek Catholic priest became himself a kind of village landlord, imposing upon his parishioners payment in agricultural goods (*koblina*) and physical work (*rokovina*). In effect, the Greek Catholic priesthood became the richest stratum of Rusyn society, and entry into that class was the sole route whereby the son of a peasant-serf could improve his lot. [1983:17]

In the Transcarpathian Region, bordering on Russia, from 1740 until the 1760s, several religious revolts took place owing to economic hardship and Russian Orthodox influence in the area. This Russian influence was countered by the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) through a reformist policy in the area which included improved education for the peasant masses. As well, during the reign of Joseph II (1780-1790), these educational reforms continued, and several schools as well as printing presses were established. However, as Magocsi points out, this policy of cultural appeasement by the Habsburgs toward the Rusins was limited:

For those educated individuals who did not choose a clerical career, there was little opportunity in Hungary's Rusyn society. Circumstances would require them to assimilate to Hungarian culture or to emigrate to the east. [Magocsi 1983:20]

For the Rusin Greek Catholic priests, education became a double-edged sword. While it allowed them many opportunities for intellectual

development, these opportunities also begot the pursuit of a cultural development agenda that was far from uniform. More specifically, the now educated priesthood became quickly divided over Rusin past and future.

The origins for this divisiveness are rooted in the education of the priests. Many were studying abroad and brought back nationalist ideas and sentiments in a time when ethnicity and national consciousness was forming throughout Eastern Europe. Naturally, those who studied in or near Imperial Russia were influenced accordingly; those who studied in Vienna were Austro-Hungarian in their ideas about the Rusin people's future and a suitable interpretation of the past. There was still a third group of priests, educated or living in the Transcarpathian Region, especially around the town of L'viv, who were being molded by the ideas of a Ukrainian national awakening--an attempt to counter the Russophile ideology emanating from Imperial Russia.

Accordingly, the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches would still be nipping at the heels of the Greek Catholic priesthood while the people were, seemingly, unaware of the situation. Magocsi's following passage, though focused on the Presov Region, illustrates as well the situation for the Rusins in the Transcarpathian Region:

As for the socio-economic structure of the Presov Region, it did not change during the first half of the nineteenth century. Most of the innovations undertaken during the Reform period in Austrian history, including Emperor Joseph II's emancipation of the serfs (1785), were short-lived, and the Presov Region remained an agricultural society in which the majority of arable land and forests was owned by a few Hungarian landlords. . . . Because Hungary remained underdeveloped throughout this period, making no effort to industrialize, the only outlet for the Rusyn population was small-scale peasant farming and grazing. [Magocsi 1983:21]

The year 1815 brought a new political climate to Central and Eastern Europe. After nearly 20 years of Napoleonic politics and warfare, the residue of revolution was still present and was spreading; the "old order" and the "will of the people" continued to be at odds with one another. The threat posed to the remaining monarchies became the focal point of the two greatest survivors of the Napoleonic turmoil, Habsburg Austro-Hungary and Imperial Russia. Both sought to contain revolutionary ideas in their own lands; at the same time, they were attempting to determine the rightful ownership of disputed territory, principally border lands such as Poland and the separate land of Galicia.

The recent history of these lands made this task difficult. Originally, Poland had been partitioned by Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1772, again in 1793 by Prussia and Russia, and again in 1795. Western Poland had gone to Prussia; Northern and Eastern Poland had gone to Russia; Galicia and its Rusin population was in Austrian control.

During the Napoleonic wars (1798-1815), the lands of Poland changed hands several times as Napoleon won and lost allies and battles. Owing to Napoleon's promises of freedom in exchange for support, parts of Poland were, at times, independent duchies or city-states. With the Napoleonic wars over in 1815 and negotiations over these lands finally settled, Russia now occupied the majority of Poland while Austria once again received Galicia and its Rusin people. However, neither Russia nor Austria-Hungary could know that Polish nationalism, born of Napoleon's promises of freedom, was to ignite nationalism and unrest throughout the remainder of Eastern and Central Europe. The residue of revolution that Austria-Hungary and Imperial Russia thought had been contained in the defeat of Napoleon had only been transplanted and now lay dormant and smoldering within their own borders. As the years passed, nationalist sentiment and ideology grew until, in the 1840s, they re-emerged.

The period of the Revolutions of 1848, and the nationalist atmosphere that swept Central and Eastern Europe prior to and during this period, involved the Rusins in two ways: in Galicia, the Rusin peasants were encouraged and rewarded for helping quell Polish nationalism; in Hungary, where nationalist fervor soon spread, the Rusins began a cultural revival of their own in response to the Hungarian cultural revival.

Historian Alan Palmer describes Austrian Galicia of the 1840s as,

. . . an agricultural region, economically and socially backward, in which the large estates of the Polish gentry yielded only a small crop because of antiquated farming methods. The legal obligations of feudalism were as burdensome as anywhere in Central Europe. As in the Austrian lands, the robot required the peasant to work for certain hours on his lord's estate but also permitted him to cultivate a strip of land of his own. There was, however, as marked a distinction between the gentry and the tillers of the soil as in pre-revolutionary France. Even where, as in western Galicia, the peasantry was Polish rather than Ruthene in origin, it still lacked all national consciousness. [1970:46]

When Polish nationalism came to a head in 1846, Russia crushed the nationalist elements in its Polish lands. The Austrian government, lacking adequate resources to counter nationalism in their own formerly Polish territory, urged the peasants of Galicia to revolt against the Polish gentry, promising them an end to the obligations of the robot. With the aid of the peasants, the uprising was crushed and "mansions were burned or looted. Polish patriots, dead or alive, were conveyed to the guard posts of the Austrian police or soldiery, and rewards were paid, both in cash and in kind" (Palmer 1970:47). To a great extent, however, the Galician peasants did not achieve emancipation from serfdom as promised; it appears the Austrian government was not interested in ending one revolution by setting the stage for another. Nevertheless, Austria continued to use the Galician peasants to keep Polish nationalism in check by rewarding revolt against the Polish gentry with cash and more promises of emancipation.

In Austria-Hungary, neighboring Polish nationalism provided the impetus for Magyar nationalist sentiment to re-emerge to the point of armed conflict between rebellious Hungarian forces and the Austrian army in 1849. The subjugation of the Magyar national identity extended back to the Battle of Mohacs in 1526 when Hungary lost its crown and independence first to the invading Turks and later to the protective Austrian Habsburgs. Under Austrian control, Hungary had become a crown-land of Austria, and its Magyar minority, living as they did in a sea of Slavs and Germans, was subject to Austrian government regulations and law. As well, Magyar as an official language was replaced by Latin and German. It is not surprising, therefore, that as nationalist ideas took hold in Hungary, the Magyar nationalist movement, led by Lajos Kossuth, first proclaimed language as a marker of identity of the Magyar people.

As the revolutionary years (1848-1849) in Hungary approached, the educated Rusin priesthood, diverse in its nationalistic orientations, pushed Rusin historical interpretation aside in order to respond to Magyar language concerns by tackling the crucial issue of Rusin language and literature codification. However, as with their varied interpretations of history, the Rusin intelligentsia were seriously divided on both the nature of the root language and the use of dialects. Some desired the use of a Subcarpathian recension of Church Slavonic; others wanted only Church Slavonic; and still others, strongly influenced by Russian or Hungarian interests, were pulled accordingly towards those languages (Magocsi 1978:37-41; Magocsi 1983:20-22). Prior to the Revolution of 1848, as Magocsi states, there were still no

Rusin newspapers or cultural organizations, and the language issue had not been solved (1983:22).

Those Rusins living in Transcarpathia responded to the Magyar cultural revival by dividing themselves into two opposite camps. The first camp consisted of those intelligentsia who saw Imperial Russia as their old homeland and savior; when Imperial Russia invaded Hungary through the Transcarpathia in 1849 to help crush the Hungarian revolts--at Austria's request--the Russian troops were viewed as liberators. The second group contained those intelligentsia who embraced a Ukrainian identity, owing to moderately successful attempts to codify the Rusin language as a Ukrainian dialect.

In 1867, Austria was forced to relinquish its control over Hungary in order to counter Prussian interests in Austria itself. Hungary became independent in all but name through a self-rule agreement with Austria called the *Ausgleich* of 1867. The *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, re-ignited Magyar sentiment on a ferocious scale; memories of the Austrian and Russian crushing of Hungarian rebel forces in 1849 were quite fresh. One of the first laws passed by the new Hungarian government attempted to centralize Magyar culture and identity at the expense of all non-Magyar groups. Magocsi explains in detail the law and its implications:

According to "Law XLIV of 1868 on the equality of rights of the nationalities," it was proclaimed that "all citizens of Hungary constitute a single nation, the indivisible, unitary Magyar nation [Magyar nemzet], of which every citizen, to whatever nationality [nemzetiség] he belongs, is equally a member Despite liberal guarantees protecting the use of national languages in official and religious affairs, the provisions of the 1868 law were never really implemented. While the members of national minorities had the right to become Magyars, they could not propagate their own cultures in any organized way. All national societies were automatically considered illegal, since according to the law of 1868, there was only one nation, the Magyar nation. Thus, the reorganization of the Hapsburg empire brought about by the Ausgleich of 1867 may have guaranteed in theory the rights of the nationalities in both halves of the monarchy, but in practice those minorities living within the Hungarian Kingdom were to be left to the whims of the Magyar ruling classes. [1978:56]

While prior to the *Ausgleich* of 1867, Magyar nationalism was only a sentiment, it was now an official government agenda and legally enforceable. The impact of this spread rapidly and supplanted developing Rusin ideologies and concerns--held, for the most part, by the Rusin clergy--in both the Presov and Transcarpathian regions. In the Transcarpathian region, as Magocsi explains,

the nationalist intelligentsia, whether Russophile or populist in orientation, had represented only a small minority of educated Subcarpathians. By far, the largest majority anxiously strove to assimilate with Magyar culture. [1978:63]

[In the Presov Region], the Rusyn intelligentsia . . . was small, isolated, and divided between those who favored assimilation with Hungarian culture . . . and those who remained national patriots but who felt that the use of the Russian language and identification with the Russian nationality was the only way to prevent the disappearance of the group. [Magocsi 1983:28]

The desire to proclaim allegiance to the Magyars is understandable given the fact that proficiency in the Magyar language was required in order to enter a profession. The allegiance to Imperial Russia is equally understandable in that Russia, in its efforts to undermine the efforts of the Austro-Hungarian government, was quite sympathetic to the Rusins, if only to re-establish the Orthodox Church and provoke Rusin irredentist sentiment.

Even outside of the intelligentsia circles, Rusin attempts to maintain an identity became increasingly complicated since the Rusin language was taught in only a few elementary schools by the 1870s (Magocsi 1978:65). Even this cultural concession by the Magyars was short-lived. By 1897, "a new school-law required the introduction of a Magyar study plan and proficiency in the Magyar language by the fourth class" (Magocsi 1978:65).

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the situation for the Rusins appeared grim. Galician Rusins were isolated geographically, culturally, and politically from the other Rusin lands, and Austria continued to use the peasants of Galicia to quell Polish revolts by promising them emancipation. A Ukrainian nationalist movement was strong here as well. Begun in Ukraine, it was now centered around the town of L'viv and, as Warzeski explains, "[in] order to include all Ruthenians, literary overtones were made to Carpatho-Ruthenia, to whom Ukrainians looked as a 'wounded brother'" (1971:86).

As this movement spread, its ideology--along with Russophile ideology--was actively countered by Rusin intellectuals with, interestingly enough, the support of the Hungarians:

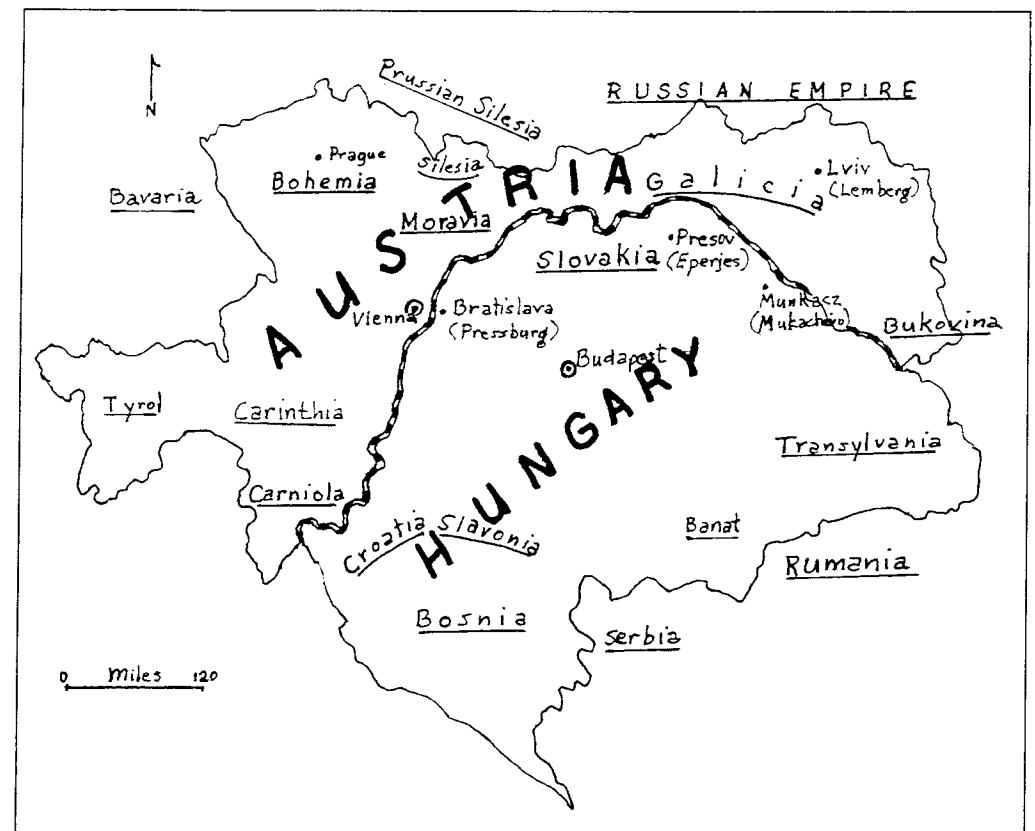
This Rusin separation was encouraged by Budapest for the purpose of halting propaganda stemming from Russian, Austrian and Galician agitators. In 1880, the Hungarian government sent an agent to encourage this Rusin "national" movement. This was done by encouraging the printing of textbooks and other publications in the Rusin vernacular. Rusin-Magyar dictionaries were published as well as a manual of Rusin grammar written in Hungarian. . . . [Warzeski 1971:88]

Religiously, the Galicians were predominantly Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic although there were Russian attempts to re-convert the Rusin peasants in Austrian Galicia to Orthodoxy. In sum, the Galician Rusins found themselves to be politically, culturally, and economically impoverished while their intelligentsia were using their available energy and resources to survive a series of ideological onslaughts that continually sapped their ranks and divided them linguistically, religiously, politically, and . . . culturally.

Those Rusins in Transcarpathia, having heralded the arrival of the Tsarist troops that crushed the Hungarian uprising in 1849, had schools closed and the Rusin language and culture all but outlawed by the new Magyar government. They sat divided in their views between Russian ideals, Magyar law, and Ukrainian hopes. Their religion was either Protestant, Orthodox, or, more commonly, Greek Catholic--and even the professed Ukrainians wanted their own Greek Catholic church, separate from the Rusins.

Those Rusins in the Presov Region were either Magyarized or were looking elsewhere to the East or to the West for guidance and identity. Their religion was, for the most part, Greek Catholic.

When the first immigrations to the United States began in the 1870s, Rusin culture, devoid of the economic and political framework needed to sustain it, was ill-defined if at all present. While united by Greek Catholicism, the leadership of the Rusin people, the priesthood, was feeling the pull of numerous nationalist influences--Austrian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian. There were also Czech and Slovak influences to be found. Linguistically, the intelligentsia continued attempts to codify the Rusin language although the direction it was taking continued to be towards a Russian, Ukrainian, or Church Slavonic orientation. Economically, in all three areas, the Rusins were, as Magocsi summarizes, impoverished:



The majority of Minnesota's Rusins emigrated from the N.E. region of Austria-Hungary. This includes Galicia, East Slovakia and Subcarpathia. The period was 1880 to 1920 (approximately).

As for the Carpatho-Rusyn masses, their socioeconomic status remained basically unchanged from the medieval period until the twentieth century. Because they inhabited not exceptionally fertile valleys, they were forced to struggle in order to eke out a subsistence-level existence from their tiny plots and small herds. . . . Almost without exception, Carpatho-Rusyns inhabited small villages and worked as serfs for Hungarian or Polish landlords until 1848, and then as poorly paid and/or indebted agricultural laborers under the same landlords several more decades after their "liberation" from serfdom. [1984:10]

It is at this point that we conclude our examination of Rusin history in Europe and turn our attention, briefly, to Comaroff (1987). We saw in the introduction how ethnicity arises when two structurally dissimilar social

groupings--their internal structures created and maintained by their respective cultures--are incorporated into a single political economy, giving rise to dominant and subordinate groupings. The subsequent section outlined the history of Rusin subordination and the historical forces that, up to the time of emigration, influenced Rusin identity. However, the dynamics that would later transform these influences into a changed ethnic identity warrant consideration.

To begin with, we must consider the manner in which subordination is generally experienced, keeping in mind that "there can, after all, be no social division of labor without its representation in culture" (308). Just as there is a dominant ideology and practice, so, too, is there a subordinate ideology and practice. As Comaroff explains,

... subordinate groupings typically come to define their "ethnicity" as an emblem of common predicament and interest; through it, too, they may begin to assert a shared commitment to an order of symbols and meanings and, sometimes, a moral code. . . . This, moreover, is often expressed in the reciprocal negation of the humanity of those who dominate them. [305]

A Rusin subordinate identity, couched solely in these terms, cannot be verified since there is no objective Rusin cultural analysis prior to emigration. However, if we probe deeper into Comaroff, we find reference to a more applicable feature of ethnic consciousness and practice that--in combination with the history section and the above generalization--provides a more adequate basis for analysis of Rusin subordination. This aspect of ethnic consciousness is collective activity for, as Comaroff states,

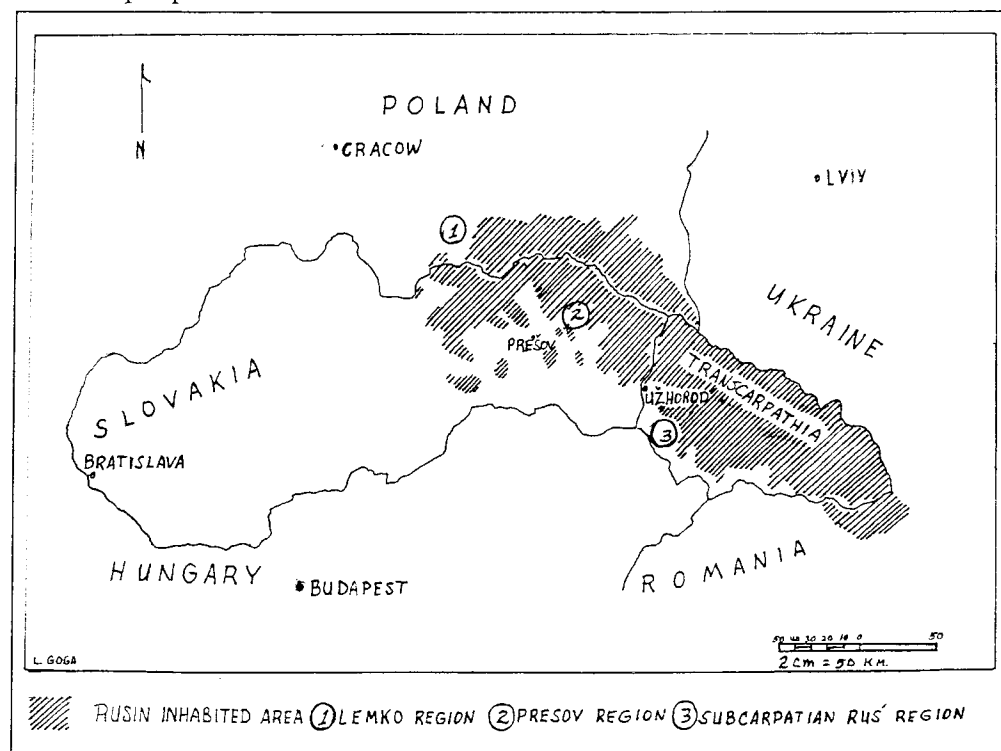
ethnicity, rather than the forces that generate it, takes on the ineffable appearance of determining the predicament of individuals and groups. . . . For, at the experiential level, it does seem to be ethnicity which orders social status, class membership, and so on--and not class or status that decides ethnic identities. . . .

. . . once ethnicity impinges upon experience as an (apparently) independent principle of social classification and organization, it provides a powerful motivation for collective activity. [312]

In other words, once a subordinate group is assigned to a niche in the social division of labor--a class--the members of the group come to see their class and ethnicity as intertwined determinants of their lives. This sense of "common predicament" can lead to collective activity as they seek to change their position. With this in mind, can we expect to find--as Comaroff

suggests--examples of a Rusin sense of "common predicament" and instances of Rusin collective activity?

As we have seen, the geo-political realities of East Europe divided the Rusin people; however, in examining the Rusin leadership, the priesthood, we find not only a sense of common predicament, but also instances of collective activity as they sought to maintain and protect the religious unity of their divided people.



The geo-political realities of East Europe divided the Rusins into three areas; there were Rusins north of the Carpathians in Galicia, south of the Carpathians around Presov, and further east in the Transcarpathia. Owing to the natural geographical barrier of the mountains, each group was subject to different governmental control and influence. For example, the Galician Rusins who were originally independent, became subjects of the Polish and later Austrian monarchies while their brethren south of the mountains, around Presov, were subjects of the Hungarians and, later, the Austrians. In sum, while the mountains divided the Rusins geographically, the borders of Europe divided them politically and nationally, plunging each group into a unique

political economy and subjecting them to distinctive historical forces. It is this fact of political and national division that prevented the Rusin people, as a whole, from forming a cohesive collective identity and taking collective action on the basis of that identity.

However, this is not to say that the Rusins were not united at all. They did share a common "commitment to an order of symbols and meanings and . . . a moral code" (Comaroff 1987:305)--Orthodoxy. And while there was not large-scale collective activity, *per se*, amongst the general Rusin population, there was collective activity amongst the "legitimators and enforcers" of the Rusin Orthodox culture--the priesthood.

Prior to the Union of Brest in 1596 and the Union of Uzhorod in 1646, the Rusin Orthodox priesthood and the Rusin people struggled to maintain their religion within the boundaries of Roman Catholic lands--Poland and Hungary. And certainly, as their history shows, the attempts made to weaken Orthodoxy were many and ranged from ill-qualified church appointments and property seizures to the Unions themselves. Nevertheless, the Rusin clergy saw union as an opportunity to "alter their own unfavorable sociocultural status" (Magocsi 1984:9) and "raise the moral and intellectual level of their clergy to that of the Western clergy" (Attwater 1947:I,68). In sum, union with Roman Catholicism would grant the Rusin priesthood opportunity and, it was hoped, power. While the element of self-interest is apparent here, the terms of union allowed most aspects of Orthodoxy--including language, liturgy, and a married priesthood--to remain; this indicates an effort, on the part of the Rusin priesthood, to maintain the religious culture and unity of the Rusin people.

There are three points of the Union of Brest that indicate the position of the Rusin priesthood with regard to their future and the future of the Rusin people: "That the metropolitans, bishops and other clergy be either Rus' or Greek; that our churches and monasteries not be converted to Roman churches; that we be allowed to have our schools and seminaries in which instruction may be carried out in the Rus' language . . . and that we be allowed to maintain printing presses. . . ."

While the Union of Brest collapsed in 1633, the letter of the union--compromises from the monarchy in exchange for a pledge of loyalty to Rome--was carried forward to the Union of Uzhorod in 1646.

The Union of Uzhorod, marginally more successful than its predecessor, brought the vast majority of Rusin Orthodox priests and their people into the Greek Catholic fold. Like the Union of Brest, the Union of Uzhorod allowed

for essentially Orthodox practice in exchange for Communion with Rome. Similarly and theoretically, the now Greek Catholic Rusin priesthood would receive, in exchange, equality with the western clergy. The point being made, simply, is that the Rusin priesthood was able to dramatically raise its status in exchange for loyalty to Rome; at the same time, they remained "legitimators and enforcers" of Rusin Greek Catholic (formerly Orthodox) culture with an essentially unchanged "order of symbols and meanings and . . . moral code" (Comaroff 1987:305).

Once the Rusin priesthood was able to consolidate its new power and place in the Austro-Hungarian social stratum, in the late 18th century, it was able to turn its attention away from its religious struggles and focus on the Rusin people.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, the Rusin priesthood exercised its freedoms through travel and study and produced a core of intelligentsia that would later initiate a Rusin cultural revolution. However, the effects of East European geo-politics continued to have its effect. As a people without a homeland, scattered in three areas, and with a nationalist movement sweeping Europe, the educated priesthood, scattered as well, fell sway to different and opposite influences of neighboring nationalisms.

These influences first surfaced when attempts were made to position the Rusin people, historically, with regard to the other Slavic peoples in East Europe. The Rusin intelligentsia was divided into three historical camps; those Rusins who thought they were Russian, those Rusins who thought they were Ukrainian, and those Rusins who thought the Rusins were a distinct group. I shall repeat the following point made earlier in the history section:

The origins for this divisiveness are rooted in the education of the priests. Many were studying abroad and brought back their ideas in a time when ethnicity and national consciousness was forming throughout eastern Europe. Naturally, those who studied in or near Imperial Russia were influenced accordingly; those who studied in Vienna were Austro-Hungarian in their ideas about the Rusins' future and a suitable interpretation of the past. There was still a third group of priests, educated or living in the Transcarpathian Region, especially around the town of L'viv, who were being molded by the ideas of a Ukrainian national awakening, an attempt to counter the Russophile ideology emanating from Imperial Russia. [19]

These differences concerning an historical interpretation of Rusin history would again surface in the late 1840s when attempts were being made to codify the Rusin language.

However, regardless of these nationalist differences in opinion, the Greek Catholic Church remained strong enough to survive Hungary's Magyarization in 1867, although Rusin cultural activity declined steeply as laws regarding non-Magyar languages and education were introduced and enforced. In fact, Magyarization drove Rusin intelligentsia to extremes in accepting or rejecting Magyarone, Russophile, or Ukrainophile ideologies at the expense of any developing Rusin ideology.

While the Rusin priesthood and people would, as a whole, maintain their Greek Catholicism during the immigration years, the ideas of neighboring nationalisms smoldered within them and immigrated as well. Ironically, the Greek Catholic Church which was the one surviving Rusin institution at the time of emigration--having maintained a degree of Rusin collective identity through centuries of turmoil in Europe--would contribute to Rusin disunity in the New World.

CHAPTER TWO RUSIN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

As the Rusins immigrated to the United States, they brought with them their memories of their economic conditions, knowledge of several languages outside of their dialects, and many priests with their own aspirations or agendas for the political and religious future of the Rusin people.

Prior to the year 1914, an estimated 125-150,000 Carpatho-Rusins immigrated to the United States, although this number may be as high as 250,000 (Magocsi 1984:13). Of these, according to Magocsi,

. . . 41 percent were engaged in agriculture, 22 percent were laborers, and 20 percent were domestic servants, while only 2 percent were skilled artisans, less than 1 percent professionals, and even fewer merchants. To complete the demographic picture, 13 percent were women and children without occupational status. [Between the years 1900-1914], 71 percent of "Ruthenian" immigrants were males, and only 33 percent of the total population over 14 years of age was literate. [1984:13]

For the most part, the Rusins settled in Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York, working first in the mining and manufacturing sector. Later, some returned to their homeland as poor as when they had left, while others returned to the "old country" with American dollars and purchased land or livestock; still others moved into the midwestern and western regions of the United States, settling in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. Those Rusins who settled in Minnesota, their stories and ethnic identities, will be the next focus of this paper.

There are three areas in Minnesota with Rusin populations: Minneapolis, Browerville-Holdingford, and Chisholm-Hibbing. Minneapolis, with its urban setting, provided work for the Rusins through its developing railway system. Chisholm and Hibbing, nestled on the Iron Range, provided mining jobs for the Rusins while the Browerville-Holdingford area provided farmland and a rural existence for the immigrants. As we shall see, each of these groups, though socio-economically different, suffered similar identity problems. The catalyst for these identity problems was, ironically, the Rusin's Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church which had survived political and religious battering in the old country but would now feel the effect of those polemics in the New World. To be sure, while a Rusin identity was to be found within the ranks

of the church-trained intelligentsia, the origin and future of this identity was still open to other influences.

The first Rusin settlements in the United States, according to Magocsi, were in New York and Pennsylvania. Gradually, Rusins began to settle westward in states such as Colorado, Minnesota, Montana, Illinois, and Alabama. Naturally, their churches and church life accompanied them. As Magocsi illustrates:

The whole village life-cycle used to be governed by the church. The traditional peasant mode of existence, determined by the climatic changes of the agricultural seasons, was interspersed by numerous religious holidays, including workless Sundays, fasts and feasts of the church calendar, baptisms, marriages, and funerals--all carried out according to the fixed guidelines of the church. Since religious life was so bound up with the Carpatho-Rusin mentality, it was only natural that the first immigrants attempted to recreate for themselves a similar environment in the United States. [1984:22]

One of the first parishes of the Rusin Greek Catholic Church was begun in Minneapolis in 1887 (Magocsi 1984:23). The church, organized as St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church, held its first service on Thanksgiving Day in 1889 with the aid of a priest named Fr. Alexis Toth. Shortly after St. Mary's was completed, an event took place in Minneapolis that was to affect Rusin identity throughout the United States. Although the Rusin people had survived centuries of warfare, political upheaval, religious persecution, and poverty in East Europe, they were not prepared for conflict with the American Roman Catholic Church and Bishop John Ireland.

As indicated in the above historical examination, the majority of the Rusins in East Europe were Greek--later renamed "Byzantine"--Catholic. Simply stated, they practiced an Orthodox liturgy and rite while being in Communion with Rome. They also had a married priesthood and used Church Slavonic. The Rusin Greek Catholic parishes in America, being in Communion with Rome but not having at the time a bishopric (or Papal link), fell under the temporary, hierarchical jurisdiction of the American Roman Catholic Church. It was the issue of a married priesthood, guaranteed by Rome in the Union of Uzhorod (1646), that brought the Rusin priests into direct canonical conflict with the American Roman Catholic hierarchy. As well, several other issues added to the strained relationship between the Rusin Greek Catholic priests and the American Roman Catholic Church.

First, as Warzeski illustrates, there was simple hostility in that:

These immigrants had strange customs and were unable to speak the English language. Their clergy married and often wore beards, which caused the celibate Latin clergy to confuse them with the Orthodox. In many instances the Latin clergy of Austria-Hungary, who were often anti-Uniate, misinformed the American hierarchy of the catholicity of the Ruthenians. [1971:105]

In addition, the American Roman Catholic Church's policy toward immigrant "Roman" Catholic churches was not reformist; the formation of dioceses along national lines was prohibited. With regard to the Rusin parishes, there would be no language other than Latin and certainly no married priesthood, regardless of Rome's ancient guarantees. Complicating matters, the Rusin parishes, sensing the tension around them and waiting for their own bishop and word from Rome, refused to turn over church property and deeds to the heads of the Roman Catholic dioceses; instead they formed boards of lay trustees (Warzeski 1971:105-106).

In Minneapolis, these issues came to a head as Fr. Alexis Toth, a Uniate priest and a professor of Canon Law from Presov, met formally with Bishop John Ireland, head of the Minneapolis Roman Catholic diocese to present his credentials and, thereby, make official his minister to St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church. On December 19, 1889, the following event took place, as described by Fr. Toth:

As an obedient Uniate [Greek Catholic], I complied with the orders of my Bishop, who at the time was John Valyi [of the Diocese of Presov] and appeared before Bishop Ireland on December 19, 1889, kissed his hand according to the custom and presented my credentials, failing, however, to kneel before him, which, as I learned later, was my chief mistake. I remember that no sooner did he read that I was a "Greek Catholic," his hands began to shake. It took him fifteen minutes to read to the end after which he asked abruptly--we conversed in Latin:

"Have you a wife?"

"No."

"But you had one?"

"Yes, I am a widower."

At this he threw the paper on the table and loudly exclaimed:

"I have already written to Rome protesting against this kind of priests being sent to me!"

"What kind of priests do you mean?"

"Your kind."

"I am a Catholic priest of the Greek rite. I am a Uniate and was ordained by a regular Catholic Bishop."

"I do not consider that either you or this bishop of yours are Catholic; besides, I do not need any Greek Catholic priests here; a Polish priest in Minneapolis is quite sufficient; the Greeks can also have him for their priest."

"But he belongs to the Latin rite; besides, our people do not understand him and so they will hardly go with him; that was the reason they instituted a church of their own."

"They had no permission from me and I shall grant you no jurisdiction to work here."

Deeply hurt by the fanaticism of the representative of Papal Rome, I replied sharply:

"In that case, I know the rights of my church, I know the basis on which the Union was established and shall act accordingly."

The Archbishop lost his temper. I lost mine just as much. One word brought another, the thing had gone so far that our conversation is not worth putting on record. [Magocsi 1984:26-27]

Fr. Toth would continue to serve at St. Mary's without Ireland's approval while he waited for help from his Bishop in Europe in settling the issue. As Magocsi continues,

With no help forthcoming, Toth felt that the centuries-old traditions of his church, recognized by Rome as canonically legal, were being violated in the New World. He therefore decided to abjure the Catholic faith altogether and to convert to Orthodoxy. He travelled to San Francisco, where a Russian Orthodox Bishop was residing. The result was that on March 25, 1891, the Reverend Toth and his community of 365 Carpatho-Rusyns [living in Minneapolis] were formally accepted by Bishop Vladimir Sokolovsky into the Russian Orthodox Diocese of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands.

[Magocsi 1984:27]

Later, Toth would travel to Pennsylvania and lead other Rusin parishioners from the Uniate Church into the Orthodox fold. Many Rusin immigrants in the New World, however, were leaving the Greek Catholic fold without waiting for guidance:

These people broke away from their Uniate religion for a variety of reasons. Ignorance of the difference between the Uniate and the Orthodox Church, petty jealousies, and the desire to be more quickly assimilated into American society, were all factors in the break but perhaps the greatest number left because of the neglect and hostility of the Latin Rite. [Warzeski 1971:104-105]

However, there were still many Rusins who continued to proclaim the Uniate faith and were not about to join a "tsarist" church.

To complicate religious matters for Rusin immigrants in the United States, those Rusins who returned to their villages in the old country brought with them money, news of the New World, and (owing to Fr. Toth) Orthodoxy--which, according to Habsburg and, especially, Hungarian church and lay officials, served only to undermine their powers and policies. In 1906, Hungary sent a papal delegate, Fr. Hodobay, to Minneapolis to investigate the impact of Russian Orthodoxy and make recommendations. Fr. Hodobay found there were members of the Rusin community here who wanted to maintain their Uniate faith. Roman Catholic Bishop John Ireland, himself, wished to correct the Orthodox situation in Minneapolis and encouraged and finally endorsed the creation of a Greek Catholic church within his diocese.

In 1908, St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church was formally incorporated, composed of those late arriving Rusins who had decided not to join the Orthodox church. By this time, as well, in Rusin communities throughout America, the religious division of Rusins into Orthodox and Greek Catholic camps was approaching its apex.

Initially, St. Mary's Orthodox Greek Catholic Church (as it became known as following Toth's conversion) had a strong Rusin orientation--owing to Fr. Toth and subsequent Rusin priests and to the fact that most of its members came directly from Europe. Later, as St. Mary's connection to the Russian Orthodox Church became more apparent, it developed a more Russophile orientation. St. John's Greek Catholic Church members, for the most part, came from the Eastern United States, especially Pennsylvania, where a Rusin Greek Catholic identity was quite strong.

When the Galician Rusins immigrated to the United States and then settled in Minneapolis, they carried with them a Ukrainian nationalist sentiment into St. John's Greek Catholic Church which, apparently, was not well received. Most of the founding parishioners of St. John's were not from Galicia and, therefore, did not have knowledge of the plight of their Galician brethren that had given birth to a Ukrainian sentiment. Inevitably, the

Galician Rusins--who considered themselves to be Ukrainian--left St. John's and formed their own church, St. Constantine's Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1913, also with Bishop Ireland's blessing. Both St. John's and St. Constantine's would continue to share facilities and priests since the division between these two churches was based more upon national rather than religious lines, as historians Keith Dyrud and James Cunningham observe:

The differences between St. John's and St. Mary's were of a different nature than the differences between St. John's and St. Constantine's. In the first instance, the issue was communion with Rome or non-communion with Rome (the practices of the church need not have changed significantly). In the second instance, the rite remained the same and the churches remained in communion with Rome. In the first case, the cause of the differences originated in Minnesota (Archbishop Ireland's rejection of Fr. Toth). In the second case, the cause of the differences originated in eastern Europe. The cause was the birth of Ukrainian identity. [1989:186]

Later, the American Ukrainian Catholic Church--mimicking its own situation in Europe--would itself split into Uniate and Orthodox factions and still another church would be built in Minneapolis in 1926, St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Any Rusin identity or sense of community dissipated; the ethnic repercussions would, as we shall see in the examination of the communities in Minnesota, spread to Rusin communities throughout the United States and back into Europe. In every Rusin community, there would be both a Greek Catholic church and an Orthodox church and depending on the size and history of the Rusin community, a smattering of Ukrainian sentiment. The effects of such a fractured identity will be examined next in the small town of Browerville, Minnesota.

CHAPTER THREE THE RUSIN COMMUNITY IN BROWERVILLE

The town of Browerville, located in Todd County, sits in the center of Minnesota. The town's population, according to the 1990 census, is 782. The community and other townships around it are heavily engaged in milk production; a Land O' Lakes company milk-processing plant, located in town, is the chief employer for the community.

According to the Todd County Heritage Committee's book, Todd County: Then and Now (1988), the founding of Browerville occurred owing to railway expansion in the area. And although the community was settled in 1882, it was not formally incorporated until 1884. The early settlers of the area "came from Maine to Missouri and Canada, England, Norway, France, Sweden, Ireland and Poland" (Todd County Heritage Committee 1988:8). As well, there settled in the area a large number of German immigrants and their descendants and a large number of "Bohemians." In the town of Browerville, itself, the two largest and most active national groups were the Germans and the Poles.

The initial Rusin population of Browerville consisted of 12 families. They migrated to the area in the early 1900s, although at least one family came to the area in the late 1800s. Their origins in the United States were as diverse as Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Colorado, and Minneapolis. Their villages in the old country were equally diverse: Slovinky, Krempach, Bratislava, Nagyruszká (or Vel'ky Ruskov), and others.

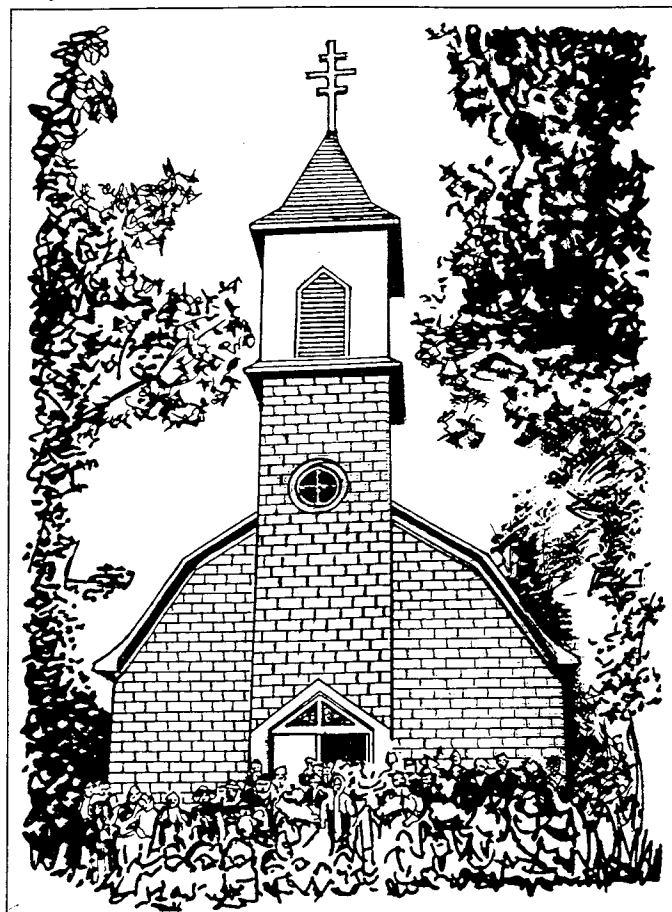
At some point (the date and details remain unknown), these 12 families formed a Greek Catholic Association in Browerville and, like other Rusin communities throughout the United States, constructed a church and purchased a cemetery. The Greek Catholic Association consisted of the following individuals:

Joseph Perish	George Pachan
Joseph H. Perish	Elias Pachan
William Perish	Mike Nemchik
Nick Yorke	Elias Duritza
John Drobnak	John Sherilla
Mike Dorosh	George Roman
John Ribar	Mike Kudlyk

I spoke with some of the children of these immigrants, those I could find, at great length about their parents and their memories of the Rusin Greek Catholic church, Holy Trinity, often referred to as the "Farmer's Church."

Finding these informants was not difficult. In order to get some preliminary information and the use of a local phone-book, my first stop was the town's cafe. I had with me two letters written in 1913 that listed the names of three church officers of Browerville's Greek Catholic Association; I also had a list of names obtained from the church records of St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church, Minneapolis, that once served the area's Greek Catholics on holidays, baptisms, and funerals. I asked a food-server at the cafe if she recognized any of the family names on the St.

John's list. She did not recognize any; as I discovered later, the contemporary spelling of these names differed considerably from the original spelling found in the church records. However, I was told to talk to the "old timer" sitting in a booth, sipping coffee. I walked over, sat down, and asked the "old timer" if he recognized any of the names as I spoke them. He soon began to correct my pronunciation of the names, told me which families still had descendants living in the area, and then said that he was Frank Perish (also spelled as "Perhacs," and "Perosch"), the son of Josif Perhacs.



Holy Trinity "Farmer's Church" - Browerville, MN.

Frank was born in February, 1908, in Browerville. Both of his parents, Katherine Yvancho and Josif Perish, were married in Slovinky, now located in Szepes County, former Czechoslovakia, in 1884. Katherine and Josif immigrated to the United States in 1886. It is believed, according to Frank's nephew, Raymond, that they first settled in Pennsylvania before moving to Ashland, Wisconsin, in 1886. In 1888, the Perishes settled in Browerville, Minnesota.

I found Sophie Pikal (nee "Shirilla," "Sherella," or "Sirilla") in a nursing home in Little Falls, Minnesota. Sophie was born in September, 1913, in Browerville. Her father, Joannes--or John--emigrated from Bratislava, now in former Czechoslovakia, to Collinsville, Pennsylvania, near Union Town, around 1897. Her mother, Sophie Kornick, followed in 1900. The Sherilla family moved to Browerville in 1910.

John and Andy Pachan (also spelled as "Pacan," or "Passan") are the sons of George Pachan and Anna Lacho. John was born in Barbell, Minnesota, in January, 1919. Andy was born east of Browerville in July, 1920. The Pachan family, led by the grand-parents, Alexes and Anna, emigrated from Krempach, now in former Czechoslovakia, to Ohio in the early 1900s. From Ohio, the family then moved to Minneapolis, where their son, George, met Anna. The Pachan family, it is believed, moved to Browerville around 1907.

The Kipta family are cousins of the Pachans. George Pachan's sister, Nellie, married Charles Kipta. I also interviewed two of the Kiptas, Robert and Mildred, who provided additional information on the Pachan family, the Farmer's Church, and their parents, also Greek Catholics.

John Yoroko (also spelled "Gyorko") is the son of Nick and Mary Yoroko. John was born in Browerville in 1915. His parents immigrated to Uniontown, Pennsylvania, from Slovinky, now located in former Czechoslovakia, in 1901. The Yoroko family moved to Browerville in 1903.

Mary, Helen, Katherine, and Julia Dorosh (also spelled "Doros") are the daughters of Mike Dorosh and Mary Bencko. Mary was born in 1901; Helen was born in 1902; Catherine was born in 1905; and Julia was born in 1907. All four daughters were born around Lysering and Uniontown, Pennsylvania. The Dorosh family immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1899 from Slovinky, now located in former Czechoslovakia, although Mike Dorosh had been to the United States before, in 1896. In 1909, the Dorosh family settled in Browerville.

I spoke at great length with the Dorosh sisters, owing to my interest in the fact that the father, Mike Dorosh, was a founding member of the Greek Catholic Association but left the group and the church to attend a Russian Orthodox church--St. Mary's chapel--located in Holdingford, Minnesota, 35 miles southeast of Browerville.

The Kocur family (also spelled "Koczur" and "Kotzer") of Holdingford also attended the St. Mary's Russian Orthodox chapel. Walter, son of Michael Kocur and Mary Biervisck, was born in 1915 in the Holdingford area. The Kocur family immigrated to the United States in 1886 from an unknown village in Austria-Hungary--now former Czechoslovakia--and settled in the Holdingford area around 1892. Both the Greek Catholic church and the Orthodox church will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

The Rusin immigrants who settled in and around the Browerville area were typical of the Rusin immigrants who came to the United States in that their economic condition in the "old country" was what forced many to emigrate. It is worth repeating Paul Magocsi, himself a Rusin-American:

As for the Carpatho-Rusyn masses, their socioeconomic status remained basically unchanged from the medieval period until the twentieth century. . . . Almost without exception, Carpatho-Rusyns inhabited small villages and worked as serfs for Hungarian or Polish landlords until 1848, and then as poorly paid and/or indebted agricultural laborers under the same landlords for several more decades after their "liberation" from serfdom. [1984:10]

John Pachan confirmed this when I asked him about his grand-father, Elyas, and what was said about life and farming in the old country:

See, there wasn't much of a farm [that] he farmed. He worked for the land barons; they couldn't own any. They had to, he explained; they had a house in the village, and they lived upstairs and the few chickens they had lived beneath them. That was part of the barn. Then they just get a plot of land that was their own. Otherwise, they had to work for--I don't know what you would call it--the state or landlords or whoever they were. That's the reason they left the country . . . because they could never own anything. They were pretty much like slaves, according to my dad.

Other informants spoke of their parents' herding, cloth weaving, and mining. However, regardless of livelihood, the theme of discontent and poverty was evident.

With Rusin emigrations increasing, and the supply of cheap farm labor and army draftees decreasing, the Hungarian government took steps to stem the tide. As one informant stated with reference to his father's emigration,

. . . he had a hell of a time getting across. . . . A guy, he had a load of straw, and he [my father] hid in that straw of that guy, and they were on the border, and these guys were watching him because they didn't want the people to leave that country. They wanted people to stay there because people were moving too fast out of that country because the country was damn poor and, of course, here in the United States, it was booming and whoever could get a chance, they went to the United States. [Frank Perish]

Everyday life in the old country, as revealed by these memories, was at the subsistence-level. Self-sufficiency was the tool of survival, and everybody in the family worked hard to maintain a very delicate status quo.

The women did most of the farmwork, and the men--maybe the younger guys would help the women--but dad [George Pachan] was old enough to run oxen, so he worked with his dad and [brother] Mike. . . . It [life there] wasn't good or else they wouldn't have wanted to come here because it seemed like too big of a percentage had to go to the state, whatever it was. [Andy Pachan]

Another informant, John Yoroko, with reference to self-sufficiency, described weaving in detail and its importance to a family that could not afford to purchase cloth and, likewise, could not afford the time to raise the sheep necessary to produce the wool for the clothing:

They had a little--they lived in little villages--and they had a garden spot around the village, maybe two acres or so, and then they'd have a few sheep, and the shepherd would take care of those sheep. Take them out--the whole bunch--out into the mountains and graze them all summer. And they milked those sheep and made cheese out of it. And that was the shepherd's job. And he would--in the fall when he'd come back and bring the sheep down for the winter--he'd give part of the cheese; he'd give to the [families]--each according to how many sheep they had, see. And I guess he--maybe he got a lamb or something for his work.

And they worked for. . . . And they had a couple of cows. Well, the cows were grazed closer to home, so they could milk them. And they'd raise a pig for their own meat, you know. And

it--flax--they raised flax, and it was all by hand. What they call "wetting the flax." They'd soak it in the water and then beat it with sticks so they'd get all the pulp out of it and just leave the tiny strings on, see. And then they'd weave it by hand. Make thread out of that, and they'd weave that into cloth. We had--I wish I'd have saved some of that. My mother would come home with a big--when they came here, they put it in a linen bag. A big thing like that. . . . And that was hard work, you know, but they did everything. They sheared the sheep, and made cloth out of that. Make the thread and weave the cloth.

QUESTION: Did they sell this cloth, or make it just for their own use?

ANSWER: Oh, for their own use.

Great Britain's foreign office, in detailing the "Ruthenian" area for peace negotiations and border-reform in the post-World War I era, emphasized the economic conditions and stated that "economically the Ruthene is hampered by generations of want and illiteracy. He is conservative in his customs and poverty stricken, while three persons out of four above the age of six are illiterate." Interestingly, vis-a-vis the rural Rusin community in Browerville, the passage goes on to say that "Nevertheless, when removed to such a country as Canada, the Ruthene becomes a successful farmer" (1920:16).

Immigration to the United States and eventual migration to Minnesota was made possible by the fact that many of the Rusin families in Browerville were related to one another through marriage in both the old country and the United States. These relationships were useful in that often the first immigrants would send money and encouraging letters back to Europe. As well, when families or members of families would eventually immigrate, family connections provided places to stay, food, jobs, and an explanation of American customs and life.

The actual process of emigrating varied, depending upon sex and the years of emigration. Some family members were able to leave rather freely while others were forced to smuggle themselves out. According to Magocsi, "The number of illegal departures by far outweighed legal departures" (1984:12). For males, the Austrian army and the draft made leaving difficult but, at the same time, provided impetus for leaving as one Browerville informant stated:

Dad, he skipped there when he was about nineteen because otherwise, there, at nineteen, you had to join the service; and he

wasn't going to join the service because his father and uncle were in the service and didn't get out yet, and he told his dad he was taking off. . . . I know Dad didn't say too much; he never said how he got there. All he said was that he skipped, but Mom, until she got out of the country, she was running through the woods. They would go into the woods in the daytime, and they would walk the roads until they got out of the country. . . . She was pretty much by herself. . . . She left when she was 14.

[Walter Kocur]

For some emigrants, leaving the old country was "no problem at all" (Sophie Shirella), while others found themselves dealing with red tape and the prospect of being returned to Europe to serve in the army. As Andy Pachan stated, with reference to his parent's emigration:

. . . they didn't have to smuggle, but they had to go through a lot of--see, where they were, they had to go to another country to get their paper signed to get over here . . . by some king up there. . . . Just red tape, not dangerous. At that time. From what I understand my dad and his brother, Mike--that was an older brother--they only got permits to come over here because they were old enough to get into the army; but once they got up here, they finagled back and forth so nobody could catch up with them, so they wouldn't have to go back. . . .

Those who were able to leave the country often wound up in a port city in Germany where passage to Ellis Island was then arranged. Those who arrived at Ellis Island and passed the medical examinations usually went on to family and friends in Pennsylvania before migrating to Minnesota. For the most part, Pennsylvania, especially the Uniontown/Braddock area, offered the Rusin immigrants low-skill, high-risk jobs in the mines and steel mills. More often than not, families left Pennsylvania owing to real or perceived health problems:

. . . he started out working in some form of a fine-tools shop like where they were working over clocks or something on that order. . . . I don't really know. But then he ended up in the mines, and that's when he got out of there. A lot of families left because of the mines. [Sophie Shirella]

Likewise, the Dorosh family left Pennsylvania because of the mines. Others left, having accumulated enough money, to settle farmland, and that brought them to Browerville where a good life and good land could be

purchased at a reasonable cost. The following letter, written by John Drobnak in 1913, himself a first-generation Rusin-American who settled in Browerville, illustrates in detail many aspects of Rusin immigrant farm-life in Browerville:

Honorable Editors:

Please be kind enough to print the following few lines in our outstanding organ, the Amerikansky Russki Viestnik.

Our Hungarian Rusin (Uhro-Rusin) Brothers and countrymen often write me inquiring about local land, specifically farmland; because they would like to relocate out here. Since I have received so many such letters that it would take a great deal of time and money to reply to those Hungarian Rusins, I think that the best way to answer them is by the way of our gazette, one that they all read and from which they could read my information, as well as those who have not yet written but long to become farmers in our state.

In our state, in this area where more of our Brothers reside and earn their daily bread, grows the finest wheat, rye, oats, corn, potatoes, radishes (tatarka), melons, in a word, everything that a person can seed or plant. There is plenty of hay because here we have fields where only hay is grown, and are never used as pastures. Farm animals are very expensive, because we have two places, Browerville and Clarissa, and both town have creameries, which make butter. This cream sells for 32 1/2 cents a pound, and is paid for monthly. Here cows cost from \$40.00 to \$70.00. Farmland costs from \$25.00 to \$60.00 an acre, and prices are going daily higher and higher, so that in a few years the land will be worth \$100.00 an acre. Swine are also expensive costing 7 1/2 cents a pound, live weight. A horse costs from \$50.00 to \$200.00. Life here is very good, the air is fine, the water is delicious, and winters are not too cold. Farms can be purchased on time payments. Something must be paid down, and then paid off gradually. Interest is paid on the balance. We live about 100 miles from Minneapolis. Everything that can be grown here can be sold immediately, so there is not the worry whether the farmer's produce can be turned into cash. To ship the crops to the city would cost him a lot, since there is no railroad near. We have our own Rusin Church all paid for, and a cemetery. However, we have no priest, since there are only a few families here we are unable to

have our own priest. A few times a year we arrange for a priest to travel here. As for other church services which can be conducted without a priest we perform ourselves. I came here three years ago with \$2,600.00. I purchased one 80 acre farm, with good buildings, two horses, swine, 9 cows and chickens for \$4,150.00. Today I am worth about \$6,000. Thus I can say I saved more in the previous three years than I would have at factory or mine jobs in 26, that is twenty-six years.

I am not a buyer of farms nor do I sell them, but for my countrymen I might locate farms in this area. Whoever is inclined to move out here, let him come without fear, and I'll gladly advise him as to where he can find a good farm. I'll take the time to show the best available farms. Countrymen, please don't listen to agents that say there are good farms for sale here or there, because those farms may be good but the farmers can't sell their produce, or are forced to sell them at half price.

Honorable Hungarian Rusin Brothers: In the above lines I've tried to inform you about the prospects of our state's farms, and I swear that it is the absolute truth. Thus, if any Rusin decides to come here, please let me know when you will depart, and from where, and I'll meet him at the station. I am not enticing you out here Brothers, but am answering those who have been interested in farming. I am not inviting anyone, let each do as he desires. Thanks to our Kindly Lord God, we have found it very good out here. Except that it takes work, because if we don't work we'll achieve nothing, and can expect nothing.

If the Honorable Editor actually prints my letter, I thank him from the bottom of my heart. Signing himself with brotherly respect for all Honorable Readers of the Amerikansky Russki Viestnik.

John Drobnak

R. No. 2 Browerville, Minnesota

Todd County

Farmlife in Browerville, for the Rusin-American, was a mixture of hard work and strict religious practice. All of the informants interviewed described one or both parents as religiously strict. Religious feasts and fasts were practiced while a prayer corner--consisting of a bible and an icon of the Last Supper and/or an icon of Jesus Christ--could be found in every home.

Holidays such as Easter and Christmas were honored on the old Julian Calendar and were festive yet strict rituals:

Easter, they always blessed food and in a blessed food, here was a whole boiled ham and then there were eggs and then there was horseradish, and that was blessed. And they would bring it to the church and it was blessed, and then they would bring it home . . . and that would be their meal. And egg shells and even the bone--that had to be burned. My folks, they wouldn't allow it to be thrown out to the dog or anything like that. They said, "Nope, that's blessed food." Oh shit, if my dad caught you taking an egg shell and throwing it to the dog . . . that was a blessed food and that had to be eaten or burned. . . . Christmas time, they baked a lot of stuff, you know [and] everything had to be done early, and there was no light to be turned on in the house. No light can be turned on in the house. . . . And my mother, she would take a small pail of water and go outside and pray and then when she came back, she'd come and hit the door three times with her fist and open the door. Then you would turn on the light, and then you had your food. But I don't know why; I never did find out why she had to go outside with that pail of water, and sometimes December is pretty damn cold. She went out there and, well, I suppose she prayed one thing or another, and then she would come to the door and she hit it three times with her fist and then they would open the door. She'd come in and then they'd light a lantern. . . . [Frank Perish]

Weddings and funerals, however, seemed to follow the "American" tradition, with the exception of wakes which were sober and quiet affairs involving around the clock vigils. Baptism was usually done by a visiting Greek Catholic priest from Minneapolis or, especially in winter, by a local Roman Catholic priest. More often than not, children were named according to the church calendar and whichever saint had a birthday following the birth of the child.

The uniqueness of the Eastern rite and the following of a strict religious life, in conjunction with extended family relations, led to the forming of a Greek Catholic Association in Browerville. Very little is known about the Greek Catholic Association. It appears it was an informal organization composed of heads of families. However, according to a letter sent to the

Amerikansky Russki Viestnik by the association, there were church or association officers: John Drobnak, Joseph Perish, and Joseph Shirella.

Also very little is known about the actual building of the church. According to the deed, the land for the church was purchased on June 26, 1912, from Thomas and Rosa Bassett, for \$400.00. Shortly thereafter, construction was begun on the church. A letter, written by the church officers, details both the building of the church and its problems, especially with regard to ownership of the deed; it also provides some insight into the life of this Rusin community. This letter and the one above that urged "Uhro-Rusins" to settle in Browerville were mailed to and printed in the Amerikansky Russki Viestnik (The American Russian Messenger), a Greek Catholic Union newspaper that was "without question the most influential of all Rusyn-American newspapers" (Magocsi 1988:45). The letter is dated August 21, 1912, and follows in its entirety:

This is to inform our Brother Uhro-Rusin Greek Catholics in all of America that in the little town of Browerville, in the State of Minnesota, now reside Greek Catholic Rusins who have exerted themselves so that they would not lose their religion, faith, and nationality. Truthfully, it might be considered a miracle, caused by the determined will of this small group of Believers, that live in the far West, in the small town of Browerville, Minnesota, and its vicinity, and who, for the most part are farmers. Altogether there are 12 families, and these 12 families have energetically exerted themselves so that today they have their own Church, with the usual accoutrements, and a bell, and they have their own cemetery. And best of all, the church and the cemetery are paid for.

What drove us to building a Church, providing a cemetery for so small a group of Believers? Let me tell you, as follows:

It was two years ago, in the month of May, 1911, that we arranged for a Priest to come out here, from Minneapolis, Minnesota. He confessed us in the local Polish Church, but for the next year the Polish Priest would not let us use his church, so in that year we were not Confessed. For this reason the Spiritual Pastor in Minneapolis advised us to build our own Greek Catholic Church, so that we would not have to beg from strangers. We took Father's advice, accumulated some money, and immediately began building our own Greek Catholic Church. We overcame many difficulties, and soon completed our work. But when the time

came to bless the cornerstone, the Priests, Minneapolis and Browerville's, began to pressure us to give the deed to them, and that then they would come out to bless the cornerstone and to confess us. We were prepared to give them the deed, but with the understanding that when our Uhro-Rusin Bishop came to America, the deed would be surrendered to our Uhro-Rusin Bishop. But they began to deceive us by saying that they would give the deed to our Uhro-Rusin Bishop when he would have jurisdiction for all of America. We, it must be understood, feared that our great labor would come under the jurisdiction of the foreign power, and refused. So we began to search for another priest who would come out and bless not only our cornerstone, but our own new Church, also. Thus we sent a request to the Supreme Spiritual Director of Sojedenenje, Most Revered Father Michael Jackovich, asking to be so kind as to recommend one of our nearby Uhro-Rusin Priests, and he recommended Father O. Volkay, from Youngstown, Ohio. We immediately wrote to Fr. Volkay and he accepted our invitation, came out here, performed all the necessary Spiritual functions. First of all, he blessed the cornerstone, then the Church, and one bell, and then conducted the Divine Liturgy, during which he preached the homily, very logically explaining that the Church is the House of God, and that the bell and other church items would, in the end, demonstrate the great love and devotion of this small community of believers, only 12 families, to its Faith, Rite, and Nationality, and that its devotion and blessed sacrifice enabled it to build a beautiful church, beautifully decorated and outfitted, even though living in the far West, isolated from its own kind, acquired a wonderful bell, purchased land for the cemetery, all of which has been completely paid for. The Priest offered high praise for the great labor of all, especially the blessed Curators, the devotion of all, and so forth.

Thus, for everything, for his diligence, for the beautiful Divine Liturgy, the excellent and edifying Holy Homily, and especially for his long journey, we offer heartfelt thanks to Father Eugene Volkay, wishing him many happy and blessed years. At the same time, our heartfelt thanks due to Fr. Michael Jackovich, the Supreme Spiritual Director of Sojedenenje for his advice that resulted in us obtaining our own Priest to the bless the cornerstone,

our Church, our bell and other church artifacts. May the Lord God give them many years of service for the good of our Church and the Uhro-Rusin People.

And so, thanks to our Heavenly Father, we have fulfilled everything for which we strove so hard, which we desired so much. We have our own blessed Church, and in which, amidst all kinds of foreign religions and nationalities, we will praise, celebrate, and pray to our Heavenly Father, according to our Eastern Rite, in our beloved Rusin tongue. From this little Church we will draw power to overcome the sinful life on our road to salvation. With the aid of our Church we will defend our religion, our Rite, our Nationality, and our God-serving Rusin language. Every blessed Sunday we will conduct, in our Church, Matins [Utrenu], Noonday [Obidnicu], and Vespers [Vecernu]. From time to time we will insure that we are visited by an Uhro-Rusin Priest to bring us the Divine Liturgy and Holy Eucharist. And finally, we are announcing to our Brother Rusins that at last, in the far West community of Browerville, Minnesota, we have established a Rusin colony. We've built the first Rusin Greek Catholic Farmer's Church. We pray that other Rusin Greek Catholics, such as we out here in the far West community of Browerville, Minnesota, fiercely strive to survive among foreign religions and nationalities.

We close with respect and good wishes.

Church Officers

Joann Drobnak

Joann Shirilla

Josif Perhacs

The church, now referred to as the "Farmer's Church," lies in disrepair, used as a warehouse by the hardware store. The cornerstone reads:

1912

HOLY TRINITY

GREEK CATHOLIC

GREKOKATHOLICKY

CERKOV

From the beginning, the Greek Catholic church in Browerville was plagued by an inability to have a priest, usually from St. John's in Minneapolis, visit and perform regular services. This may have been due to the complication with the deed (not owning the deed at the time, St. John's

may not have felt obligated) or because of the travel problems associated with rural communities far away from Minneapolis, or both. Nevertheless, for a while the families coped with the situation and held a service of their own every Sunday:

QUESTION: You did not have a priest, but you still went to church every Sunday?

ANSWER: We went to church, yes.

QUESTION: To this church?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Every Sunday. So who would do the services? Did you have--

ANSWER: We had services, but just singing.

QUESTION: Just singing?

ANSWER: Had Nellie Drobnak. She kind of led, you know, and then we'd sing "Our Father," and pray quietly. And then I think we had the table with the Holy picture on it that we went to kiss. The table had a picture . . . and the main hymns at church we'd sing. I remember singing "Hoseanna" just to practice singing. So, yes, we had a little service. Singing only--hymn singing--and then bless ourselves and went home. They gathered a little bit to talk, and there was--I don't know--how many families, but they managed to come a little every Sunday until some started going to the Roman Catholic church; then there was little left, and it kept on and on till there was hardly anybody going. [Mary Dorosh]

When the priest did visit, it was usually for Easter or Christmas, a baptism or a funeral. Meanwhile, the children of these immigrants were being sent to a Roman Catholic Sunday school for religious instruction. Soon, many families began going to the German Roman Catholic church in town, St. Peter's, at the Greek Catholic priest's urging, as John Pachan explains:

. . . we didn't have a priest, see; they used to just get him here once or twice a year. And then the priest would come. I remember when I was confirmed, [and] the priest said, "You don't have a resident priest here. You can't go to church Sunday, so you go to a Roman Catholic church. There's nothing wrong with it." He said, "You go there and attend mass on Sundays."

Slowly, the families began to fall away from the troubled "Farmer's Church." As well, several families married into Roman Catholic families and, for the most part, quit attending even the sporadic holiday services held by

visiting Greek Catholic priests. By 1941, there were only four families left that attended the Greek Catholic church to any degree: the Romans, the Pachans, the Shirellas, and the Nemchecks. The last service to be held in the church was a funeral for John Shirella in 1941. However, the Armistice Day storm prevented the priest from St. John's from travelling past St. Cloud, Minnesota. John Shirella was eventually buried by a priest from the Polish Roman Catholic Church, John Guzdek. The church was never used again and was sold in 1950 for \$925.00 by George Pachan, Mike Dorosh, and George Roman, listed as trustees, to Iten and Heid Hardware.

The steeple and bell are believed to be in a church in North Dakota. The church records have disappeared although there are sporadic entries to be found in St. John's records in Minneapolis (as entered by the visiting priest). The pews, it is believed, are now in the Russian Orthodox chapel, St. Mary's, near Holdingford, a few miles away. The Holy Trinity Cemetery was later sold to the Evergreen Cemetery in exchange for continued maintenance.

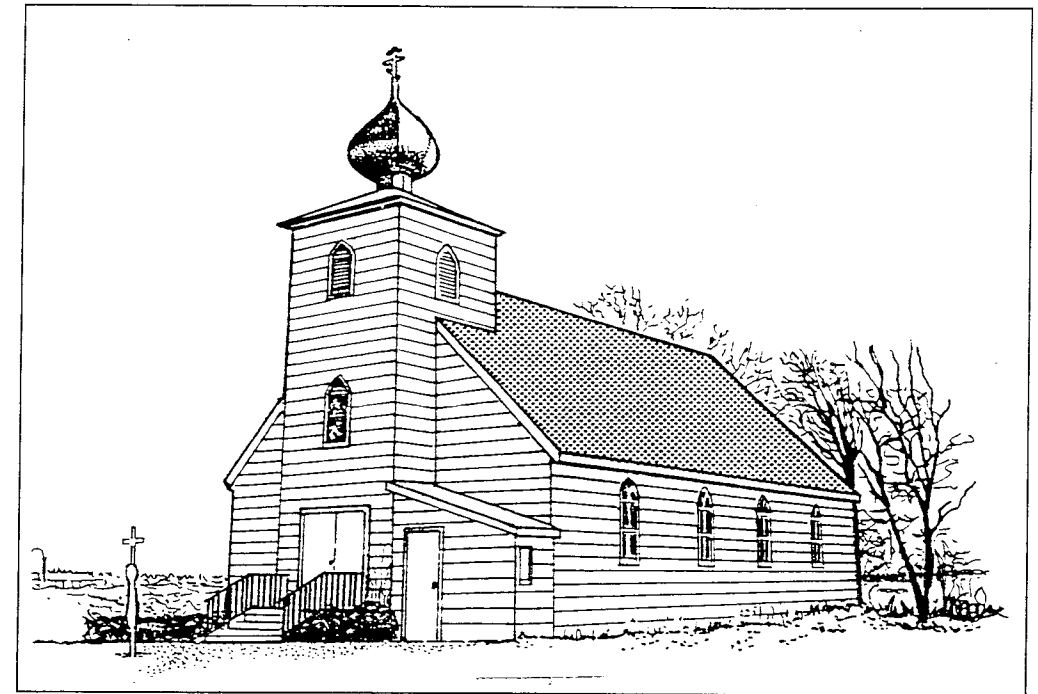
Those families that joined either St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (referred to as "the Polish church"), or St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (referred to as "the German church"), had little problem adapting. Many parents opted for St. Peter's because English was used more frequently than at St. Joseph's, the Polish church. One family, however, the Mike Dorosh family, felt that neither church was suitable and, with a more Russophile nationalist sentiment, moved the family to the Holdingford Russian Orthodox church. When this happened is not certain, but why and how it happened follows:

. . . my father, he used to take a daily paper from New York, I guess--the Slovak American; and he wrote in there for information of where he could find a church we could go to after we didn't [get a priest]. . . . That Uniate priest from the cities . . . when he'd come up, he'd spend his time with Father--the Roman Catholic priest, Father Guzdek--and then they always left a bill for these members to pay. They got tired of paying it. . . . And so then they began to find information about where we could find a church to go to. Well, he finally, after a lot of letter writing and putting his name in the paper . . . got information about that Holdingford church. . . . He got information about that church, so then one day he hired a car. . . . Well, we went to Holdingford. Don't know where to go--nobody knows directions--and they couldn't even tell us, you know, by description; the country was wild here, not settled

very good yet. And so we went to Holdingford. We found [a church in] Holdingford, but as luck would have it, they're praying like we prayed. "Our Father," I think they were praying already. It would have been the end of the services. And it was a Slovak-Lutheran church. . . . Well, we--dad got into the entrance--the vestibule, or whatever they call it. He sees right away. He says, "That's a Lutheran church." He says, "We're not in the right place." And we were three miles from it, but we never found the church. Didn't. We came home. . . . So after that, I don't know--oh, yes! They wrote, and there's a name of Jaroscak. I forget. Andrew Jaroscak. I think that was his name, Andrew. Old man in Bowlus. . . . And then he comes over to my folks' place somehow . . . and, well, he's praying. Praying, praying, praying all the time. He walks around the house and makes us pray. And we thought he was a holy man, really holy, you know (laughing). Every place he went he was just blessing himself, you know. . . . Anyway, he prayed, you know, and so the prayers were our prayers and he blessed himself like we bless ourselves [note: Latin rite Catholics bless or cross themselves from left to right whereas Eastern rite Catholics and Orthodox bless themselves from right to left]. [Mary Dorosh]

The Dorosh family eventually joined the church in Holdingford. This small Orthodox church, it was believed, began as a chapel in 1897 and "From the beginning it was a mission chapel . . . which was served by the pastors of St. Mary's in Minneapolis" (Dyrud and Cunningham 1989:192).

However, even this small church, founded with fifteen members from nine families, could not escape some degree of historical debate. According to the deed, the land was donated by the Soo Line Railroad to the trustees of the Saints Cyril and Methodius Slavoniks, Mike Kuritchak, John Habys, and John Doon. This society, founded in Minneapolis in 1888, was predominantly Roman Catholic Slovak in origin although Rusins, with their Greek Catholicism, were readily admitted--as "Rusnatcj"--and the lodge did delineate between those lodge members who were of the Latin rite and those who were of the Greek rite. In sum, the land on which the Two River's Russian Orthodox Church now sits was originally purchased by an admittedly Latin and Greek Catholic Society, as its Fifty Year Kalendar states, "Since most of the Slovaks came from the Sarisskej and Zemplinskej districts and most of them were Roman and Greek Catholics, they greatly enjoyed being together".



St. Mary's Orthodox Church - Two Rivers, near Holdingford, MN.

Andrew Jaroscak, the individual who visited the Dorosh family in Browerville--as described by the eldest daughter, Mary--is listed as one of the deed holders. How or why this land was transferred remains a mystery.

Preliminary research (1987) on this church was done by Rusin Association President Lawrence Goga and by Secretary John Gera:

Myself and John Gera drove to St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Catholic Church located northeast of Holdingford, Minnesota, and attended a 10:00 a.m. Saturday liturgy given by Father Paul Jannakos from St. Mary's Orthodox Church in Northeast Minneapolis.

There were six other people in attendance, all elderly. None took communion.

After the service, we introduced ourselves to the group and three of them agreed to meet us for coffee at the local coffee shop. Walter Koczur was also present. The most surprising news we found was that according to Irene (Chuba) Veronyak, most of the

people that were attending St. Mary's considered themselves Slovak. The Chubas . . . considered themselves Rusins or Russians. Irene said she did recall that some Rusins were from the area. Their names were:

Sevanich
Teresahr
Podany
Zelegy
Jarosak
Biros
Kmecy
Blazava
Habis or "Habasz"

One incident she recalled that was news to us was in relation to the Slovak Congregational Church which is located right across the road from St. Mary's and was built, get this, in 1915. St. Mary's was built in 1902. Irene said that although she was only nine years old at the time, she remembers that there was a kind of dispute that causes the Russian Orthodox church to split and one group started the Slovak church [note: this other Slovak church is possibly the first church that the Dorosh family encountered in their first trip to the Holdingford area (see above). The other woman with Irene seemed to confirm what she said. Irene said she would do some inquiry into our claims that there were Rusins there [at the Slovak Congregational Church] and that they did not really know who they were.

The Dorosh family did attempt to bring the Orthodox priest from Holdingford to Browerville and, according to one informant, the Holy Trinity Church was being ministered by both an Orthodox priest and a Greek Catholic priest. However, it does not appear that Orthodoxy was considered a viable alternative for the former Greek rite Catholic, now for the most part Latin rite Catholic, families in Browerville.

With regard to any current Rusin sense of identity in Browerville, it appears limited to a notion of being "Slovak" or "Slavish." Any connections to a Rusin identity is found for the most part in the building of the Holy Trinity Church, the surviving letters that proclaim a Rusin identity, and the newspapers that were read by the parents. Often, the interview data revealed a multitude of identities and/or influences:

Mom never talked in English, But she could understand every word you said. She never let on.

QUESTION: Did they play any instruments?

ANSWER: No, but dad used to sing a lot. Weddings. He went to so many weddings because he could sing. That he did. I still hear a lot of them on the radio in Polish.

QUESTION: Did they write letters back to the old country?

ANSWER: Mom--Dad would write for Mom. Mom learned German. She had a prayer book in German.

QUESTION: What was your father's main language?

ANSWER: Slovak.

QUESTION: Could he read--

ANSWER: Maybe he could; he had his own paper coming once or twice a week from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

QUESTION: What newspaper?

ANSWER: The Obrana.

Here, we see references to Slovak, Polish, and German. As stated above, often a "Rusin Connection" could only be found or confirmed through the parents' newspapers. Interestingly, The Obrana was an organ for the Amerikansko-Ruska Narodna Obrana (American Russian National Defence). As Magocsi states, "This group had been founded in 1915 in Braddock, Pennsylvania and drew most of its supporters from the recent [Rusin] converts to Orthodoxy led by Bishop Stephen (Alexander) Dzubay." Magocsi goes to explain that this organization was founded by the former ousted editor of the Greek Catholic Union (a very influential Rusin newspaper), Nickolas Pachuta, whose platform urged that the Rusin people join in union with Russia. He later changed platforms in favor of incorporation of the Rusin people in the new Czech and Slovak state (Magocsi 1984:80-81).

Another family, the Doroshes--although they felt their identity to be more Russian than Rusin--read another Rusin newspaper, published by the Greek Catholic Union, The Amerikansky Russky Viestnik (the American-Rusin Messenger), and "from the very beginning, the leadership and activity of the GCU was basically concerned with Greek (Byzantine) Catholics of Rusyn background from south of the Carpathian Mountains" (Magocsi 1984:46).

When questions of ethnic identity arose in regard to even recognizing the words "Rusin," or "Rusnak," or "Uhro-Rus'", the replies were strangely similar, as the following passages illustrate:

QUESTION: Did your dad read any Slovak newspapers here? Did you see any newspapers like American Slovak or . . .?

ANSWER: No.

QUESTION: Did you ever hear the word around your parents, "Rusin," or "Rusnak," or "Carpatho-Rus?"

ANSWER: Mm-hm. Yes.

QUESTION: Did they call themselves "Rusnak?"

ANSWER: Well, see a Rusnak--you see that there country there? They divided it up into four sections. There was a German sector, and there was a Polish sector, and then there was what they called the Slovaks, the Czech-Slovaks. That was where my folks come from. . . . See, the Rusnaks, they came more from the Russian border. That was what they called the "Rusnaks."

QUESTION: So they were the "Slovaks" east of you?

ANSWER: They were the same people, but they just had just a little different language, you know.

QUESTION: They were Uniates like you . . . ?

ANSWER: Yeah. And see, some of them like my folks, they could talk Slavish, and they could talk Bohemian, and they could talk Polish, and they could understand German. They had to kind of take this in that country.

QUESTION: How did they feel about the Rusnaks?

ANSWER: Just another class of people. . . .

QUESTION: So there was no big difference?

ANSWER: No.

QUESTION: Did they ever talk about--Was there a stereotype? I mean . . . was it just a language difference?

ANSWER: Just a language difference.

QUESTION: Basically the same people, same work, same jobs, same conditions?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Do you remember hearing the word "Carpatho-Rus" or "Rusnak?"

ANSWER: No. Rusnak would mean "Russian."

QUESTION: "Uhro-Rus" or "Carpathian" or "Karpatho?"

ANSWER: I've heard "Carpathian" or "Karpatho." That's the mountains they live by, see. And as far as the "Ruskie" is concerned, that meant you're a Russian.

QUESTION: "Rusin" or "Rusnak?"

ANSWER: Oh, yes.

QUESTION: Is it? One of the problems we've been having is--on these letters, it says, "This is to inform our brother Uhro-Rusin Greek Catholics" Uhro-Rusin.

ANSWER: Uhro means "European."

QUESTION: What did your parents call themselves? I mean, how did they call them--their background--like Swedes saying, "I'm Swedish," and Germans, "I'm German"; What did they call themselves?

ANSWER: "Slovaks."

QUESTION: Slovaks?

ANSWER: Mm-hm. "Slovenians."

QUESTION: But they never referred to themselves as "Rusin" or "Rusnak?"

ANSWER: No, no, no.

QUESTION: Or anything like that?

ANSWER: See, there wasn't enough Russian in any of them to be called Rusnak, you know. Some of them may have had a background of probably a quarter Russian or so, but they never called themselves Rusin or Rusnak. But "Uhro" is "Euro"pean, you know, . . . and we were Slovenians. We're Slovaks.

QUESTION: Do you remember any newspapers or magazines your parents read?

ANSWER: They used to take papers that--now, some were sent to us from Czechoslovakia that they used to take. . . .

ANSWER: . . . we never had any problems with discrimination or--not that I know of--I can't remember any . . . because we never got teased about it, being foreigners or anything in those days; most of those people were kind of foreigners.

QUESTION: How about in Chicago, with the Ukrainians--did you ever have any problems with them?

ANSWER: No. I just kind of felt more like at home when I used to go there.

QUESTION: You could probably identify with the Ukrainians a little bit?

ANSWER: Well, I got to know a few Ukrainian guys, you know, and they had me stand up for their wedding and--but I went to St. Basil, and I sang in a choir of St. Basil, and that was the same Eastern rite just like this one here. I was singing in Slovak.

QUESTION: How did you feel doing that?

ANSWER: I was kind of proud of myself. I wasn't too good at reading Slovak, but they had a good professor there. . . .

QUESTION: It felt good?

ANSWER: I was kind of proud of it. . . . After I knew I could do it. It took a lot of practice.

QUESTION: Like you said, you felt at home . . . ?

ANSWER: Well, it was with Slovenians--anytime you get in with Slovenians, you tend to feel more at home.

QUESTION: Do you remember what they used to call you when they used to introduce you such as, "This is so-and-so; he's a Slovak or . . . ?" Do you remember how they referred to you?

ANSWER: They never seemed to mention our nationality, not that I know of. Like in East Chicago, when we got acquainted there, you know, some of my cousins--they were there before we were--and they would say, "He's another bohunk, or Slovak." They used to call us "Bohunks."

QUESTION: You mentioned you heard the word "Rusin" or "Rusnak."

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Which one of those did you hear the most in your family?

ANSWER: "Rusnaka." That's what we used to hear years ago.

QUESTION: Who used to--how was it used--where did you hear that?

ANSWER: Don't ask me; I don't remember. I just remember hearing it. That's all. Now, who used it . . . ? It could have been my mother, or my dad; I don't know. I remember hearing it though.

QUESTION: Do you think there's much of a difference between a Slovak and a Rusnak?

ANSWER: As far as I am concerned, no. I never learned that much. . . .

With the Greek Catholic church gone so soon after it was built, these 12 families went their separate ways. Any sense of Rusin identity disappeared; those who remained, the children, were left with strong memories of their parents' hard life in the "old country" and an ambiguous "Slovak" or "Slavish" or "Slovenian" identity. Those Rusins living on the Mesabi Iron Range to the northeast, in the Chisholm-Hibbing area, would also lose their Greek Catholic church and the majority of their Rusin identity.

CHAPTER FOUR THE RUSIN COMMUNITY IN CHISHOLM

The Chisholm and Hibbing area, also known in more prosperous times as the "Mesabi Iron Range," lies in East-central Minnesota. The area had been a source of iron ore and lumber long before the settling of the towns of Hibbing and Chisholm in 1893 and 1901 respectively. With the settling of these two towns, only seven miles apart from one another, and the forming of other smaller communities around them by iron ore prospectors and workers, mining operations increased dramatically as did the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. It was this demand for labor that attracted many European ethnic groups to the area including Greeks, Serbians, Croats, Finns, and Slovenians.

The Rusin population of the Chisholm area was significantly larger than that of Browerville. In 1920, there were approximately "200 Rusin and Galician bachelor men or family units headed by men who worked in the mines of the area" (Goman 1990:60). Goman believes that, originally, there were close to one thousand Rusin settlers on the Iron Range (1992).

These workers and their families arrived in the area between 1905 and 1910, most migrating from the coal fields in Eastern Pennsylvania and the steel mills in Western Pennsylvania (Goman 1990:50). For the most part, this group of Rusins immigrated to the United States from the area north of the Carpathians in Southern Poland, known at the time as Austrian Galicia. For this reason, they are referred to, at least in Goman's recent work, as "Galician-Rusyns." In the western area of Galicia, in and around the Lemkian mountains, another group of Rusins, the Lemkos, reside; however, they form their own ethno-linguistic group altogether and are not a substantial or represented enclave on the Iron Range.

Often, as linguist and historian John Goman states, these towns and communities were, at first, clusters of boarding houses nestled "close to the open pit mines or to the repair shops of the chief mining company operations" (1990:54). Goman's work on these Galician Rusins on the Iron Range contains an original description of boarding house life in 1912 that illustrates the industrial and social environment that most Rusins encountered in the United States at the turn of the century. These boarding houses, usually owned by the mining companies, were cheap to build and maintain. According to the document quoted by Goman,

For the operation of a boarding house, very little capital investment was necessary. The first and most essential requirement was a woman. One had to have a strong and capable wife to go into the business of running a boarding house.

The wife simultaneously had to be the cook and laundress.

The furnishings consisted of bed and bedding, two equally long benches and several plain wooden chairs, some large cooking pots and other essential cooking utensils. With these capital assets a man became a boarding house boss. [Goman 1990:55-56]

The boarding houses around Chisholm were often plain in style; their function--the housing of miners who worked split shifts in the mines--was more important. The miners alternated sleeping and eating with working; the night shift worked while the day shift slept, usually two per bed, and vice versa, while

On Sundays when there was no work and guests and relatives arrived for a visit, there were usually three or four men in each bed and they had to sleep on the bed widthwise, with their protruding feet resting on supporting chairs.

A boarder paid three dollars per month for cooking and laundry services which did not include the cost of food; the food was ordered from the grocer by the housewife. At the end of the month the whole monthly grocery bill was divided equally among all the boarders. The total cost for the cooking, washing and groceries usually was approximately from \$12 to \$15 a month per person. [1990:56-57]

As well as providing room and board, these boarding houses also provided an opportunity for social interaction for Rusins and other immigrants (Magocsi 1984:43). Also, in communities of this size and in communities where the work was considered hazardous, it was also common to have another Rusin institution that provided social interaction as well as peace of mind, the fraternal society or brotherhood. These organizations, for the most part, collected funds or dues from members and, in turn, paid out disability monies to members who were sick or injured. In the event of a member's death, death and burial benefits were given to the survivors. In sum, and by design, a fraternal (as they are called) was a sort of ethnic insurance company. However, these fraternals were also quite active in these communities in that "the newspaper, youth clubs, sports organizations, and social gatherings also sponsored by the fraternals contributed a measure of psychological security for

immigrants in the company of their fellow-countrymen" (Magocsi 1984:43).

Naturally, these organizations were usually formed along religious and ethnic lines, both reflecting and, in turn, strengthening the Rusins' religious life and churches. However, because Rusin religious life and, thus, ethnicity, was far from unified or static, differences inevitably affected the fraternals, as Magocsi states:

Initially, all Greek (Byzantine-rite) Catholic immigrants, whether they were from the old Hungarian Kingdom or Austrian Galicia, belonged to the same fraternals. But before long friction developed among the varying factions. There were several kinds of differences: regional--Galicians vs. the uhorci (those from old Hungary); religious--Greek/Byzantine Catholics vs. Orthodox; and national--Rusynophiles vs. Russophiles, Ukrainophiles, Slovakophiles, or Magyarones. [1984:43]

In Chisholm, a similar situation occurred. In 1905, a local lodge of a national fraternal organization was chartered, the Russian Brotherhood Society of St. Nicholas, Number 188. This particular lodge served both Rusins and some Montenegrins from the Chisholm area. At the time, neither a Greek Catholic nor an Orthodox Rusin church had been built, and overt factionalization between the two religious orientations had not occurred although, as history would show, it did contain such factions and would eventually split (Goman 1990:59-60).

This split occurred in 1914 when the then decidedly Russophile fraternal, on a national and local level, sought to exclude Greek Catholic Rusins. Even prior to this exclusion in 1914, a Greek Catholic congregational faction had already formed and organized at least as early as 1913. As Goman states,

The very first meetings . . . were in a store which belonged to Nicholas Kovachevich and the first services were conducted in the school hall of St. Joseph Catholic Church located in Chisholm. The first committee [1913-14] was comprised of Nicholas Kovachevich, president, Louis Sinko, secretary, and Wasyl Haraden, treasurer. [Goman 1990:269]

In 1916, both groups built churches only three blocks apart from one another. The Russian Brotherhood of St. Nicholas, Number 188, founded its Orthodox parish in 1915; construction of the church began in 1916 and was completed in 1917 at a cost of \$5,100 (Goman 1990). The cornerstone reads:

Russ. Pravoslavnaja	Russ{ian} Orthodox
Sv. Nikolaevskaja	S{aint}. Nicholas
Gr. Kath. Cerkov'	Gr{eek}. Cath{olic}. Church
R.B. + 1916	R{ussian} B{rotherhood} + 1916
	[trans. Goman 1990:65]

As Goman goes on to state, it was the agenda of the St. Nicholas church to gently usher its people into mainstream American life and, in this new setting, they were quickly to demonstrate their proud heritage which had suffered various forms of repression in the old country. Remembering the political domination imposed on them by neighboring ethnic groups and hostile foreign princes, they accepted their responsibility of serving other Orthodox peoples and welcomed many into the church. [1990:73]

The Greek Catholic congregation, consisting of approximately 25 families, began the construction of its church, Sts. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church, in May, 1916. When completed, construction costs were \$6,500; it was not until 1941 that the total debt for construction and furnishing of the interior was paid off (Goman 1990:275). The cornerstone of the church reads:

Osnovana	Established
28 Maja 1916 Roku	May 28, 1916
Ruska Parokhija	Rus{in} Par{ish}
Svjat. Petra I Pavla	Sts. Peter-Paul
Greko-Kath. Cerkov'	Greek Catholic Church
Chisholm, Minn.	Chisholm, Minn.
	[trans. Goman 1990:272]

Because the fieldwork period for the Chisholm area was one week, I was not able to interview as many individuals as I had hoped. Word of my visit spread quickly, however, and while several people opted out of being formally interviewed, others contacted me on their own volition or already knew of my interests when I contacted them.

I obtained a list of names of families who attended both churches, St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox and Sts. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic, from the lists in John Goman's recent publication Galician-Rusyns on the Iron Range (1990). During this fieldwork, the local phonebook as well as word-of-mouth and referrals provided the informants.

Since Goman's work focuses for the most part on the people and activities of the Russian Orthodox church and community, my efforts were more focused on the Byzantine Catholic parish of Sts. Peter and Paul, especially since this church closed in 1976, owing to a shortage of priests. The collapse of this church will be discussed in detail below.

Michael Levchak (or "Levcak") was one of the first people I interviewed. Michael was born in 1912 in Mala Solotvyna, near Uzhorod in the Transcarpathia. His parents, Andre Levchak and Berka Dortoka (?), came from the villages of Mala Solotvyna and Jarok, respectively. Both of these Transcarpathian villages are now located near Uzhorod in Ukraine. Andre and Berka were married in Europe and immigrated to the United States in November, 1912, although Andre had been to the United States before. The Levchaks stayed briefly in Pennsylvania before migrating to the Chisholm area later that year. In 1921, the Levchak family returned to Mala Solotvyna for four years. Michael was nine years old at the time and provided interesting first-hand insight into family life in the old country.

Mary Sinko, nee Stalmah, is the daughter of Andrew Stalmah and Anna Las. Mary was born in Hibbing, seven miles west of Chisholm, in 1909. Her



Russian Orthodox St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church - Chisholm, MN.

parents emigrated from Bardejov, now in former Czechoslovakia, and first settled in Mahonic, Pennsylvania. The Stalmah family later moved to Illinois. In 1936, Mary Stalmah married John L. Sinko of Chisholm and returned to the Chisholm area. Mary, whose father was Roman Catholic and whose mother was Byzantine Catholic, provided information about her own parents' immigrant lives as well as information about the history and relationship between the Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic communities in Chisholm from a unique perspective; her husband's family, the Sinkos, had members attending both churches.

George and Julia Hudak (nee Haluska) were contacted through John Haluska, a member of the Rusin Association of Minneapolis, and one of Julia's second cousins. Julia's mother, Julia Romanko, came from the village of Chudl'ovo, near Uzhorod, and immigrated to the United States when she was 12 years old, in 1899. Julia's father, Vasil Haluska, came from the Hrabske area with his brother, Jan, to the United States also around 1891. Both Julia Romanko and Vasil Haluska moved to Minneapolis in 1900 where they met and were married in 1905. Julia (Haluska) Hudak was born in Minneapolis in 1906. Julia Haluska married George Hudak, a Slovak, in 1929 in Minneapolis. The Hudaks moved to the Chisholm area the same year. The Hudaks provided considerable information on the early 20th century Minneapolis Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic Rusin communities (to be discussed later) as well as information on the Chisholm Rusin community.

Mary and Anne Rapko, mother and daughter respectively, attend St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church. Mary Rapko's father, George



Sts. Peter-Paul Greek Catholic Church - Chisholm, MN.

Simetkosky, came from Solinka, Lesko (in Galicia), to the United States in 1896. Mary's mother, Anna Kovalkevich, came from Komancza, Sanok (in Galicia), to the United States in 1897. George Simetkosky married Anna Kovalkevich in Pennsylvania.

Mary was born in August, 1900, around Kingston, Pennsylvania. The Simentkosky family settled in Chisholm in 1902. In 1916, Mary Simentkosky married John Rapko at the St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church where both families, the Simetkoskys and the Rapkos, attended. In 1917, Anne Rapko was born and, in 1939, Ann married William Pouchak, also of St. Nicholas. The lengthy interview with this mother and daughter revealed some of the complexities of Rusin identity in the Chisholm area as well as a history of the early 20th century Chisholm area.

Bill Hnatko was born in December, 1918, in Chisholm. Bill's father, Carl Hnatko, came from Zubens'ko, Lesko (in Galicia), to the United States in 1904 via Bremen, Germany. Carl Hnatko first settled in Syracuse, New York, and then moved in 1905 to Chisholm. Bill Hnatko's mother, Paraska Rapko, came to the Chisholm area directly from Smil'nyk, Lesko (in Galicia), in 1906. She married Carl Hnatko later in that year. Bill Hnatko provided information on the political life of the Rusin immigrants on the Mesabi Iron Range as well as information on the St. Nicholas congregation.

Mary Skurla (nee Uchal) was born in 1902 in Granville, Vermont. Her father, Paul Uchal, came from the village of Balnica, Lesko (in Galicia), to the United States in the late 1890s. Paul went to Pennsylvania to find and marry Sophie Sinko who also came from Balnica. Paul Uchal and Sophie Sinko were married in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in June, 1899. From Pennsylvania, the Uchals moved to Vermont where Paul worked in a slate quarry and where Mary Uchal Skurla was born.

Some years later, the Uchals moved to Syracuse, New York. There, Mary met and married Andrew Skurla in May, 1921. Mary and Andrew moved to Chisholm in 1930 with their two sons, John and Andrew, where the senior Andrew Skurla worked as a chemist for a mining company. Because Mary was interviewed in a crowded room at a nursing home, much of the interview tape is unintelligible. However, John Skurla, her son, and his wife, Mavis, were quite helpful in clarifying information about the Rusin immigrant's lifestyle and history on the Iron Range.

The emigration of these Rusins from Galicia to the Iron Range, the causes and circumstances, parallels that of most Rusins from throughout central East Europe; the economic conditions they left behind were severe.

These economic conditions, as implied or discussed in earlier sections, are tied to land-ownership. Without sufficient land, the ability to produce goods beyond the level necessary for survival was nearly impossible. Quite often, the Rusin farmer was forced to work manorial lands in order to both pay the necessary taxes and survive. Magocsi illustrates well the importance of land to Rusins:

. . . Carpatho-Rusyns were very attached to the land, and acquiring more land was an important status symbol. The immigrants and their descendants in the United States continued to hold to this tradition. Owning one's own house and piece of surrounding property became (and still remains) an important life goal, which, if achieved, provides both financial and psychological security. It was precisely the lack of available land in the European homeland, caused in part by population increases and in part by the continual subdivision of landholdings and the inefficient agricultural practices, that forced the Rusyns to live in severe poverty. [1984:11]

As Mary Skurla stated, with reference to her parents who were from the same village, "They were supposed to get married in Europe, with another brother and sister, but my father said, 'No. Two families can't live on a farm. We won't make enough to live on.' So they went to Pennsylvania."

Another informant, with reference to the continual subdivision of land, related this event in the old country:

We owned our own land. I remember us kids talking to each other one time [regarding this strip of land], and I said to my sister, "This part will be mine; I'm the oldest. You'll be right there next to me. We'll divide it all up you know." And my dad heard us and he decided he'd better get out of there--these are getting to be pretty narrow strips! [Michael Levchak]

Even after immigrating to the United States, it was difficult for the Rusins to imagine that their stay was permanent. As Magocsi continues, "Most did not plan to make the United States their permanent home. Their stay was to be merely a few years, or as long as it took to earn enough money to buy that all-important peasant commodity--land" (1984:17).

One family, the Levchaks, did return to their village near Uzhorod in Transcarpathia. Michael Levchak provided detailed illustrations of the Rusin peasant's way of life in this area in the early 1920s:

He [Michael's father] always said, "I'm glad I got you back here instead of over there suffering, lice eating you up. . . ." I was nine when the family went to Europe. Then my dad came back inside of a year; he decided he better get out while he had the money, so he left us behind and took off one night, and we never heard of him. He took off at night; he didn't wait for a passport. As long as he had money, he knew about the agents and paying them off to get across the border. How many times he got into Germany and they threw him back. . . . One time he was hiding out; the police station was downstairs and he was upstairs. He had a lot of guts. He left the village--it isn't life over there with highways and everything--it was cow trails and oxen roads. He left in the nighttime. I suppose he took some bread with him. He even helped one guy who lived in New York City. This guy's wife was in New York, and he was over there and wanted to get to this country and my dad gave him the money. But then when he got to New York, he paid him back. He knew how to speak English and his own language and he could--when you speak Ruthenian, you can understand Russian and you can understand Ukrainian--anyway, he also knew Hungarian because that was the language when he was a kid.

[When I was a kid in the old country], I built a little wagon. I was a big copycat. Those big wagons the oxen pulled, I built a little one like that, and I put some kittens in the yoke, and they would run up a tree with it. . . . We used to go in the summertime to the river. The water gets low there, and there were places where the water was still, not moving like in a bend in a river, and that's where the fish were. We'd go into the river there and stick our hands in, where it washed out underneath, and see if we could catch a fish.

But what I did, I used to go help the guy that took care of all the hogs in the village [kom-dos']. We had two pigs, and I had to go twice to help him. Everybody let their pigs out on the village street, and he would chase them up into the hills. So I had to help him two days; my mother had to feed him two days. Then it would come around to your turn again (everybody in the village who had pigs had to take turns). Same thing with those billygoats. Mother had two goats, and I would go with that guy [dos-ture] two

days and help chase them goats up into the hills there. We had an orchard with plum trees, so when they were ripe we had to go pick them. My dad was in Europe on year, I remember. We had barrels lined up next to the hay loft just so it wouldn't rain on them; the roof was hanging over, and we would bring the plums and dump them in there, and then he would cook them up and make prune brandy [slivovice]. I was just a kid, so. . . .

Really it wasn't so rough; it was easier than working in the mines [with reference to his parent's previous experience in the United States]. The rough part is that you didn't have any money. You didn't have electricity in the house; you didn't have gas; you didn't have. After you're used to living in this country, [the United States], it's rough. Like these guys that took care of the cattle for us, we had to give them so much grain at the end of the year as payment. You didn't have money; you had a couple of chickens and they laid an egg, so you had to go sell that egg because a Jewish family in the village had gone to buy some salt and you had to bring them some eggs or something [in exchange].

[On returning to Solotvyna], they--the other kids in the village, kind of looked up to us as if we were going to bring them goodies and stuff . . . because we were dressed like American kids, and the [village] kids my age were running around in a homemade cloth night-gown until they got a little bigger, and they started sewing pants for them out of homemade cloth. They grew that stuff, flax or what. They grew it, harvested it, and tied it in bundles and brought it down to the river there below the village and soaked it in water. Soaked it so long, brought it home and scattered it along the fence and let it dry out. Then they had this homemade thing they would put on there, and then they would thrash it by hand--two boards with a handle with a third one going up and down. Break the fibers all up, cut the outside off and peel it off, and then they would have the stuff they made cloth out of from the inside. I remember all that when I was a kid.

The village houses were all painted kind of pale blue (as was typical for Rusin houses). The houses were made of adobe brick, you know. Some had straw roofs and some had wooden roofs. Ours had a wooden roof, my grandpa's house. That's where we lived. The school was in the same village down the street a little.

The guy who was the professor in the school was also the guy that read books in the church, too. What do you call him, the cantor? We went to church every Sunday in Chudl'ovo. The after a while, we built our own church, so we went there. It would be like the Greek Catholic church here. There were no pews in there--the men stood on one side, and the ladies stood on the other side. It was built up on the hill. They built the churches on the hill so you could get closer to heaven. [The church] would be full all of the time because people had no place else to go.

Often, very little information about life in the old country, like that above, was passed on to the children of these immigrants. However, John Goman, in his book, Galician-Rusyns of the Iron Range (1990), examines, in some detail, the customs of those Rusins living in Austrian Galicia. The following passage, albeit lengthy, provides remarkable insight into those Rusin customs that provided meaning and significance:

The yearly cycle of planting, tending, and harvesting the crops together with looking after the animals was never ending for the Galician men and women who lived on the marginally productive slopes of the Carpathians. The drudgery of daily life was, however, relieved by the celebrations of which the entire village participated in.

There was no greater joy than that accompanying the beginning of life. Like all other peoples closely tied to the land, the Galicians eagerly anticipated the birth of male children who would be capable of working in the fields and forests. The folk customs connected with predicting the sex of the unborn child betray this common prejudice. If a woman carried high, did not develop freckles during pregnancy or was not afflicted with aching legs, it meant that the newborn would be a male. The birth was attended by a mid-wife who upon leaving the house after the birth would make the sign of the cross twice on the threshold to protect the mother and child from evil spirits. The child was usually taken to the church the next day for baptism by the godmother [Kuma]. Prayers renouncing the evil one were then read by the godfather [Kum] and the priest would perform the triple immersion rite. The child was proudly carried home to his waiting mother and father in a new baptismal swaddling cloth which the godmother had prepared for the young baby. The choice of godparents was very

important, for this responsibility was taken most seriously. The relationship continued for the entire life of the godchild and bonded the families involved. The role of the godmother however, it may be said, greatly overshadowed that of the godfather. The name given the child was not usually taken from the saint on whose day the baptism occurred as was the custom with the Ukrainians and the Russians; rather the child was either named after a grandparent or aunt or uncle. Later children might bear the name of one of the parents.

The most common male names included Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John for the four Evangelists; Andrew, Peter and Paul for the Apostles; Stephen, Dmitry and George for the Martyrs; and Nicholas for the Great Wonderworker and much beloved patron saint of the Rus' people. . . .

Female names included Mary and Anna for the Mother of God and her own mother; Catherine, Sophia, Irene, Eva, Tina (Anastasia), Tekla, Paraska (Paraskeva) and Julia for the martyrs; Helen and Olga for the saintly mother of the Byzantine Emperor and that of the Grand Prince of Rus', Vladimir.

Instead of celebrating the baptismal day or the child's birthday, it was customary for all the Michaels or all the Helens of a village to celebrate together on the commemoration date of the particular saint whose name they carried. This custom led oftentimes to a certain confusion when Galician immigrants were asked at Ellis Island or at other disembarkation points for their date of birth. Most knew the year but some were at a loss to give the date. Many Teklas gave October 6 (New style, or 24 September) while Georges gave May 6 (New style, or 23 April), which were the days of the church commemoration. Many men simply could not remember and were arbitrarily assigned July 4 by the immigration officials. A betrothal and wedding were the high point of the Galician's life and the celebration that accompanied these events were marked with fun pranks, great rejoicing, and yes--even some tears. A few matches were arranged, for economic reasons, even years in advance; but others were most surely based on love. A curious remnant of the pagan Mayday celebrations common among many European peoples can be found among the Carpathian Galicians. On this day, it was customary for a lovestruck youth to

pile wood at the door of the object of his affections. The Galician dialect contains a verb meaning "to lead a poor life [majaty sja]" which is based on the word May. It was believed that a marriage contracted in May and based on such foolishness would only lead to trouble.

A more respectable method for finding a suitable match was for a young girl to rise early and go outside on St. Andrew's day (13 December, New Style) to listen for her intended's dog to bark. If she failed to learn who her future suitor might be in this fashion, it might be allowed her to learn who would ask her hand by various means of fortune telling. When both youth and maiden knew it was right, they would openly declare their by now not so secret intentions by wearing matching ribbons; hers was braided to her hair, his was proudly displayed in his cap. Both sets of parents then went to the priest and gave instructions for the beginning of the reading of the bans for the next consecutive three Sundays after the Liturgy. The engagement was celebrated by an all night party in the home of the young girl with all her girlfriends while outside the lads made merry in an always festive yet sometimes crude manner. The day for the wedding itself was either Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday since these were the non-fast days of the church. Weddings were prohibited from being celebrated during all of Great Lent and during the other smaller Lenten seasons throughout the year. As the day neared, all the neighbor women would save up their eggs so that the richest dumplings [Halushky] might be served at the feast in hopes that the newlyweds might begin their life together in a richly proper and fitting manner. Other proprieties too had to be observed. On the day of the wedding itself, both would go to church for confession to the priest. Returning home, the bride would bid a tearful farewell to her parents and would accompany the wedding marshal [Starosta] to the church. There the priest would perform a solemn and beautiful ceremony. Tying the hands of the couple together with a red cloth the priest would lead the couple three times around a small table [Tetrapod] while crowns were held over their heads by the groomsman [Svat] and bridesmaid [Svaxa]. Simple rings were exchanged.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the bride would strew bread crumbs over the groom's shoulders as a reminder that their life together would be spent in the pursuit of their daily bread; that it might nevertheless be sweet, she placed a piece of rock sugar in his mouth. When leaving the church it was the custom for the wife to defer to her husband by allowing him to cross the threshold first and the guests watched that she not make the first step in married life with the left foot. In some villages the wedding guests placed the newlyweds under an oxen yoke at the church gate for the procession to the groom's parents's home for the long awaited celebration. Elsewhere they were led with great ceremony by the wedding marshal. At the feast, the couple shared a common soup bowl and one spoon. Toasts to their happiness were made by their attendants and the Starosta oversaw the ritual of bride kissing. For a few coins, if available, each guest was allowed to kiss the bride. After the wedding feast, music and dancing would carry the celebration into the late hours. The csardas, polka, hopak and kolomjka were danced, but a "do as I do" line dance was led by the Svat and provided the most fun. The bride and the groom disappeared somewhat early on in the evening. On the next day, the new wife would appear in the "facelik" headdress which to all now identified her as a married woman. [1990:40-42]

According to one informant, music for festive occasions was usually provided by the gypsies who often had their own settlement outside of town (besides providing music, gypsies often sold needles and odd items and fix-it services to the villagers).

For those Rusins who eventually settled on the Iron Range, leaving Austria-Hungary had been somewhat easier than for those Rusins in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Because of the proximity of Austria and Germany to Galicia, Rusin movement across these borders to port cities like Bremen or Hamburg, where passage to the United States was readily available, was less burdensome than for those Rusins who came from the interior areas like the Presov or Transcarpathian regions. In fact, only one informant from the Transcarpathian Region, Michael Levchak, indicated that there was a problem leaving. As in the case of the Rusins in Browerville, few families came directly to the Chisholm area from Europe. Most stopped and settled momentarily on the eastern sea-board in Vermont, New York (Syracuse, in particular), and Pennsylvania. Almost without exception, the first jobs that

these immigrants had were in the mining or steel sectors. As Bill Hnatko recalled,

[My father] said you worked all day for a dollar . . . like unloading a box car of scrap iron you shoveled by hand--spent all day shoveling, you know, and got paid a dollar for it. Those were his wages. So you can understand that when we talk about building this country, if it wasn't for that cheap foreign labor, a lot of the stuff wouldn't have been built as far as the roads, and bridges, and railroads. . . .

Naturally, this type of work led many to migrate to the Mesabi Iron Range in the hope of finding better wages and a stable environment in which to raise a family. This hope, combined with hard, dangerous work and the once close-knit Rusins' ability to organize, led to quite a degree of political activism on the behalf of the miners around Chisholm. This was especially the case during the Depression. Bill Hnatko's father was one such organizer in the early thirties:

. . . during the Depression, they became ever more cognizant of the need--the good--of what they call political involvement because they soon started to learn that those people that controlled the levers of the power of government were the ones that were passing out what they called favors, the three-day or five-day slips for work. And if you didn't, if you were not "in," in any way. . . you weren't favored with that. So I remember the early days, the Depression days, they formed what they called "units"--a unit of government, the little bodies, and then they formed enough of them so they were able to elect what they called a township supervisor. Well, then after they got their township supervisors elected, they were passing out the work slips. . . . You had to have a political "in" because, let's face it--what's the term that's applied when you pass out these political favors? That hasn't changed. I mean, it's a little different color today but as a result of it, they found out, "Hey, if you want to get some clout, you have to be involved." And then as a result of that, you had to have meetings. They'd meet in different houses, in the evenings, and sit around and discuss. And as a result of it, they became what is called activists. From just being a very passive, passive thing, they became involved and soon found out [the way it went around]. . . . They found out that you had to get involved in order to get recognition.

The Rusin churches built in the Chisholm area, Sts. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic and St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox also developed respective political agendas as indicated earlier. However, many years before either was built, St. Joseph's, a Roman Catholic church, appears to have served the needs of the majority of the first Eastern rite Rusin immigrants, regardless of their political and religious orientation.

Several informants indicated that the first Eastern rite church, St. Nicholas, was built by and for most of the Rusin immigrants and that later, the issue of being under the Pope or not being under the Pope was what divided the group into two camps. However, as Goman and earlier discussion indicated, the Greek Catholic group was more or less expelled from the Chisholm Russian Brotherhood in 1914, two years before either church was built. This expelling of Greek Catholics, itself, occurred 22 years after Fr. Toth's conversion of the Greek Catholic parish to Orthodoxy in Minneapolis in 1891. Why this hiatus between such divisive events and their implementation on a national, state, and local level is not known. Nevertheless, since 1914, the relationship between Sts. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church and St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church in Chisholm, separated as they were by only three blocks, has been one of uneasy co-existence. While many Orthodox attended services of one kind or another, at some time, in the Greek Catholic church, the opposite was true with regard to the Greek Catholics attending any services at the Orthodox church. As one informant stated, "It was strictly forbidden to ever go in there [the Orthodox church]. If there was a wedding or something, you waited outside the church and across the street" (Anonymous).

Some families were even divided in allegiance. This was not a subject discussed at any great length by informants although it was alluded to quite often:

I can't honestly tell you what brought it [the division between the Rusin people] or what the reason was, but I do know that there are in families--see, one brother would continue his allegiance to St. Nicholas and the other went to the other church. What brought this schism about, I can't say what it was. The doings of the clerical? I don't know. I never got into the part of it, what the cause of the trouble was, but I do know it was serious, what they call a divisive thing where there was apparently a lot of enmity amongst families. . . . [Anonymous]

Often, tensions arose at weddings when relatives and guests would discuss their respective churches with heated words; soon, the "discussion" would escalate and fists would be thrown. More often, words were the weapon of choice. The Orthodox referred to the Greek Catholics as "kacap," a derogatory term regarding their perceived Ukrainophile stance while the Greek Catholics referred to the Orthodox as "mzeppa," a derogatory term regarding their perceived Russophile stance (Goman 1990:276 and interview data).

While St. Nicholas did not hide its Russian influence, Sts. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church was its own enigma with regard to any real or perceived Ukrainianism. Very little concrete information is available; the church records are unavailable. However, there are some indications that Ukrainophile ideology had a presence in that church originally or, at least, was seen as a possible threat.

First, in 1916, with Ukrainian nationalism rising in both Ukraine and the United States, separate ecclesiastical administrations were granted to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian (or Rusin) Greek Catholic Church in America. According to Goman, with regard to the Ruthenian diocese, "One of the on-going tenets of the leadership of this jurisdiction was that they should keep their membership and parishes safe from 'Ukrainianizing' influences" (1990:274). St. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church chose to belong to the Ruthenian diocese.

Second, one document obtained from the church--a charter dated 1921--welcomes the Chisholm chapter of the Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost Number 137 as a "regular and duly constituted assembly of the Providence Association of the Ukrainian Catholics in America". The relationship of this brotherhood to St. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church is not known but does indicate, however, the presence or knowledge of Ukrainian ideology among some Eastern rite Catholics in the area. However, the Ukrainophilism in the Chisholm area cannot be adequately traced prior to World War II; it is not clear to what degree this Ukrainian movement existed or if the movement was, at least originally, simply reactionary with regard to St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church.

The influence of Ukrainian nationalism at the parish level of Sts. Peter and Paul Byzantine Catholic Church can more easily be seen in the years following World War II and up to the closing of the church in 1976. Around 1947, a number of displaced persons (referred to as "D.P.s") from Ukraine settled in Chisholm and began attending Sts. Peter and Paul Byzantine

Catholic Church, ultimately re-invigorating the church and, as well, transforming it into a predominantly Ukrainian Byzantine rite church in later years (the church became affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Diocese of St. Nicholas in Chicago, in 1961) (Goman 1990:276).

Prior to the influx of decidedly Ukrainian parishioners around 1947, Sts. Peter and Paul Byzantine Catholic Church was struggling to survive, although in the Depression years the parish had numbered approximately 40 families. Often, a permanent priest for the parish could not be found; once per month, a priest from St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Church in Minneapolis would visit. The arrival of the Ukrainians and the efforts of Fr. Wolodymyr "Fr. Val" Wiwchariwskyj (1947-59), however, allowed the church to continue functioning. The attitude of the Rusin parishioners and the community at large appeared to be ambivalent, although "Fr. Val" was viewed by many as a hard-working and kind priest who enabled the church to continue.

Most former parishioners (who, for the most part, now attend St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church) who were formally or informally interviewed did express a degree of anger over two issues. The first issue concerned the simple closing of the church in 1976 and its conversion into a house--the front doors now are used as a garage entrance. The idea that the remaining parishioners "could have held on" was, perhaps, the most common sentiment. The second issue, unsubstantiated at this point, is the belief that, as the church closed, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Minneapolis charged with the closing, St. Constantine's, removed many religious items from the church without permission or consultation of the parishioners. However, according to canonical sources, these items--vestments, linens, and crucifixes--were sanctioned for removal by the Bishop of the Ukrainian Church in Chicago according to church law regarding de-consecration of a church; as well, a list of these items was provided to the parishioners. Eventually, many liturgical items were replaced and are still used on occasion when Fr. Anthony Skurla--a Byzantine Franciscan--the son of Mary Skurla and brother of John Skurla, visits and holds a Byzantine Catholic service in the Skurla home.

St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox is still active and recently celebrated its 75th anniversary in October, 1990. Attending the large celebration were the mission priest from St. Mary's in Minneapolis, Hiermonk Simeon Johnson, parishioners from St. Michael's Serbian Orthodox Church in Hibbing, and other members from the Orthodox and Rusin community in Minneapolis.

The sense of ethnic identity in the Chisholm community is quite strong for most ethnic groups; Yugoslavs differentiate themselves between Croats,

Serbs, and Montenegrins; Germans are Bavarian, Prussian, or Austrian; as well, for the East Slavs, there are Ukrainians, Rusins, and Russians. This strong sense of identity has its roots in the mining operations and industrial environment that brought the East European and Central East European immigrants to the area. There were a number of interrelated historical factors in this environment which forced or encouraged certain ethnic groups to strengthen their ethnic identity. These factors included job skill level, fluency in English, and competition between ethnic groups within this political economy.

In the mines, at least on the Mesabi Iron Range, most positions other than unskilled labor required a good degree of fluency in English which, for many immigrants, was not immediately forthcoming. The better paying and skilled positions, therefore, usually went to the English or Scandinavians, and the unskilled jobs went to the Slavic immigrants.

Since there existed historical competition between Slavic ethnic groups in Europe, there also existed--as a manifestation of those historical differences--competition between the Slavic ethnic groups for what jobs and resources existed in this Iron Range political economy. It was this competition between Slavic groups that led to the strengthening of Slavic ethnic identities. The collective activity of each Slavic group led to the formation of various ethnic churches and fraternal organizations in the Chisholm/Hibbing area which, in turn, led to the further strengthening of various Slavic identities.

For the Rusins on the Iron Range, however, attempts at collective activity fell by the wayside as their churches, parishes, fraternal organizations, and families became embroiled in religious and nationalist disputes. These disputes, although described and alluded to on both a local and national level in previous sections of this thesis, are worth summation:

With Russian and Ukrainian nationalisms competing with each other for control of Eastern rite immigrants in the United States (as well as those Rusins who remained behind in Europe), any sense of a Rusin identity--never allowed to fully develop a solid foundation in Europe--was fragmented. Any collective identity of the first Rusin immigrants was divided initially by the issue of Papal recognition; many Rusins no longer wished to be in Communion with Rome. Fueling this desire to leave Greek Catholicism and the Pope was the American Roman Catholic hierarchy's refusal to recognize Eastern rite Catholics. By default, an issue of religious affiliation became an issue of nationalist identity as well.

If a Rusin immigrant did not wish to be under the Pope, he or she had two options--find another religion altogether or remain in the Eastern rite, without a Pope, under the fold of the Russian Orthodox Church. If a Rusin immigrant wished to remain under the Pope, he or she also had two choices--join the Roman Catholic church or remain in the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church. This, at first, would seem relatively cut and dried, outside of the effect on the Rusin immigrants as a unified people. However, as a mirror image of the situation in Europe vis-a-vis Ukrainophile vs. Russophile ideologies, Ukrainian nationalism and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church provided yet another more powerful and linguistically similar option for those Rusin immigrants and clergy who wished to remain under the Pope. This third choice allowed the early Rusin immigrant to either challenge the "anti-papal" and "pro-tsarist" forces of Orthodoxy or simply continue to practice Greek Catholicism, conscious or unconscious of the strong nationalist program. Hence, in the majority of immigrant Rusin communities, at least two and possibly five or more factions could be found:

1. Rusins who belong to the Russian Orthodox Church.
2. Rusins who belong to the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church.
3. Rusins who belong to a Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.
4. Rusins who joined the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church following the collapse or near-collapse of their own Ruthenian Greek Catholic church.
5. Rusins who have left the Eastern rite altogether.

As well, inside of each of these factions, there would inevitably be a variety of ethnic identities as the nationalist leanings of these churches--with their intrinsic language, religion, customs, cultural heroes, etc.--took hold with some Rusins and were ignored by others; the role or purpose of any Rusin collective activity or ethnic identity disappeared into fragments.

Examples of this process of factionalization of Rusin identity are easily found in the Chisholm area. However, the two most frequently found factions are Russian Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic, a more overtly religious difference than a nationalist one. Any reference to a Rusin "being" a Ukrainian had more to do with their membership at Sts. Peter and Paul Byzantine Catholic Church which had experienced a large influx of Ukrainians in the late 40s and early 50s. No one I interviewed professed to being Ukrainian; instead, they acknowledged the role of the Ukrainians in the

community who had come a generation or two after the settling of the original Rusin community. Hence, most informants were quite aware of their traditional ethnic identity; "I'm a Ruthenian; I will [always] be. I was born a Ruthenian" (Levchak). As well, some informants from both churches, formally and informally interviewed, sought to clarify one aspect of the Rusins who joined the Russian Orthodox churches, St. Nicholas in Chisholm and Sts. Peter and Paul in Bramble, as the following excerpts illustrate:

QUESTION: What did your parents call themselves? If I were [able] to ask them, "What do you call yourselves in terms of an ethnic identity?"

ANSWER: Well, they used to refer to themselves as "Rusnaks."

QUESTION: "Rusnak?"

ANSWER: Yes. Because we're not Russian. . . . As a matter of fact, they could not--they didn't--they couldn't really understand Russian as it's spoken today. If, you know, like Gorbachev was here talking, I'm sure my father wouldn't understand him--he'd get a word now and there, but not that type of dialect; they spoke a different dialect.

QUESTION: So they would be called "Carpatho-Rusin?"

ANSWER: Carpatho-Rusin. You see, over every hill, there was a different tongue spoken. Because basically in the mountain areas, they were sort of isolated anyway. . . . [Anonymous]

QUESTION: What did your parents call themselves. . . ?

ANSWER: "Rusin."

QUESTION: Rusin?

ANSWER: Yes, "Rusnak," too. Not "Carpatho-Rus," just "Rusin" or "Rusnak" more. And you couldn't say "Russian" because then you were off beat. They wondered what were you really.

One interesting exchange occurred during the interview with the mother and daughter, Mary and Anne Rapko. Both Mary and Anne attend St. Nicholas Orthodox Church. While the mother, ninety-one year old Mary Rapko, remembered the church being built, the daughter, seventy-four year old

Anne, attended the church her whole life. Their different perspectives on their religious origins, reflecting both the early influence of the Russian Orthodox church and the differences within the Rusin community, is well illustrated in the next passage:

DAUGHTER: See now, that's what I'd like to know, Mom. Our family is Russian Orthodox, and so, who were the Uniate people who came here. . . ?

MOTHER: Well we were--they were all Uniates

DAUGHTER: You mean Grandpa was too?

MOTHER: Yes. They were kind of under the Pope, but they didn't have to follow the Roman Catholic ways.

DAUGHTER: You see, this is what I don't understand. When our grandparents came here, they were Russian Orthodox--

MOTHER: But they called themselves "Greco-Katholick Pravoslavnaja." And "Orthodox" is Pravoslavnaja. That's what they were. They ALL were. Only those from St. Nicholas Church, they didn't want to have the Pope; they didn't want to have the Pope over them at all. So they're more like the Russians from Russia.

DAUGHTER: But in Europe, were the churches Orthodox then?

MOTHER: Well, they were Pravoslavnaja, but Greco-Katholicky because--

DAUGHTER: They were in Austria, you mean. They more or less were kind of under the Pope.

MOTHER: Yes.

DAUGHTER: . . . because they were in Austria, but they really were Orthodox people.

MOTHER: Yes.

QUESTION: So most of the people who came here were Uniate. . . ?

MOTHER: They were Uniate. . . . They didn't have to be and they didn't want to be [under the Pope]. And they tied in with Russia.

Today, the Orthodox church is quite strong in Chisholm and its sister church, St. Michael's Serbian Orthodox Church in Hibbing--only seven miles away--is strong as well. The Byzantine Catholic Rusins who remain and remember their church now attend, for the most part, St. Joseph's Roman

Catholic Church. Our attention turns next to Minneapolis where events shaped Rusin history in the United States.

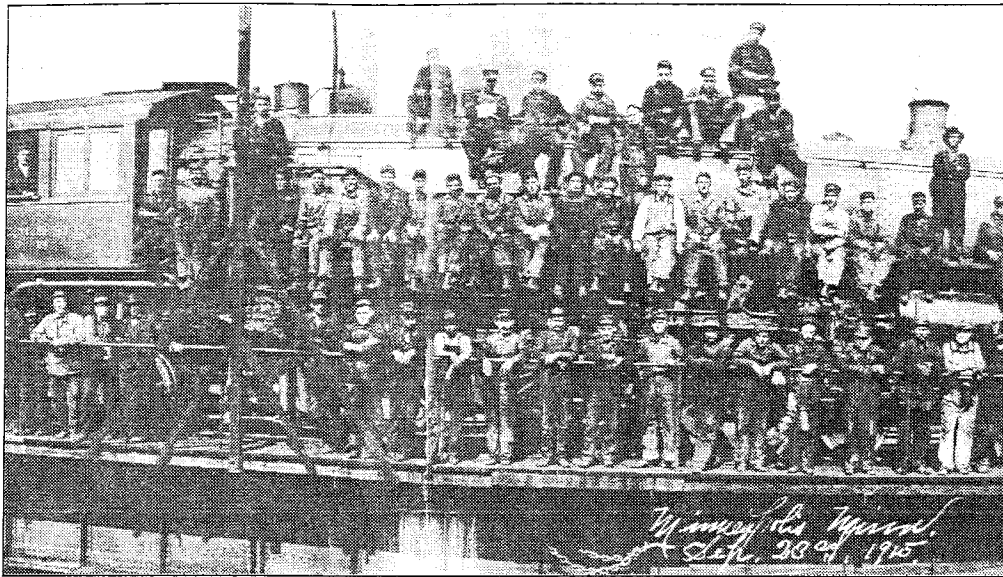
CHAPTER FIVE THE RUSIN COMMUNITY IN MINNEAPOLIS

When Minnesota became a state in 1858, Minneapolis and St. Paul were fledgling centers of trade and manufacturing. The nation's railway lines, completed in 1854, only extended to Rock Island, Illinois, some 350 miles down the Mississippi from St. Paul (Lass 1983:114). The journey between St. Paul and Rock Island often had to be done by riverboat, and this mode of transportation had definite limitations. William E. Lass, in his book on Minnesota's history (1983), states, "Despite Minnesota's bountiful land, the region was regarded as an American Siberia. Though the steamboats plied the Mississippi to St. Paul, they were slow and unreliable, and when the river froze Minnesota was virtually isolated" (114).

Naturally, an extension of the nation's railway system was viewed as necessary in order to further stimulate commerce in Minnesota and the surrounding states and territories. When the railway between St. Paul and Chicago was completed in 1867, Minnesota's manufacturing sector, centered in Minneapolis, was ready.

While the Iron Range had yet to be discovered at this time, the lumber and flour industries in Minneapolis and St. Paul were already well established; lumber from Northern Minnesota was being sawed, while wheat from Central and Western Minnesota was being milled. Both industries were initially situated along the Mississippi River, using the force of the water for power. Later, with improvements in the flour milling industry and its conversion to steam power, annual flour production increased from 200,000 barrels in 1870 to 7,000,000 barrels in 1890 (Lass 1983:136).

Increased flour production and improved access to the Chicago markets, in turn, spurred further railway expansion west "not only to market flour but to tap the wheat lands of the distant Dakota and Montana prairies" (Lass 1983:136). Railroad expansion westward and improved railway access to Michigan in 1887 made Minneapolis "the most important railroad center northwest of Chicago" (Lass 1983:137).



Many Rusins were among these railroad workers.

The population of Minnesota--owing to the mining, lumber and flour industries, farming, and the building of the requisite railways--increased dramatically from 1870 (438,000) to 1890 (1,300,000). The population of Minneapolis and St. Paul, during the same period, went from 33,096 to 297,894. This population, like that of most "boom towns," was composed of a variety of peoples. Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants settled in Minnesota en masse from the 1850s to the 1890s.

On the heels of these West European immigrants, the bulk of the East and Central Europeans followed in the years from 1890 to 1900. However, the Rusins began settling in Minnesota as early as the late 1870s and early 1880s. According to St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral's 100th Anniversary book (1987), "By 1884, the Rusin community in Minneapolis included five families and a number of single men. The community grew to approximately 80 individuals by 1887" (17).

The fieldwork data from interviews conducted with the descendants of these immigrants were considerable and included memories and information on a variety of subjects. At this point, our attention turns to the informants, themselves, and their family biographies.

One set of interview data on the Rusin community in Minneapolis was obtained in Chisholm, Minnesota, from George and Julia Hudak.

Complementing this data was an interview conducted with one of Julia's cousins and a member of the Rusin Association of Minneapolis, John Haluska. It is worth repeating their family history here.

George and Julia Hudak (nee Haluska) were contacted through John Haluska, a member of the Rusin Association of Minneapolis, and one of Julia's second cousins. Julia's mother, Julia Romanko, came from the village of Chudl'ovo and immigrated to the United States when she was 12 years old, in 1899. Julia's father, Vasil Haluska, came from the Hrabске area with his brother, Jan, to the United States also around 1891. Both Julia Romanko and Vasil Haluska moved to Minneapolis in 1900 where they met and were married in 1905. Julia (Haluska) Hudak was born in Minneapolis in 1906. Julia Haluska married George Hudak, a Slovak, in 1929 in Minneapolis. The Hudaks moved to the Chisholm area the same year. The Hudaks provided considerable information on the early 20th century Minneapolis Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic Rusin communities as well as information on the Chisholm Rusin communities. John Haluska was born in Minneapolis in 1944. His father, George Haluska, is Julia Hudak's first cousin.

Harry Yurista (also spelled "Jurista") was born in Minneapolis, in 1925, to Gregory Yurista and Julia Zbihley. Both Gregory and Julia emigrated from the village of Regetovka, near the modern Polish and former Czechoslovakian borders. Before immigrating to the United States, Gregory Yurista earned passage by working in a Brewery in Budapest. In 1909, at the age of nineteen, he settled in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. There, with an older brother, Gregory worked in a coal mine for one month before migrating to Minneapolis. Julia Zbihley came directly to Minneapolis from Regetovka in 1909. Julia and Gregory were married in 1912 in St. Mary's Orthodox Greek Catholic Church. Originally a farmer in Europe, Gregory Yurista worked on the railroads in Minneapolis.

Irene Lechko Rokoski and Anne Lechko Guzy are sisters. Their parents, Andrew Lechko (also spelled "Liczko") and Helen Labczak, both came from the village of Vel'krop where they were neighbors. Andrew Lechko immigrated to the United States in 1905, in order to avoid conscription, and settled in McKeesrocks, Pennsylvania. Andrew worked first in the mines and later in the steel mills in the area. In 1906, Andrew sent money to Europe for passage for his future wife, Helen, and they were married in 1907 in a Greek Catholic church in McKeesrocks. Anne Lechko Guzy was born in Duquesne, Pennsylvania, in 1910. Later in that year, the Lechko family moved to Minneapolis on the heels of other Lechko family members. In Minneapolis,

Andrew worked a series of odd jobs until joining the railroad as an oiler. In 1923, Irene Lechko Rokoski was born. Both Anne and Irene are active members of the Rusin Association; William Lechko (1912-1990), brother of Anne and Irene, was also a member of the Rusin Association and an accomplished musician and worked avidly to preserve the music and song of the Rusin people. His work is the foundation for a group of young musicians, the Rusin Player's Club, that performs out of St. Mary's Orthodox Church under the guidance of Fr. Vladimir Lecko, also a Rusin.

Olga Stehnach Mericle was born in 1911 in Minneapolis. Her father, Semeon Stehnach, emigrated from the village of Becherov to the United States in 1900. Olga Mericle's mother, Mary Niklis, emigrated from the village of Klemberk to the United States also around 1900. Semeon Stehnach and Mary Niklis met and married in Allentown, Pennsylvania, in 1903. The Stehnach family moved to Minneapolis around 1904 or 1905 where Semeon worked as a foreman for the Soo Line Railroad.

Peter Hnath was born in Minneapolis in 1919. His mother, Mary Virostko, and father, Peter Hnath Sr., both lived in the village of Matysova where they were married. Several members of the Hnath family immigrated to the United States; Peter Hnath Sr. came first in the early 1900s and worked in steel mills around Chicago and Gary, Indiana. In 1912, Peter Hnath Sr. migrated to Minneapolis. There, he worked and saved enough money to send for his wife, Mary. Eventually, Peter Hnath Sr. became a barber. Peter Hnath Jr. is an accomplished artist and member of the Rusin Association, contributed time and skill to this project and other Rusin Association projects.

Michael Pirich (also spelled "Piric") was born in 1916 in Minneapolis. His parents, George Pirich and Theresa Hromada, came from a village in Zemplin County, possibly Volicja or Valaskovce, in the early 1900s. Church records from St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church show Pirich family members as early as 1908. Prior to migrating to Minneapolis and working in the flour mills and in real estate, the Pirich family spent time in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and Binghamton, New York.

John Super (also spelled "Cuper") was born in 1919 in Minneapolis. His father, Peter Super, came to the United States in 1905 from the village of Stebnik. John's mother, Paraska Sad, came to the United States in 1913 from the village of Chmel'ova. Peter and Paraska were married in Minneapolis in 1917 in St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church. John Super no longer attends St. Mary's and, instead attends a Presbyterian church. He has

travelled extensively in East Europe and shares and translates information on modern Rusin life.

Lawrence Goga was born in Minneapolis in 1932. His fraternal grandfather, John (Ivan) Goga immigrated to the United States in 1891 from the village of Pravrovce, Zemplin County. He first settled in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he worked as a laborer before migrating to Minneapolis around 1896. Lawrence's fraternal grandmother, Mary Dudas Fores immigrated to the United States in 1883 from the village of Kosice, and also came to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. John Goga and Mary Fores may have met at St. Wenceslavs Roman Catholic Church in Pittsburgh. They both moved to Minneapolis where they were married in 1896 at St. Cyril and Methodius Slovak Roman Catholic Church. Their wedding certificate indicates they were identified as "Russ." John Goga would become one of 88 original families at St. John's in 1907-08.

Michael Gladis was born in 1901 in Derby, Connecticut, and came to Minnesota in 1933. He is the oldest active member of the Rusin Association. His father, also Michael Gladis, was born in 1871 in the village of Maly Lipnik and came to the United States in 1890. His mother, Mary Blasco, was born in 18881 in Maly Lipnik and came to the United States in 1897. Michael Gladis Jr.'s parents were married in 1898 in Ansonia, Connecticut.

John Gera was born in Mutual, Pennsylvania, in 1913. His father, John Gera, was a wood-cutter and a farmer in Ulhovci. His mother, Elizabeth Slifcanich, lived in Uzhorod. John's father immigrated to the U.S. in 1908 or 1909 and began work as a coal miner; John's mother immigrated to the U.S. in 1910. John Gera (senior) met and married Elizabeth Slifcanich in Trauggert, Pennsylvania, in 1913. John Gera (junior) was raised as a Byzantine Catholic and stayed with that church until the early 1940s when he began going to a Roman Catholic church. His work in aviation brought him and his family to Minneapolis in 1963. As a member of the Rusin Association and its vice-president, John, acts as one of the primary interpreters of Rusin documents and communications from Europe.

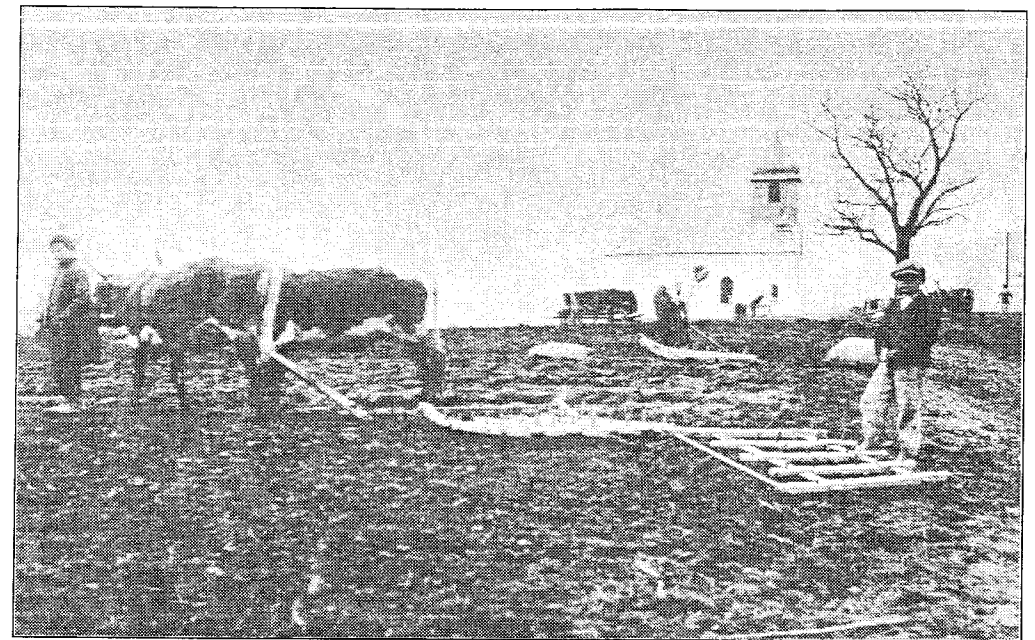
Karen Benson was born in Minneapolis in 1946. Her grand-mother, Marie Kocur, immigrated to the United States in 1905 from the village of Niznyj Pol'anika. Marie Kocur came directly to Minneapolis where her brother, John Kocur, had already settled. It was in Minneapolis that Marie Kocur met and married Nicholas Mudrak. Karen has visited Niznyj Pol'anika and has met some of her relatives, including a great-aunt of hers. Karen still

writes letters to the old country, and is quite active in photography, which allows her to record Rusin Association events and people.

In general, most of the Rusin immigrants who settled in Minneapolis came from the Presov Region; specifically, their villages were north of the town of Presov, near the Polish border but separated from Poland by the high peaks of the Carpathian Mountains. Prior to immigration to the United States, the Rusins in this areas, like the Rusins in Transcarpathia and Galicia, were involved in subsistence farming. However, woodcutters and carpenters could also exploit the heavily forested area on the southern slope of the Carpathians. This work was often done by transplanted Germans who had assimilated into the Rusin population. One Minneapolis informant, John Gera, is a descendant of the first German artisans brought into the Presov Region by the Hungarian kings.

. . . it's a puzzle to people because it [Gera] is not the typical Rusin name. The way the story went in our family, either my father's great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather came from the town of Gera, Germany, for his health. And the joke always was that he beat the sheriff's posse. . . . And he settled in this area, Ulhovci, in the Carpathian Mountains. And in many areas, the Germans, who were imported because they were craftsmen--see, our people weren't educated and were unskilled because nobody bothered to train them. So the carpenters, and the blacksmiths, and things of that nature--you needed skilled people. In many areas, like in Russia, they kept them isolated from the population [but not here].

In general, the details of life in the old country, as told by the Minneapolis informants, are scattered references. This lack of information can be attributed to a number of factors. First, owing to the passage of time, most informants, understandably, could not recall events or stories of events experienced by their young parents one hundred years ago. Second, as alluded to in previous sections and underscored by the informants, there wasn't much about the old country worth remembering or passing on to future generations except for the fact that everyone was poor. Third, the average Rusin immigrant was single and quite young, leaving at an age when his or her role in the family and village was being defined. Fourth, and relatedly, the immigrants often never saw their parents or the old country again, and letter-writing--their only communication with their past--was a tedious process. These factors, alone or in combination, left the Minneapolis informants hard-



Primitive subsistence farming in Becherov, Slovakia 1938. Note Orthodox church where many ancestors of present day St. Mary's parishioners practiced their faith.

pressed at times to remember details about their parents' lives in the old country, including names, villages, events, and work histories.

With regard to life in the United States and Minnesota, there was an abundance of memories, drawing on either the experiences of the children of the immigrants or the stories told to the children by their immigrant parents. Most of these memories revolve around a central theme intimately tied to Rusin concepts of identity--the church.

As has been made clear, Rusin church history in the United States was and is complicated, mirroring the conflict over religion and identity in Europe. In Minneapolis, the confrontation between the Greek Catholic priest, Fr. Toth, and Roman Catholic Archbishop John Ireland in 1890-91 led to a schism that divided the Rusin immigrants between Russian Orthodoxy and Greek Catholicism not only in the United States but in East-central Europe as well. An overview of the subsequent forming and reforming of factions and organizations within each of these "camps" follows.

When construction of St. Mary's church of Minneapolis was begun in 1887, the parish members were Greek Catholic and the church's original name

was St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church. Following the confrontation in 1889 between the Fr. Alexis Toth, and Archbishop John Ireland, the St. Mary's parish turned to Russian Orthodoxy (in 1891), and the name of the church became St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church. Although exterior construction of the church had been completed in 1889, the interior of the church was not yet finished; Toth was able to subsequently raise the necessary funds through donations to finish and equip the interior according to Russian Orthodox liturgical requirements (St. Mary's 1987:28).

While all of St. Mary's parishioners converted to Orthodoxy with Fr. Toth in 1891, most of those Rusin immigrants who came to Minneapolis in succeeding years evidently decided to not join St. Mary's and Orthodoxy, instead wishing to remain Greek Catholic. Among these newly arrived Greek Catholic immigrants was one named Michael Rushin. While there is little documentation of his personal life, it is known that this Rusin businessman settled in Minneapolis before 1902, having migrated from Pennsylvania, and that he owned a liquor establishment in Minneapolis (Haluska 1983:2). Most of the sources available refer more to his religious and political dealings which surround his founding of St. John's Byzantine Rite Catholic Church (originally named as per its articles of incorporation as the Ruthenian Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist).

The first recorded attempt to organize anything Greek Catholic, for those Rusins who did not wish to join Orthodoxy, occurred on March 30, 1902, and was led by Michael Rushin. This first meeting of "The Brotherhood of St. John the Baptist" was attended by several men who, with Rushin's aid, would eventually form St. John's Greek Catholic Society No. 300 (in association with the Greek Catholic Union) and, later, St. John's in 1907. Those men attending were:

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Michael Rushin | Nick Danyo | Michael Regans |
| George Dargay | George Tkac | John Pasternak |
| George Maskalyi | John Kizimir | Androv Kostik |
| Vasil Haluska | Frank Macko | Androv Varchol |
| Androv Sivanic | Simko Chelina | |

Name — Имя — Imja		Adaptation ИПТО ИМЕНА ИЛИ Прозвища
Address of member? Где живете?	Names of parents, or brothers and sisters of the unmarried member? Имя родителей — или братья и сестры, если вы незамужен (незамужая)?	
Religion? State of birth? Имя отца, матери и братья и сестры, если вы незамужен (незамужая)? Якоже? Кому? и в какой стране?	Имя родителей — или братья и сестры, если вы незамужен (незамужая)? Делал ли (она) выехать из страны? Когда и в какой стране?	
Place of birth? (Country, county, town) Где родились? (Страна, уезд, село) Имя родителей? (Страна, повит, село)	В какой стране и когда вы были приняты? Принимали ли вас? Кому? и в какой стране?	
To which lodge and when was he accepted? Де какой страны братья и сестры приняты? Де которе братья и сестры приняты?	Принимали ли вас? Кому? и в какой стране? Принимали ли вас? Кому? и в какой стране?	
To whom did he (she) make his (her) will? (State full name and address) Кому составил завещание? (Полное имя и адрес приемателя)	Was he (she) a member of some other lodge of this organization? Did he (she) leave any unpaid dues there? Он (она) член какой-либо другой организации в этой стране, или нет?	
Podporu na isto kapital? (Podati ime i mesto prebyvanija) Имя и адрес приемателя? Кому и в какой стране?	He (she) changed his (her) last will? When and in whose favor? Безжалостно ли составил? Кому и в какой стране? Когда и в чью пользу?	
Married — or single? Кем вы — или кто? Земель — или нет?	Did the member discontinue his membership? Was he (she) expelled from the organization? When? Why? Бросил ли член организацию? — Кому? Почему?	
Name of wife (husband) and address. Имя жены (мужа) и адрес приемателя? Имя детей (детей) и место пребывания?	Was the member receive any sick or other benefits? When and for what? Достал ли пособие? Кому и в какой стране?	
Is wife or husband dead? When? Умерла жена или муж? Когда?	Was the death benefit paid out after the death of wife or husband? To whom? Платили ли пособие после смерти жены или мужа? Кому и когда?	
Is the death benefit paid out after the death of wife or husband? To whom? Платили ли пособие после смерти жены или мужа? Кому и когда?	Was the death benefit paid out? To whom and when? Платили ли пособие после смерти? Кому и когда?	
Names of children? Имя детей?		

Lodge membership form for St. John's Parish.

Meanwhile, some Rusin immigrants at St. Mary's--who had once been Greek Catholic but were now, following Toth's conversion, Orthodox--returned to their villages in Europe and brought back with them Orthodoxy. Naturally, this "Russian" Orthodoxy aroused the interests and suspicions of the Hungarian government which traced the Orthodoxy to Minneapolis and, in cooperation with the Pope, dispatched a Magyarone Greek Catholic priest, Fr. Hodobay, "to determine how best to keep the Rusins from converting to Orthodoxy" (Dyrud and Cunningham 1989:184).

When Fr. Hodobay visited Minneapolis in 1906, he found those families, led by Rushin, that had already set up a Greek Catholic lay organization. With the new support of Roman Catholic Archbishop John Ireland, financial aid from the Hungarian government, and the determination of Michael Rushin and several Greek Catholic priests and officials, a Greek Catholic parish was organized during the years 1906-1907, officially founded in 1907, and

officially incorporated in 1908 (Dyrud and Cunningham 1989:185). Michael Rushin was elected parish president. As local historian John Haluska states with regard to the parish make-up:

At its founding in 1907, the parish consisted of 20 founding families or households with an average age of under 30 for the heads of these families. It was a young parish that would attract 50 more adult households by the end of its first year, bringing membership in the parish to 70 at the start of 1908. During 1908, another 23 would join the congregation, raising the total to 93 that year.

Land for the future church buildings had been selected by Michael Rushin and other founders in 1906. Five lots were purchased only a few blocks away from St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church for \$750.00. However, the cost of the land exhausted funds and prevented a new church from being built; plans were made to purchase an existing church for the sum of \$335.00. Again, I refer to John Haluska for a description of the church, its purchase, and character:

At this time, there was another building on the property, a small house, the upper level of which served as a home for the cantor and the lower level was used as a meeting

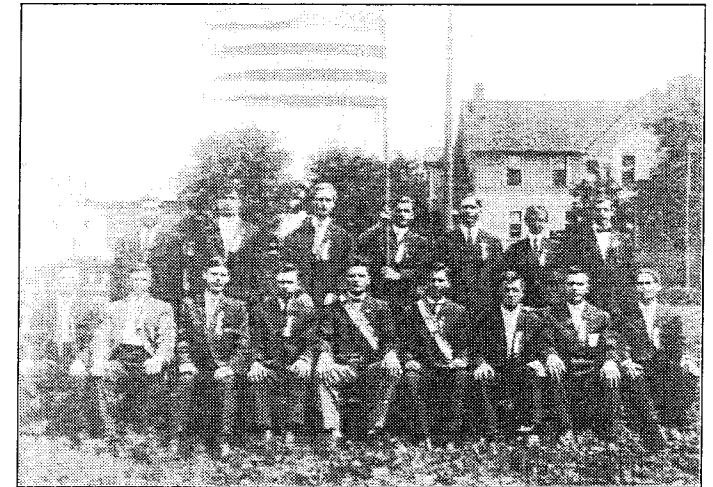
room. The men of the parish had a pool table in this meeting room and evidently used it to generate income to fund their various activities. It was in this meeting hall that the parish held its first liturgy. . . .



Many Rusins, who were not Orthodox, married in St. Cyril's Slovak Catholic church prior to St. John's Ruthenian Catholic church being built. Mary and John Goga were such an example.

The church referred to here is the building the parishioners had moved to the site in 1906. This was a wood-frame building with an interesting tradition of its own. It was the oldest church building in the city of Minneapolis. It had been built originally to serve an Irish congregation in Northeast Minneapolis. They, in turn, had sold it to a group of German Roman Catholics and they [in turn sold it] to the Poles of Holy Cross whom the Rusins bought it from to serve St. John's. Its history regrettably ends with St. John's where it served until the present church was built. The decision to tear it down was a very controversial one within the parish because many members recognized its historical value along with its intrinsic value as an extra building to serve the congregation. The only clearly identifiable remnants we have of this first church are the pews in the south side of the present church, and a few printed icons kept in storage (1983:6).

Although there was not a division per se between St. Mary's and St. John's parishioners--few left one church in favor of the other--there was quite a bit of tension between these two churches concerning, among other things, the issue of the Pope, the "true" traditional religion of the Rusin people, and, relatedly, the perceived



Greek Catholic Rusin Sokol Lodge 37, Sts. Peter & Paul, St. John's, 1911-Minneapolis, MN.

superiority of one religion in relation to the other. Anger and hostility between these two groups of Rusins evidently escalated to a level of violence although these events could not be substantiated by informants; however, more than once, an interview was canceled or not granted owing specifically to "too many bad memories" of these conflicts. As well, any specific information regarding events between members of these two parishes was often only given "off the record." Nevertheless, there were some allusions to these tensions:

There was a little bickering even when I was growing up--I remember bickering between the Orthodox church and the Greek Catholic church. They didn't want them to inter-marry, but they did anyway. . . . They didn't even want them to even stand up as attendants at weddings or anything. They were really fussy

about them just standing at the altar. And like you say, the church was really the center of everything. It was their dignity. It was their ethics. It was their everything [Anonymous].

However, many informants--born and raised in Minneapolis--who did acknowledge the existence of tensions and/or the transpiring of events felt that those years were of more importance to their parents. As one informant indicated, children played with children in those days and issues such as the Pope and Canon Law were unimportant to them then; many families, especially the children, remained friends regardless of their respective churches and religious views (Olga Mericle). With regard to any real or perceived religious differences, one informant from St. John's stated simply:

. . . as far as I am concerned, there's too much "I'm right and you're wrong!" among churches anyway in believing in the belief of God. There's one God; I don't care if you're from India or what. I was talking to some people, my neighbors across the street--they're Indian--of course, they believe in reincarnation, where you come back many different times, but then when you talk about God or religion, they still acknowledge of course that there is a God and one supreme being only. So how can people be



Ruthenian Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist (original structure and name of Byzantine Church of St. John) - Minneapolis, MN.

fighting about--what are they fighting about? It's nothing. . . . It's pretty silly. [Hnath]

Nevertheless, the problem of antagonism between the two Rusin parishes in Minneapolis was compounded by problems within each of the parishes. The St. John's Greek Catholic priests and parish continued to be relegated to second-class citizen status among Catholics, the view being that they were not "true" Catholics since they did not use the Latin rite or language or Gregorian Calendar. In addition, the issue of a married priesthood--still not nationally resolved even by the 1930s--continued to be a familiar overtone in the prejudice they faced. From its founding in 1906-07 until the late 1940s and early 1950s, St. John's Greek Catholic Church, mirroring complex events taking place on a national level, would undergo factionalization.

As stated earlier, the parish of St. John's, formed by those families who wished to remain in communion with the Pope and the Greek Catholic fold, was initially encouraged by Fr. Hodobay, the Papal delegate from Presov, Hungary. However, Hodobay's Hungarian sponsorship was problematic, to say the least. Since Hodobay served the Hungarian government, he was perceived by many Rusin parishes and priests throughout the United States to be an extension of the Hungarian government's Magyarization policy.

It must be remembered that the Rusins in Europe were essentially divided geo-ethnically between Polish Lemkos and Galicians, Hungarian Rusins from the Presov region, and those Rusins from Transcarpathia. They were also--understandably, given their history--divided politically. The Lemko Rusins were viewed as mildly Russophile; the Galician Rusins were viewed as Ukrainophile; the Presov Rusins were viewed as Magyarone, and those Rusins in Transcarpathia were viewed as either Russophile, Ukrainophile, or Magyarone. Addedly, elements of self-determination and/or independence from any outside influence could be found throughout these areas and political beliefs. These geo-ethnic realities and political beliefs naturally followed the immigrants to the United States to the point that, as Magocsi states, ". . . by the 1890s each incoming priest was scrutinized by community leaders to see whether he was from Galicia or from Hungary and whether he was a Ukrainophile, a Russophile, or a Magyarone" (1984:29). As Magocsi continues:

Because the Apostolic Visitor was suspected of serving the Magyarizing policy of the Hungarian government, he was immediately boycotted by the Galicians (both Ukrainophile and

Russophile) and later by many Carpatho-Rusyns (especially secular leaders) from Hungary as well. [1984:29]

Magocsi examines the intricate implications and effects of Hodobay and anti-Hungarian sentiment on the fledgling Rusin Greek Catholic churches in several works; however, in sum, the American Roman Catholic Church continued to desire complete jurisdiction over the Greek Catholic parishes in America and, failing that, was quite vocal in its own anti-Hungarian stance to the point that it supported a Ukrainophile Galician, Fr. Ortynsky, for the Rusin Greek Catholic Bishop of America in 1907. With Bishop Ortynsky's appointment, pro-Ukrainian sentiment in the Greek Catholic parishes increased dramatically.

In Minneapolis, between the years 1907 and 1912, St. John's Greek Catholic Church experienced a large influx of Rusin immigrants, including a sizeable contingent from Galicia. This group's Ukrainian sentiment was strongly felt; as Cunningham and Dyrud state, "For the most part, they joined St. John's and then tried to convince its members that Rusyns were Ukrainians. But the Ukrainians' interests clashed with the dominant influence of the church's founders" (1989:185) who were from the Hungarian side of the Carpathian Mountains. Bishop Ortynsky, himself actively pro-Ukrainian, appointed more than one "Galician" priest and cantor to St. John's in its early years, much to the vocal dismay of Michael Rushin and many others in the parish. Even as early as 1908, Michael Rushin perceived problems with Ortynsky and, both in protest and for reasons of parish security, signed the church property deed over to Roman Catholic Archbishop John Ireland instead of Ortynsky.

The resistance to Ukrainianism at St. John's led those Ukrainophile Galician Rusin members to leave St. John's in 1912 and form a new parish, St. Constantine's Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church, in 1913, now known as St. Constantine's Ukrainian Catholic Church. On a national level, these tensions between Galician Rusins and Uhro-Rusins--those from Hungary--would lead to separate exarchates (the Greek Catholic equivalent of a diocese), one Ukrainian and one Ruthenian, within the American Greek Catholic Church in 1916. It is worth noting that in 1926 St. Constantine's, itself, divided when a large number of the parish left to create a Ukrainian Orthodox church, St. Michael's.

With St. John's belonging to the Ruthenian Exarchate, its fate as a distinct rite became apparent. Although it was recognized as, in fact, distinct, a trade had been made--legitimacy was given by the American Roman

Catholic Church in exchange for independence. But without that independence, the Byzantine Rite in America was unable to continue in its cultural tradition and became heavily Latinized. This reality--the pressure to become Latinized--surfaced when the St. John's parish needed a new church building and Roman Catholic Archbishop John Ireland held the deed (as signed over to him rather than Ortynsky in 1908 by Michael Rushin).

Following the Ukrainian issue (1907-1913), the next major undertaking faced by St. John's in Minneapolis was the building of a new church. There exists three possible explanations for the building of this new church. One theory concerns the parish outgrowing the existing building. Another theory suggests that the church building was too old and becoming too expensive to maintain. Still, there is a third theory that, forwarded by John Haluska, suggests that when the parish approached John Ireland--as required--in 1923 for counsel on improving the property, its buildings, and its interior (by, for instance, removing the icon screens and, in general, making the interior more westernized), Ireland suggested that they build a new church altogether. Between the years 1923-1927, the parish, consisting of approximately 90 families, built a new church that is still in use today. However, as John Haluska states, there was something different about this new church, both inside and out:

. . . [T]he new church . . . boasted a splendidly decorated but purely Western and Roman interior. The early photos we have along with the memories of the parishioners tell us that there were no Icons nor Royal Doors; even the Altar was clearly Roman. The clergy and probably the people, too, at this time started to refer to the Divine Liturgy as the Mass. . . . The exterior of the new church was and, with the exception of the three barred cross, still is, clearly Western and Roman with no evidence of the parish's Byzantine and Slavic heritage (as of 1993, however, the interior of the church has been thoroughly refurbished in conformance with Eastern Christian liturgical practice).

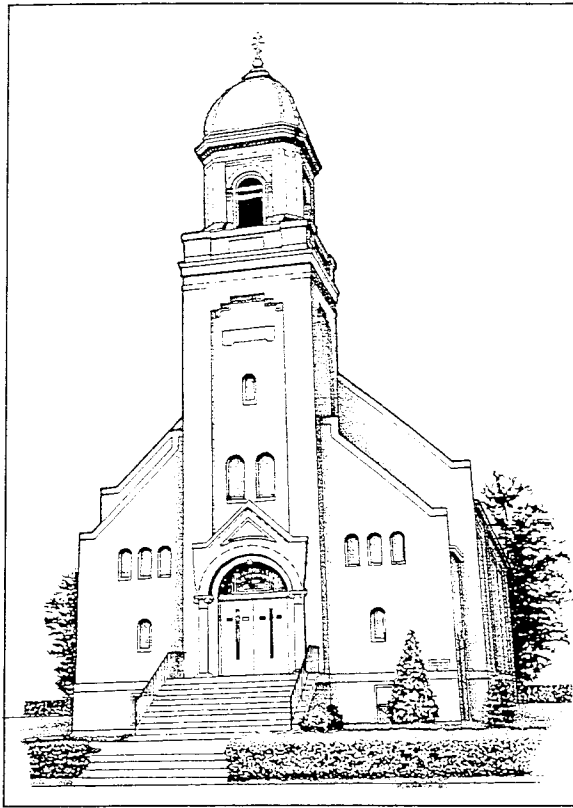
It was also during these years, the 1920s, that St. John's vigorously undertook its mission work to the rest of Minnesota and to other states. While the Holy Trinity "Farmer's Church" in Browerville and Sts. Peter and Paul in Chisholm had stable Greek Catholic parishes, they were too small to support a local Greek Catholic priest. As well, in the Western United States, in areas of Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming, there were small groups of Rusin Greek Catholics who needed the services of a Greek Catholic priest; St. John's

baptismal books indicate a fair amount of travel in these years and later decades.

However, Rusin religious life was far from stable; a new crisis was brewing among Rusin Greek Catholic priests and parishes throughout the United States that would lead to yet another factionalization at the level of the Ruthenian Exarchate. In 1930, in an attempt to primarily enforce the celibacy issue and minimize the power of church boards of trustees (who often refused to turn over deeds and property), the Vatican issued the Cum Data Fuerit Decree (Magocsi 1984:35). This decree was in response to Rusin-American seminarians who had returned to the United States married and were refused ordination by the Bishop of the Pittsburgh Exarchate, Fr. Basil Takach. In response to Bishop Takach's refusal to ordain married priests, several priests--including the editor of the powerful Rusin newspaper, *The Greek Catholic Union*--and parishes who felt the pull of the traditional way, revolted against Takach's authority. As Magocsi states:

The next few years were marked by often harsh and libellous charges and counter-charges in the fraternal and religious press between the "rebellious" or "tradition-minded" priests. . . and the Byzantine Ruthenian hierarchy and priests loyal to Bishop Takach. . . . [1984:36]

In 1936, in response to these tensions, a separate church council was formed independent of Rome, Moscow, or Takach--the Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Diocese of the Eastern Rite. This diocese, while canonically



Byzantine Church of St. John (St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Church/St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church) - Minneapolis, MN.

connected to Constantinople, was independent and would be known as the "Johnstown Diocese," named after the town in Pennsylvania where it moved in 1950 from Connecticut. The diocese was led by the excommunicated, now Constantinople-consecrated, Bishop Orestes Chornock, the Rusin "traditionalist." While the "Johnstown Diocese" would fragment and regroup in later years (1950s-1960s), its splintering influence upon the Ruthenian Exarchate of Pittsburgh and St. John the Baptist in Minneapolis would make itself apparent in the 1930s and early 1940s. By the summer of 1942, as we shall see, the Rusin immigrant in Minneapolis had many religious options to choose from.

On June 8th of that year, a group of nine men incorporated St. Nicholas Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite in Minneapolis. Initially composed of 25-30 former members from the parish of St. John's, this group left St. John's and the Exarchate of Pittsburgh for a number of reasons. According to an interview conducted in 1982 by Lawrence Goga, with one of St. Nicholas' founders, Michael Vanusek, the primary reason for secession from St. John's was Bishop Takach's "cold shoulder" towards the traditionally minded Rusins from Minneapolis who had come to complain about several issues at St. John's. The subject of their complaints, as revealed by the Vanusek interview and by an informal interview with a former member of St. Nicholas, ranged from concern over having to pay for confessions to anger over St. John's proposed change from the Julian Calendar to the Gregorian Calendar. In addition, the Takach/Chornock factionalization had affected St. John's; it was thought by some that the priest at St. John's had overtly taken sides with the "progressive" Pittsburgh and Takach Exarchate at the expense of those "traditionalists" in the St. John's parish who disagreed:

. . . the priest, instead of being with everybody, was with this small faction, and that's the way it broke up. . . . Whether you're a councilman, mayor or what the heck you are, you've got to be for everyone. . . . The factions, once they had broken down, had a hard time. [Vanusek]

That the priest at St. John's was only loyally following the directives of his bishop with regard to the calendar issue did not seem to matter; the larger issue at hand locally and nationally was one of "traditionalists" versus "progressives."

Very little information is available about the St. Nicholas church; few records remain. It was and is often derogatorily referred to as "The Bubble Inn Church" since money for constructing a new building did not exist, and

an existing building, a former liquor establishment, was purchased as the site of the church. Because there were not enough parishioners or money for a church or parish house, St. Nicholas accepted and paid for priests from any Eastern Christian church . . . as long there was no affiliation with the Pittsburgh Exarchate or St. John's. At times, priests from St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church and priests from the Rusin St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Church serviced the St. Nicholas parish. During its forty years, members from many Eastern churches came to St. Nicholas, and the church experienced a heightened attendance during the 1950s when many Displaced Persons from Ukraine came to Minneapolis. This event was, perhaps, St. Nicholas' only problem area. Because no one understood Ukrainian and the Ukrainians did not understand English, visiting Ukrainian priests often found themselves sermonizing in a mixture of languages.

When St. Nicholas closed in 1981-1982, only six or seven parishioners remained; most of the younger generation had married into other religions. The majority of St. Nicholas' holdings and accoutrements were turned over to St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Church.

After the St. Nicholas splintering in 1942, St. John's Greek Catholic Church continued on its course with its membership rising and falling as the younger, Americanized parish members married in and out. By the early 1960s, membership at St. John's was approximately 100 households. Nationally, the Ruthenian Byzantine Catholic Exarchate consolidated its various parishes and re-organized itself in 1963. In 1969, St. John's parent Eparchy would be switched from Pittsburgh to the newly established Eparchy of Parma in Parma, Ohio, with the establishment of an autonomous Metropolitan Church. Also in 1963, the interior of St. John's was redecorated in a modified hybrid Latin/Byzantine style under the direction of Fr. Basil Sheregy. The church membership would remain relatively stable until the 1980s when events would again threaten the church's survival.

During the 1980s, following the 75th anniversary of St. John's, the parish priest was involved in a serious incident which led to his dismissal. Although the priest was removed from the parish in 1986, many families and individuals left St. John's as a result of what had transpired, causing a severe drop in attendance as well as leading to concern about the future of the parish.

After a succession of intermediary priests, Fr. Bryan Eyman became St. John's priest in 1988. What he found there, according to an interview with him, was perplexing. In his initial efforts to conduct a traditional Eastern Rite

Liturgy, which is identical to the services conducted in an Orthodox church, Fr. Eyman found great resistance:

In the parish's efforts to wholly remove themselves from any association with the Orthodox peoples, they embraced heavy Latinization and a Western Christian mind-set. . . . And this was not necessarily their fault. My goal as parish priest of a Byzantine church was to bring the traditional Byzantine Liturgy into the 20th century and follow what was required of it. And many people did not like it, and told me so.

This confusion and anger over perceived Orthodox ritual and influence was apparent. Comments such as "He's turning us Orthodox!" were heard more than once following a Sunday Divine Liturgy.

As well, the issue of church ethnicity and parish survival rose to the forefront as Fr. Eyman and the parish sought to preserve a failing Byzantine Catholic church. Increasing parish membership of a frail, traditionally ethnic church through outside recruitment and conversion pitted the history of a unique religion and people against the modern reality of overall survival.

Although there is no official policy of de-ethnicization, various Byzantine Catholic bishops have issued statements saying, in effect, "While we respect the heritage of the Byzantine Catholic Church, we must also respect the heritage of anyone seeking Jesus Christ" (Eyman). In his efforts to increase converts and enable the return of those who have left the church for whatever reason, Fr. Eyman has been heavily involved in adult religious education classes, youth groups, and related activities. At the present time, there are approximately 50-60 households in the parish. Indicative of its possible future and survivability, St. John's has completed yet another renovation and repair of the building's interior and exterior. According to Fr. Eyman, this renovation has restored the church in a traditional Byzantine fashion.

The history of St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church differs considerably from that of St. John's although it has had its share of tribulation. The first twenty years of St. Mary's (1887-1907) would be especially eventful.

Following the parish's conversion in 1891, under the guidance of the Russian Orthodox Church, a program of Russification began. In December of 1892, a parish school was opened under Fr. Toth's guidance. Part of the curriculum included Russian and English language courses as well as classes in church history, geography, mathematics, and singing. Especially promising students "were sent to Russia for further study in religious schools or

Theological seminaries" (St. Mary's 1987:36). Because of the high costs of overseas scholarship in Russia and because of the need to provide qualified priests for the many formerly Uniate parishes throughout the United States, St. Mary's eventually opened its own Seminary in 1905, a surprising development following the loss of the original church structure one year earlier due to fire.

It was in January, 1904, that the original wooden church built in 1887 burned down. At the time of the fire, the St. Mary's parish was considering building a new church to accommodate the nearly 400 parishioners. The building of the new church was begun in April, 1905, and was completed in June, 1906; it is this church structure that still stands today.

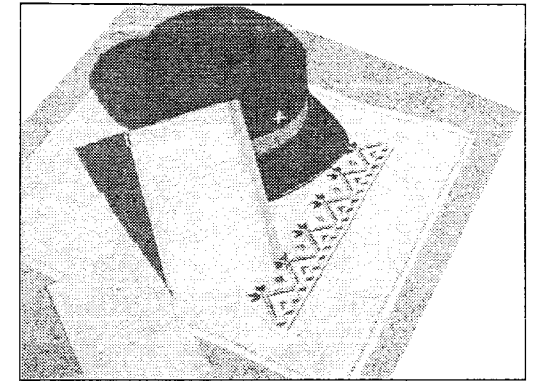
Prior to 1906, the St. Mary's group had been quite active in its expansion. According to its 100th Anniversary book, several developments occurred that reflected the intensity with which the parish pursued its Orthodox interests. Aside from the opening of a church school in 1892 and a

Seminary in 1905, a large tract of land for an Orthodox cemetery had been purchased in 1901; as well, mission work outside of Minneapolis had begun in earnest and included communities in rural Minnesota (Chisholm and Browerville-Holdingford), Wisconsin, North Dakota and Montana, and even into Canada (1987:30). Also, several parish organizations and national chapters of aid fraternals were formed or had increased membership at this time, including the Sts. Peter and Paul Brotherhood, the St. John the Baptist Brotherhood, and the St. Mary's Women's Society. This expansion mirrored the influence of the Orthodox Church on a national level at the expense of the Uniate or Greek Catholic Church.



St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral (St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church), Minneapolis, MN.

As indicated earlier, the conversion of the St. Mary's parish to Orthodoxy because of the Toth/Ireland controversy was felt throughout the United States as other Rusin Greek Catholic parishes left the Catholic fold voluntarily or through the conversion of a majority of the parish to Orthodoxy. As Magocsi states with regard to Toth's conversion and its impact:



Religious diary of Ivan Mlinar who, as one of the founders of St. Mary's - Minneapolis, MN carried it across the Atlantic in the 1870's. Lodge cap was one of Society of St. Peter and Paul.

For its part, the Russian Orthodox Church was only too willing to accept Toth and his flock,

for at the time Russia's tsarist government was supporting liberally the spread of Orthodoxy both in Europe and the New World. The talented Toth was before long sent on missionary work to Pennsylvania, where he succeeded in converting many more Carpatho-Rusyns to the Orthodox faith. It had been estimated that by the time of his death in 1909, this energetic priest "brought back" more than 25,000 Carpatho-Rusyns--three-quarters of whom were from the Lemkian Region in Galicia--into the fold of Orthodoxy. [1984:27]

Between the years 1907 and 1914, it should be noted, another 72 parishes or communities--most of them Rusin--joined the Russian Orthodox Church (Magocsi 1984:29).

In 1906-1907, the St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic parish was founded, composed of those Greek Catholic Rusins who came to Minneapolis in the years following St. Mary's conversion to Orthodoxy and who did not wish to convert to Orthodoxy. This development was viewed with some degree of consternation at St. Mary's according to its official history:

In 1907, St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church was established and many saw it as a threat to the future of St. Mary's parish. The new parish was composed of Rusins from the same region in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as the parishioners at St. Mary's. . . . It was feared that many of the parishioners would transfer to St. John's. To deal with this threat, Fr. Leonid

organized the Society for the Defence of Orthodox Religious Life. This group was composed of parishioners of St. Mary's, both male and female, over the age of twelve (12), who were willing to protect Orthodox liturgical life and a Churchly way of life. [1987:51, 56]

The activities of this group included increased religious education as well as community action and parish activities, and "only a few families and individuals did leave St. Mary's" (1987:51, 56).

The next test of the St. Mary's parish and the national Russian Orthodox Church was the Russian Revolution in 1917 which saw the fall of the Tsar Nicholas and the first persecutions of the church in Russia. Prior to this, the efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church in the United States were directed towards mission work and resulting court cases concerning the property ownership of former Greek Catholic parishes.

With the 1917 Revolution, the Russian Orthodox Church in the United States found itself in administrative and financial crises. The first reaction came from a handful of Orthodox priests, called the "progressives" and led by Fr. John Kedrovsky, who saw the 1917 Revolution as an excuse to initiate Orthodox Church reforms in the United States; the primary focus of this group was to elect Orthodox bishops--since it was apparent Moscow could no longer appoint them--and, in essence, free the Orthodox Church in the United States from "royal regimes and decrees" (Tarasar, ed., 1975:175-176). Also, all funding from Moscow was cut off, and the church administration in the United States, which had not foreseen this, was not prepared. Debt mounted and attempts to mortgage church property resulted in court battles and dissatisfaction within some parishes. Owing to a perceived lack of order, nationalism increased inside the Orthodox Church with Syrians, Serbians, Ukrainians, and others demanding their own exarchates and administrations. Indeed, the Orthodox Church in North America was on its own.

At the local level, St. Mary's felt the effects of the "progressives" who saw the pre-Revolution administration of the Orthodox Church as a decaying institution and who desired and recognized rival bishops. As a result of the efforts of the "progressives," the parish felt it necessary to have a priest of their own ethnic background to counter takeover attempts and preserve the parish identity and maintain unity:

To this end, Fr. Vladimir Levkanich, who was born in Carpatho-Russia and educated at the Minneapolis Seminary, was selected as the new pastor in 1922. The results of his brief stay were quite the

opposite of what was expected. The new priest immediately gravitated towards his own villagers and rapidly alienated the other parishioners. Any divisions that had existed in the past were greatly magnified and the future of the parish was in question. The quarrels and rivalries intensified to the point that the various factions resorted to legal action to gain control of the church property. [St. Mary's 1987:52-53]

Evidently, the impact of these rivalries combined with "other factors" (ibid) forced thirty families to leave St. Mary's in 1926 and form a separate Orthodox parish, Sts. Peter and Paul. This parish later built a church in 1932 that lasted until its closure in 1959.

Following the Levkanich controversy, a period of relative stability ensued at St. Mary's and, during the late 1920s and early 1930s, more parish organizations were formed under the guidance of Fr. John Dzubay. Also, English was re-introduced into the liturgy in 1932 although it would not be used regularly until 1951. Nationally, however, the Orthodox Church continued to be threatened by internal and external forces as various national groups inside the Orthodox Church in America sought and found their independence:

The unity of the Church in America was broken not only by rival Russian groups. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's, the creation of various "jurisdictions" had proceeded with seeming irrevocability, as the churches of Constantinople, Antioch, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania assumed supervision of the "nationals" in America. . . .

At times, establishment of the new jurisdictions took place for political or "phyletistic" (or national) reasons. At other times, it took place (and on occasion with the cooperation of the Russian hierarchy) because of the precarious position of the North American Diocese or because the Diocese was no longer able to care adequately for the spiritual needs of the group in question. . . . [Tarasar, ed., 1975:188]

With the national church splintering ethnically and politically, many individual parishes became, in essence "independent." This usually involved the forming of a trusteeship and the obtaining of deeds. This was done in order to protect the parish from being acquired or claimed at a national level by rival bishops and factions who would appoint or dismiss priests and regulate parish finances and dues. This scenario occurred at St. Mary's early

in the 1920s--see above--and would affect that church's relationship with the remnants of the national Orthodox Church for years to come.

The 1950s and 1960s would bring to St. Mary's a program of rebuilding of both physical and spiritual structures. New rectories were built as was a new parish center. As well, a return to Rusin/Byzantine iconography was seen. However, the uneasy relationship of the St. Mary's parish to any national church organization, as well as the uneasy relationship of the national church to its "Mother Church" in Moscow, continued until 1970. In 1970, the Orthodox Church in America was finally granted autocephaly by the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow. With this official granting and endorsement of independence, the Orthodox Church in America began to woo back parishes which had left the organization, usually by allowing and encouraging local ownership of parish property. St. Mary's would rejoin the Orthodox Church in America in 1971 and become a member of the Diocese of the Midwest, its position raised from church to cathedral status.

Owing to St. Mary's continued growth, and its history of mission work outside of Minneapolis, St. Herman's Orthodox Church was founded in 1976. This mission church primarily serves converts to Orthodoxy, ". . . Americans who are attracted to Orthodoxy but not ethnic traditions, which they may not share" (Cunningham and Dyrud 1989:211). This parish rented St. Mary's cemetery chapel for its services and recently secured its own church facilities.

The late 1980s, a period which coincided with its 100th Anniversary, saw St. Mary's partial return to its original Rusin ethnic identity. The impact of Russification and the fragmentation of the Orthodox Church in America had not totally erased its Rusin origins. In fact, St. Mary's 100th Anniversary book repeatedly refers to its Rusin heritage. As well, one of St. Mary's priests, Fr. Vladimir Lecko--himself a Rusin--has embarked upon a campaign of Rusin ethnic pride, re-forming a group of young parish musicians called the Rusin Players, as well as reminding parish members of their original Carpatho-Rusin identity, our next focus.

When this project began, the first question raised was, "Who are the Rusins?" It was not a question asked with any particular philosophical bent; rather, it was a question that originally served as the first step in the research process. However, the question itself soon became the actual focus of the project when the first responses were "Well, we're not Slovak; we're not Ukrainian or Russian; we're not Magyar. . . ." And while it was not assumed that a series of negations would--almost by a process of elimination--leave one with a definition, it became clear that an original Rusin ethnic identity, at least

in Minnesota, had been altered quickly and considerably. This altering of a Rusin identity occurred at both the family and community levels.

Following its conversion to Orthodoxy, the first Rusin church, St. Mary's, embarked upon a program of Russification, owing to its new membership in the Russian Orthodox Church and the leadership of Russian clergy. Part of this program included Russian language courses, Russian priests, and Russian hymnals. As one anonymous informant stated,

It took them about 75 years to erase the name "Russian" from the church because, obviously, I always thought I was a Russian; but when you examine things closely, there were probably one or two people from Russia in the whole church, and the others were these Rusin immigrants. But, of course, when they accepted this Orthodoxy, then all the music changed because they used music written by Russian hymn writers because, for a while, the priests were from Russia.

Another informant, Harry Yurista, while acknowledging the impact of Russification, felt that St. Mary's emphasis on Russian language, customs, and Orthodoxy was more of a knee-jerk reaction to American Roman Catholic Bishop John Ireland than an outright rejection of Rusin identity. At first glance, it would appear that the Rusin immigrants at St. Mary's were able to accept certain Russian influences in exchange for having traditional liturgies and maintaining Eastern rite practices; the long-term impact of Russification resulted in a general Russian identity, although the parish's Rusin heritage is freely admitted in parish publications. While informants categorically stated that they were called "Russians" and in turn thought that they were Russian, they were never sure of the title and often considered themselves to be Czech or Slovak as well, barring any knowledge of Rusin history and the lack of an official Rusin homeland.

If the Rusin parish of St. Mary's had to contend with a foreign influence in its traditional religious practice, the Rusin parish at St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church had to contend with a foreign religion impinging upon its traditional language and culture. This influence, as indicated earlier, took the form of the American Roman Catholic Church and its dual policies of Latinization and Americanization which it had successfully implemented earlier in American history against Roman Catholic segments of other ethnic groups such as the Poles and the Germans.

The first divisive issue introduced into Rusin Greek Catholic religious life by the American Roman Catholic Church was priestly celibacy; as stated

previously, this issue led to mass conversions to Orthodoxy by former Greek Catholic parishes. Those parishes that remained Greek Catholic had to contend with further American Roman Catholic influences including opposition to the use of the Julian calendar and the use of a liturgical language other than Latin. These issues directly affected St. John's parish as well as Rusin Greek Catholic parishes throughout the United States. In addition, certain factions in these parishes embraced Latinization in an attempt to further distance themselves from any semblance of a "Russian" Orthodox liturgy.

With the collapse of religious unity within and between Rusin parishes, it appears that the last bastion of Rusin identity, historically found in the churches of Europe, now rested within the family. However, the ethnicity of the Rusin immigrant family was rarely supported or reinforced. As Peter Hnath summarizes:

. . . they didn't try to force the children to stick with that particular language and make them little Europeans within America. When they came to America, they wanted to be American. Really, that's why they got away from there.

Responses such as this were typical. Often, traditional food and the Rusin language could be found at home but few remember their parents ever putting any stress on their ethnic heritage. As one informant stated,

Most people--that was the same thing for most of the people that came here--they didn't really have any education to learn anything about their real ethnicity because it was always changing there. They were always under somebody else's rule; they were always forced to say that they were somebody else. After awhile it gets to be confusion. . . . [Anonymous]

The years of ethnic and religious fragmentation took a toll, and it wasn't until the early 1980s that attempts at a community-wide Rusin revival began. An initial meeting, exploring the possibility of such a revival, occurred in 1981 at St. John's under the guidance of a St. John's parish priest, Fr. Fedyszak, a Rusin, and a second-generation Rusin American, Lawrence Goga. The first organization that grew out of this meeting--chartered as an educational tool by its founder, Lawrence Goga--was called the Rusin Cultural Awareness Group. Mr. Goga's own experiences were what led him to form this organization. As he explains:

We didn't know who we were . . . and for years! I thought I was Slovak; we probably all did. And as I found out, many of our people who remember the word "Rusin" thought it was a



This photo appears to show the cast of a Rusin-oriented performance of some sort--probably one of the last such ethnic events at the church, St. John's - Minneapolis, MN. About 1932.

variation of the word "Russian" so they also called themselves "Russian." My parents and everyone's parents said nothing; it was like they were ashamed or didn't care or just didn't want us to know. So as I found out more and more and tried to fill in gaps in my people's and my family's history, I knew there were others like me. And when I returned to St. John's in 1979--which my grand-father helped found which no-one knew about--I became quite involved. . . .

The purpose of the Rusin Association, and the Rusin Cultural Awareness Group before it, was to remember and preserve the story of our scattered homeland and our immigrant forefathers. We had meetings and a workshop or two, but the religious aspect and the historical differences were becoming too exclusionary, so we became independent from the church and any church for that matter.

The Rusin Awareness Group, however, folded quickly. A subsequent attempt to revive it resulted in the forming of the Rusin Association. One important change in forming the Rusin Association was to move its meetings to a non-denominational meeting hall in order to maintain distance from the religious issues that have so long plagued the Rusin community in Minneapolis.

Today, Rusin Association members can be found throughout Minnesota and the United States. In pursuing its goal of recording and sharing Rusin history, the organization produces a newsletter (The Trembita), participates in Minnesota's Festival of Nations, and hold dinners and workshops on Rusin history. As well, the organization is heavily involved in archival research and translation and provides information and some finance towards Rusin ethnic organizations in East Europe. Meeting at least once a month, the Rusin Association members exchange research data, family histories and data, and relevant information on current events in Europe. Members of the group initially joined for a variety of reasons. Some wanted questions answered; some wanted to share what they knew; some simply wanted to converse in a now almost forgotten language. As the interviews would indicate, the reasons for joining the organization were limitless:

I belong to the Rusin Association because I hope that I can learn way back from where I came from. Did I come from Gypsies or Manchurians. . . ? And to leave something for my children. That we have a place in history. That there will always be this book on the shelf. That we'll be just as important as the English and the Germans and the French. That when you say "Rusin," they'll know what kind of people we are. Because I think it's just wonderful when I hear somebody else talk Rusin, speak Rusin. I think, "Isn't it something that they can speak the same language, that it isn't just me? That I'm just not this little Rusin person here; there's others." [Rokoski]

Another informant, John Haluska, a third generation Rusin-American, explained:

Why do I belong to the Rusin Association? Well, somebody has to, basically. I mean it was organized because of the need to preserve the idea that, yes, there were Rusin people, and there are Rusin people, and they're maybe not well but they're alive, you know. . . . [A] person is made up of many things, and ethnicity is one essential component of that make-up, and it would be lost for

so many people. I think, particularly in this area without a Rusin Association. It's a counter-weight to the de-emphasis--or actually the emphasis--on the destruction of ethnicity that's going on in the church[es]. . . .

Another informant, John Gera, echoed a similar sentiment with regard to the churches' de-emphasis on ethnicity. As well, he underlined what is the most challenging aspect of the organization--its future:

I would like to have the second- and third-generation Rusins know, first of all, who they are; next, what their parents went through to get here; what it meant by showing how they lived, through the articles and the newspapers and so forth--to get some idea of how they lived--maybe they would become interested enough. There are many social activities, I guess you could say, that one could get involved in: a choral group, a dance group, an art group--all the other ethnic people do that. . . .

So the Rusins today, they're educated well enough that they should be able to develop such outlets. But not enough people are interested. And I don't know any one or two or three things to do to arouse interest, [and] the further you are away in generations from the original immigrants, the less likely I think it's going to occur, or the less likely a person's going to want it to occur. Because had they wanted, they might have been involved right along. They wouldn't have had to wait for some association to come along.

The history of the Rusin community in Minneapolis is far from concluded. While the Rusin Association continues to exist, while there are still groups of people in both St. John's Byzantine Catholic Church and St. Mary's Orthodox Church who will claim Rusin ancestry, the community and its heritage of calm and conflict will continue on for future generations. As anthropologist John Comaroff implies, ethnic identity will always have its price. Our attention now turns to an application of Comaroff's analysis of ethnic identity to Rusin history and communities in Minnesota.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION

In our last analysis of Comaroff vis-a-vis Rusin history, we saw how the collective activity of the Rusin priesthood maintained the last vestige of Rusin identity in Europe through the formation of the Greek Catholic Church. We also re-examined how the various nationalistic influences were shaping the views of the Rusin priesthood in the years prior to emigration. The post-immigration history of the Rusins in the United States and in Minnesota--like their history in Europe--again revolves around these themes of religion and nationalistic influence.

In Europe, the Rusin priesthood was able to alter its religious and social position through the Union of Brest (1596) and the Union of Uzhorod (1646); these unions provided equality with and autonomy from Hungary's Roman Catholic Church without sacrificing the primary unifying cultural markers of Rusin identity--Orthodox symbols and practices. In the United States, similar attempts to seek equality with and autonomy from the American Roman Catholic Church failed, primarily as a result of the historic meeting between Fr. Alexis Toth and Roman Catholic Archbishop John Ireland in Minneapolis. The result of this rejection of equality and autonomy brought, directly and indirectly, the various East European nationalistic influences to the surface as the Rusin Greek Catholic priesthood and parishes sought different solutions to the problem of Rusin religion and identity; the collective activity of the Rusin priesthood--and with it a unified Rusin identity--had collapsed.

Those priests and parishes who, like Fr. Toth, sought autonomy from the American Roman Catholic Church and, more importantly, the maintenance of traditional religious symbols and practices, rejoined the Orthodox fold through the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the cost would be high as an already fragile Rusin identity that was primarily based upon religion was gradually supplanted with a Russian identity.

The priests and parishes for whom a Russian identity was unacceptable remained Greek Catholic despite subordination within the American Roman Catholic Church hierarchy; however, traditional Rusin religious symbols and practices were gradually supplanted with Latin rite symbols and practices. In their continued rejection of a Russian identity, the Greek Catholic priests and parishes left themselves open to the influence of other traditionally anti-Russian nationalist ideologies--primarily Ukrainophile. This, in turn, led to ethnic division in the Greek Catholic Church as separate church exarchates--

Ruthenian and Ukrainian--were formed. Those Rusins in the Latinized Ruthenian Greek Catholic Exarchate who considered themselves to be neither Russian nor Ukrainian still had to contend with various other nationalist influences, most notably Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian, which eventually provided alternate ethnic identities for a severely divided Rusin people to adopt.

In sum, throughout Rusin history, both in Europe and the United States, there is one phenomenon of ethnic identity that is of particular importance to us: collective activity. For it is the success of this collective activity that is the sum of Rusin history in Europe, and it is the failure of this collective activity that is the sum of Rusin history in the United States. John Comaroff's analysis of collective activity, while discussed in a previous section, is worth repeating:

. . . ethnicity, rather than the forces that generate it, takes on the ineffable appearance of determining the predicament of individuals and groups. . . . For, at the experiential level, it **does** seem to be ethnicity which orders social status, class membership, and so on--and not class or status that decides ethnic identities. . . .

. . . once ethnicity impinges upon experience as an (apparently) independent principle of social classification and organization, it provides a powerful motivation for collective activity. [312]

We have seen how the collective activity of the Rusin priesthood maintained Rusin identity in Europe:

. . . as long as ethnic affiliations and identities provide the terms of communal action, such action . . . reinforces the experiential salience of ethnicity as a social principle. In consequence, the seemingly ascribed character of ethnic identities is repeatedly confirmed. [Comaroff 1987:316]

As well, we have seen how the inability of the Rusin priests to act collectively in the United States led to the breakdown of Rusin identity. The consequences of this failure to act collectively are obvious; however, the mechanism of this failure is not. It follows, accordingly, that a disruption in collective action leaves people to act individually or within newly formed sub-groups. As a result, "the experiential salience of ethnicity as a social principle" is not reinforced. For the Rusins, when the "legitimizers and enforcers" of Rusin culture--the priesthood--could no longer act collectively, Rusin culture and identity collapsed; there was no longer "a shared commitment to an order of symbols and meanings . . ." (305).

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APPENDIX ONE MANIFESTO OF THE CARPATHO-RUSINS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NOTE: The following document was issued December 30, 1989 at Bratislava.

I was, am and will remain a Rusin
I was born a Rusin,
I will not forget my faithful people
And will remain their son.

Ja Rusin byl jsem i budu
Ja rodilsja Rusinom
Cestnyj moj rod ne zabudu,
Ostanus' jeho synom.

The situation that prevailed in Czechoslovakia before November 1989 must never happen again! With this motto Rusins today stand side by side with Czechs, Slovaks, and other nationalities in our beloved fatherland--free Czechoslovakia. Indeed, all honest Rusins are standing up, those living in the Beskid mountains in our unfortunate Makovica that has been so cherished, praised, and deplored by our national awakeners, as well as those dispersed by their Rusin fate to live all over Czechoslovakia--from As in the far western tip of Bohemia to Cierna nad Tisou in the far southeast.

Rusins, too, took part in the monumental protests and manifestations that marked our "velvet" November revolution. Rusin voices were heard in Prague, Bratislava, Kosice, and Presov. Together with Slovaks and Czechs they proclaimed: "We want to return to Europe!" For forty-one years we, together with the other nationalities of our fatherland, were cut off from Europe. But our suffering began earlier in this century.

Actually, it began together with the Czechs immediately after the disintegration of the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1938. Our Rusin homeland entered the limelight and interests of the world powers for whom the Rusins were little more than small change in their mutual dealings. The Carpatho-Rusins, who had been the co-founders of the first Czechoslovak Republic, were now divided among several states. Nor did the post-war carving-up of the map of Europe change anything in the division of our

people. Hence, the present transition of our country in joining the ranks of the democratic states in Central Europe presents us with an opportunity to come to life again and to take up a respected place among the free nationalities of our fatherland--the new, democratic Czechoslovakia. To be ready for this renaissance, after so many years of social deformation, we must look back to the past and into our history in order to know what we should do and how we should shape our future.

We, the Rusins of Czechoslovakia, declare ourselves kin to our East Slavic brethren--the Ukrainians, Russians, and Belorussians--but we do not identify ourselves with them. Our history is different because we were always geopolitically isolated from them. We belong to Central Europe where, alongside of our West Slavic neighbors, the Slovaks, we survived a thousand years of Hungarian dominance. Together with the Slovaks, we remained Slavs--specifically Rusins. We preserved our ancestral name, Rusin, which we received from Kievan Rus'. We realize with great pride how we are part of the heritage of Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles to the Slavs and co-patrons of Europe, from whom we received Christianity a hundred years before Kievan Rus' was baptized. Christianity was also spread among our ancestors from our neighbors the Daco-Romanians, who received it first from the Romans and in final form as part of Byzantine political and religious-cultural expansion. The Byzantine character of Christianity from Romania spread among our ancestors through the Vlach migration and colonization throughout the entire Carpathian range. Traces of this colonization are still found as far west as Valasske Mezirici in Moravia.

Our ancestors provided refuge to their East Slavic brethren from the northern slopes of the Carpathians, from the principality of Galicia, when it was being oppressed and pillaged by the Tataro-Mongol hordes. Considerable support for our ancestors came in the fourteenth century with the arrival into the Hungarian Kingdom of Prince Fedor Koriatovych of Podolia and his entire retinue. The arrival from Podolia of our brethren, the Boikos, was a milestone in the history of our people, because in view of the circumstances prevailing in those times, the administrative, ecclesiastical, and cultural aspects of our ancestors' life was improved substantially. Following the arrival of Prince Koriatovych south of the Carpathians, the Rusins entered a centuries-long struggle for the preservation of their national identity. For Rusins, a great support in this struggle was their Christian faith according to the Byzantine rite, which, thanks to its Church Slavonic liturgical language, was understandable to the people. The long-term proximity with the Catholic

nations of Central Europe--the Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles--brought our ancestors into union with the Roman Church while at the same time preserving their Eastern rite and liturgical language. The possibility to draw from the spiritual culture of the western church and from the cultural heritage of neighboring peoples brought our own national enlighteners to the fore--Dukhnovych, Stavrovs'kyi-Popradov, Luchkai, Mitrak, Dobrians'kyi. And led by the best representatives of our people, we Rusins made a truly correct decision in 1918: we established, together with the Czechs and Slovaks, the first Czechoslovak Republic. The territory on which most of the Rusins were living was designated by the Rusin co-founders of this new Slavic state in the heart of Europe--Subcarpathian Rus'. In this way, Rusins revealed that they were East Slavs, whose common cradle was Kievan Rus' of the grand duke Vladimir of the Rurykide dynasty. Through their loyalty to the spiritual heritage of Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles to all the Slavs, the Rusins proved that even under difficult circumstances they were able to preserve their faith and rite in the form they had received it from the saintly brothers from Salonika.

By the time Subcarpathian Rus' came into being, the Rusins had their own literary language which they had perfected and in which Rusin linguists and belletrists like Luchkai, Dovhovych, Stavrovs'kyi-Popradov, and Mitrak wrote. And so it seemed to all honest Rusins that the words of challenge from the Rusin national anthem would finally be realized: "Subcarpathian Rusins, Arise from your Deep Slumber. . . ." Although Rusins never had the opportunity for independence within the Hungarian Kingdom, they now hoped to gain for Subcarpathian Rus' full autonomy, which would serve as a guarantee for the improvement of the social status of all classes.

The democratic character of the first Czechoslovak Republic offered a real hope that the yearning of Rusins for life as a free distinct people would materialize. Nobody would have thought at the time that history would grant only twenty years for this free life. In retrospect, we must admit that in the first Czechoslovak Republic several errors were committed by the leadership of the young state. A short-sighted nationality policy was implemented concerning Rusins. Part of this was related to humanitarian concerns, which allowed vast numbers of Ukrainian and Russian emigres to settle within the Czechoslovak republic. These peoples sought ways to earn a living, and hence both groups were unleashed among the Rusins whom they tried to attract to their respective sides. However, instead of a peaceful development in a democratic state, the Rusins were saddled with a language problem that split

the people into Ukrainophiles and Russophiles. The Rusin nation, which for centuries had preserved its unity, was suddenly split up into two parts. Instead of further developing and embellishing the heritage of its ancestors and enlighteners, foreign shepherds started like wolves to tear the nation asunder. And no one was able to foresee the tragic implications this would have for the fate of Ruthenia as a whole. Although there were warning voices, especially among priests and respected scholars, no one could hear them above the heat of political passion.

In the meantime, the year 1938 was drawing near. Difficult times had arrived. The weak and cowardly leadership of the young Czechoslovak republic permitted the arbitrary actions of the great states of Europe to deprive two of the nationalities of Czechoslovakia--the Czechs and the Rusins--of their independence. We Rusins were divided among several states. This was the first division of Rusins in modern history. But the spirit of Czechoslovak patriotism and the spirit of unity with the Czechs and Slovaks could not be so easily extinguished and driven out of the Rusins. Young Rusins, who deep in their hearts realized the danger for all Slavs in the expansion of German and Hungarian fascism, searched for ways to get involved in the resistance against these old and new enemies of the Slavs. The whole world knows what a difficult path Rusins were forced to follow in order to get weapons to fight against the common enemy. Rusins were unable to join the resistance in the West. Hence, they sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Czechoslovakia as part of the resistance in the East. The gravestones at the cemetery near the Dukla Pass graphically reveal the nationality of the soldiers in the Czechoslovak Army Corps that was formed in the Soviet Union. In fact, the patriotism of the Rusins drew them into the struggle already in the years 1939-1941. Only later did the other peoples of Czechoslovakia think of resistance, that is after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.

Fighting for the freedom of Czechoslovakia, the Rusins would not have imagined even in their worst dreams that their destiny was decided already in December 1943, and later definitely sealed at Yalta. The victory over fascism brought neither freedom nor unification for the Rusins. Instead, Rusins continued to remain separated in the same way as they were separated by the Fascists. Only now it became evident whom the Ukrainianizers and Russifiers of the Rusins actually served. With a single stroke of the pen, the bloodhounds of Stalin's nationality policy blotted out the Rusins from history, declaring them Ukrainians. What the Hungarians could not achieve in a thousand years, Stalin's servants managed to accomplish in a few years and

in some instances even in a few months or weeks. The tragedy of wiping out the Rusins as a people is accentuated by the fact that this was committed by those whom they had welcomed as their liberators. And, regrettably, among those who joined them were traitors from among the nation itself, who in the process of eliminating Rusins changed their wolves' clothing from Russianizers to Ukrainianizers. These wolves in sheep's skin contributed to the resettlement of their own people from Eastern Slovakia to Volhynia in the Soviet Ukraine, a region with which the Rusins of Czechoslovakia never had any relation. The propagators of this campaign were not Slovaks, as now some people would have us believe. Rather, it was Ivan Rohal'-Il'kiv and people of his ilk who were well-known to those Rusins who had gotten a taste of Stalin's so-called paradise in Volhynia and who after many difficult years finally got back to Czechoslovakia.

The postwar history of Rusins within the second Czechoslovak Republic is actually the story of a nation divided between the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and Hungary. Because of this division the Rusins became in a sense the Kurds of Central Europe. The only Rusins not affected by the postwar slicing-up of Europe were those in Yugoslavia. No wonder, then, that the Rusins living there remained Rusins and that until the present they have enjoyed the greatest freedom for their national life with no one compelling them to change their nationality. Thus, they created optimal relations with other nations and have not had to complain to the world to their own disgrace that other nations supposedly have assimilated them or that, heaven forbid, genocide was being committed against them.

On the other hand, in postwar Czechoslovakia, after the violent separation of Subcarpathian Rus', Rusins were represented by the Ukrainian National Council, which was transformed into the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT). The activities of this organization have led to a situation in which the number of Rusins has, according to the last Czechoslovak census in 1980, sunk to a mere 38,500 people. In contrast, back in 1910, more than 150,000 Rusins lived on the same territory. Today, officials of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers are proclaiming to the world that the fault for this situation lies with the Slovaks, who allegedly Slovakized the Rusins. But we should look truth in the face and recall the Rusin proverb: a mirror cannot be blamed if somebody has a crooked mug.

Today all honest people in Czechoslovakia know that it was the totalitarian dictatorship of a single party, the Communist party, that was responsible for all deformations in the last forty-one years. And the Cultural

Union of Ukrainian Workers was a submissive servant of this party throughout the whole period. Now officials of KSUT are lamenting and yammering that the Greek Catholic Church should not have been liquidated, because it had been the only organization that defended the national life of the Rusins and that gave the nation its best sons--the leading enlighteners and creators of the national revival.

And who liquidated the Greek Catholic Church? There can be only one answer: Czech and Slovak Communists assisted by Rusin traitors of their own nation did this on Stalin's orders. These are the very same people who are now running around in Ukrainian coats. Ironically, the children of these gentlemen, as a rule, declare themselves of Slovak nationality. Hence, we must honestly acknowledge that the greatest Slovakizers of the Rusins were not Slovaks, but those Ukrainianizers who deprived the Rusins of their nationality, their church, and their language.

Why did the Rusins never feel ashamed of their nationality throughout the thousand years of Hungarian domination prior to 1918, and why did they suddenly start to be ashamed of it during the mere forty years of life in the Communist paradise? Even the Slovak state that existed during World War II was hardly favorable to Rusins; yet Slovakization never reached such proportions as it had under the rule of the Communists.

The Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers became and remained the instrument for maintaining the leading role of the Communist party in Rusin society. Therefore, it was sufficient for corrupt pseudo-scholars like the Czech Zdenek Nejedly and others like him to declare that there exist no Rusins, only Ukrainians. The Ukrainian National Council and its successor KSUT immediately committed themselves to turning this statement into reality. The Rusins had their own language, grammar, and literature, but all this was declared imperfect. Instead, the language of the Rusins was labelled scornfully by philologists working for the Communist regime as a macaronic jargon (*jazycie*).

It is with great sorrow and shame that we have to acknowledge before the world that all this was perpetrated not only by Slovak and Czech Communists, but primarily by traitors from among our own people. And why then should we Rusins be surprised or angry at other peoples if everybody in Czechoslovakia considers us country bumpkins? Does a nation so easily deprived of everything--its nationality, faith, and language--deserve to be treated otherwise? Everything was taken away from us. All that was left to us was "culture" in the form of folkloric festivals in our mountains and, in

addition, we were allowed to pursue the most difficult industrial work in weekly shifts at the Ostrava-Karvina mines in Moravia and at the iron works in nearby Kosice. These two aspects of life that were permitted to us feature in the very name of KSUT--the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers.

The policy toward Rusins was carried out all this time by political creatures who were not even capable of properly sewing a pair of trousers. [Vasyl' Bilak, former member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party, was a tailor by profession.] Such functionaries in the totalitarian dictatorship were able to attain the highest posts in the state, because it was advantageous for both the Czech and the Slovak Communists to shift responsibility for all errors of the former regime to these so-called "politicians." This, in fact as everybody knows, is what actually happened. It's no wonder, then, that during the November 1989 revolution malicious cries such as the following were heard: Rule under Vasyls has finally come to an end! [Vasyl' is a popular first name associated with Rusins, the most infamous of whom is the Communist leader, Vasyl' Bilak.] In seeking an answer to this problem, we must look truth in the eye and find in ourselves enough inner strength to identify those who were responsible for creating such a situation, regardless if they come primarily from among our own Rusin ranks or from elsewhere. We will not solve the problem of the present situation of our people by blaming the entire Slovak nation for the downfall of the Rusins.

All of Czechoslovak society is going through a renaissance. And do not the Rusins in Czechoslovakia need this renaissance most of all? If now, under conditions of democracy, the Rusins will not revive, then the Rusin character will perish completely in this country. This sad statement is the result of the fact that in the course of forty years the Ukrainian language, which is alien to Rusins, has been forced upon them, although only for the benefit of a handful of people. For the majority of Rusins, this language was good for nothing. In effect, the school system became a family enterprise for corrupt Ukrainianizers.

Hence we, members of the Christian Democratic Club for the Renaissance of Rusins, located in Bratislava, have approved of this Manifesto at our founding meeting held on December 30, 1989, and we call upon all honest Rusins in Czechoslovakia--including those who in the past declared themselves Slovaks, as well as those who involuntarily registered themselves as Ukrainians in order to avoid becoming Slovaks--to support the following demands and goals:

1. We demand the official rehabilitation of the Rusin nationality: this means that everyone declaring him or herself a Rusin should have this nationality registered in his identity card.
2. We demand the reorganization of the school system so that, following the example of Switzerland, our children in elementary schools may receive obligatory education in their mother tongue for at least five years concurrently with instruction in the Slovak language. From the sixth year onward, parents will have the choice to decide in which language their children should continue their studies. Ukrainian high schools should remain, but only for those who wish to seek their livelihood elsewhere.
3. We demand that the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT), as a product of Stalinist nationality policy, should dissolve itself, and that, instead, the Rusin language and culture should be cultivated by a new Matica Rusinska, following the example of the Matica Slovenska, whose bylaws, as is known, have also been issued in the Rusin language.
4. We demand the full restoration of freedom and rights for the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, which for centuries has been concerned with the spiritual life of our people. We demand that all buildings be returned to our Church, so that it can continue its mission without obstacles.
5. We demand that the newspaper Nove zhyttia (New Life) be given again its original name, Ruske slovo (The Rusin Word), and that it be published in the language of our people. This also applies to the monthly magazine, Dukla. An example for us could be the press of our brethren, the Rusins in Yugoslavia, where, for instance, articles in the journal Nova dumka are published in three languages: Rusin, Ukrainian, and Croatian. For us, instead of Croatian, the third language could be Slovak, so as to enable our Slovak brothers to read our press and contribute to it.
6. We demand that the dominant role of Communists in public organizations which represent Rusins in Czechoslovakia be brought to an end.
7. We call upon Christian-minded Rusins to rally around branches of the Christian Democratic Club for the Renaissance of Rusins, so that Rusins will finally be represented by a political force that would enjoy the real support of the Rusin community. Thus, we could cooperate with the Christian Democratic Movement throughout Czechoslovakia in the spirit of brotherly Christian love and ecumenism, while at the same time preserving our Rusin identity.
8. We hold out a hand of friendship to all Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia who sincerely feel themselves to be part of our great brother--the Ukrainian nation north of the Carpathians. We consider as Rusins all those who registered themselves as Ukrainians at a time when the Rusin nationality could not be registered otherwise.
9. We welcome all endeavors toward the renaissance of Rusins in countries adjacent to our Czechoslovak fatherland. We want to improve contacts with representatives of our people in those countries. We will cordially welcome among us all of our brothers who are struggling for the renewal of our people in their respective countries.
10. We call upon all other national minorities in Czechoslovakia to gather together in an association for the protection of the interests of national minorities in Czechoslovakia. Then we could seek ways for cooperating with similar associations in other countries of Europe. Such a pan-European union of national minorities would best represent, in our view, the interests of all minorities in the individual countries of the common European home to which we belong.
11. We proclaim a competition for the creation of a coat of arms and flag for the Rusins of Czechoslovakia, which would mirror the history of our people as well as the

spiritual unity with Rusins in other countries of Europe
and other parts of the world.

The Initiators and Founders of
The Christian Democratic Club
for the Renaissance of Rusins
in Czechoslovakia

Ivan Bicko
Miron Petrasovic
Elena Hajdova
Mikulas Janocko
Miron Kavalec
Juraj Mydlik

APPENDIX TWO
ORIGINAL FOUNDERS OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
1908

Katalog Parafian (Catalogue, Parishioner)
Hreko Kat. Cerkwy Sw. Joana Kreslyytela
(Greek Catholic Church St. John Christosom)

1. Filak, Stefan (Stephen)
2. Antoniak, Petro (Peter)
3. Ihnatowicz, Mychail (Michael)
4. Bilyj, Heri (Harry)
5. Bitner, Nykolaj (Nicholas)
6. Bracik, Petro (Peter)
7. Bizcko, Pawlo (Paul)
8. Bizcko, Petro (Peter)
9. Bizcko, Andrej (Andrew)
10. Ciucwara, Andrej (Andrew)
11. Czaczko, Iwan (John) Sr.
12. Czaczko, Iwan (John) Jr.
13. Czclina, Symeon (Simon)
14. Ciucwara, Luka (Lucas)
15. Czerbanycz, Nikolaj (Nicholas)
16. Chorwat, Nikolaj (Nicholas)
17. Danio, Nikolaj (Nicholas)
18. Dargaj, Jurko (George)
19. Filo, Iwan (John)
20. Gambol, Iwan (John)
21. Haluszka, Wasyl (Basil)
22. Horhota, Iwan (John)
23. Horniak, Stefan (Stephen)
24. Hudak, Stefan (Stephen)
25. Jaroszczak, Wasyl (Basil)
26. Kalyn, Feodor (Theodore)
27. Karol, Palo (Paul)
28. Kazimir, Iwan (John)
29. Kania, Wasyl (Basil)
30. Kicinka, Josyf (Joseph)

31. Klymak, Olesksa (Alexander)
32. Korbik, Mychail (Michael)
33. Kocisko, Iwan (John)
34. Kostelcj, Petro (Peter)
35. Kuruc, Andrej (Andrew)
36. Lacyk, Iwan (John)
37. Lysyj, Wasyl (Basil)
38. Leginczyk, Iwan (John)
39. Lerkanycz, Frenk (Frank)
40. Lukacz, Iwan (John)
41. Macica, Vanio (John)
42. Madiar, Symeon (Simon)
43. Macko, Frenk (Frank)
44. Macko, Jurko (George)
45. Mazen, Nykolaj (Nicholas)
46. Mokris, Jurko (George)
47. Nazak, Mychail (Michael)
48. Ordas, Josef (Joseph)
49. Pagacz, Nikolaj (Nicholas)
50. Pagacz, Stefan (Stephen)
51. Pelak, Iwan (John)
52. Piricz, Wasyl (Basil)
53. Piricz, Mychail (Michael)
54. Piricz, Jurko (George)
55. Pindro, Andrej (Andrew)
56. Pieckon, Iwan (John)
57. Poliwka, Mychail (Michael)
58. Rusyn, Michail (Michael)
59. Rusnaczko, Iwan (John)
60. Snapko, Andrej (Andrew)
61. Suszko, Frenk (Frank)
62. Suszko, Iwan (John)
63. Siwanycz, Stefan (Stephen)
64. Pelak, Jurko (George)
65. Slepak, Mychail (Michael)
66. Szeremeta, Tymko (Thomas)
67. Sznajder, Teodor (Theodore)
68. Szevec, Hryhorij (George)

69. Zbehli, Iwan (John)
70. Zbehli, Ilko (Elias)
71. Zeglin, Iwan (John)
72. Zeglin, Mychail (Michael)
73. Husak, Mychail (Michael)
74. Graca, Iwan (John)
75. Cymbal, Iwan (John)
76. Bacza, Andrej (Andrew)
77. Machnycz, Mychail (Michael)
78. Lysiak, Jacko (Jacob)
79. Punda, Andrej (Andrew)
80. Petryszak, Stefan (Stephen)
81. Prokop, Iwan (John)
82. Macko, Andrej (Andrew)
83. Romanko, Iwan (John)
84. Ihnat, Andrej (Andrew)
85. Zupko, Marya (Mary)
86. Kolesar, Anna (Ann)
87. Babej, Mychail (Michael)
88. Goga, Iwan (John)
89. Macuua, Cemen (?)
90. Kuruc, Iwan (John)
91. Bercznyj, Dmytro (Dimitri)
92. Oleksiuch, Wasyl (Basil)
93. Jurewicz, Stefan (Stephen)

**APPENDIX THREE
ORIGINAL FOUNDERS OF ST. MARY'S**

NOTE: The following is a partial list of the founding members of St. Mary's (Orthodox) Greek Catholic Church in Minneapolis. At the time of Fr. Toth's conversion (1891), 365 members belonged to St. Mary's.

1. George Homzik
2. George Ihnat
3. Peter Kuchesko
4. Paul Masley
5. Ivan Mlinar
6. Paul Podany
7. Peter Podany
8. Michail Potochny
9. Theodore Sivanich
10. Basil Sad
11. Gregory Semanchak
12. Gregory Vrachol

APPENDIX FOUR
Theoretical Rusin Populations for 1992

NOTE: The following figures were provided by the Rusin Association and were not independently confirmed.

EUROPE:

Ukraine (Transcarpathian Region)	977,000
Slovakia (Presov Region)	130,000
S.E. Poland (Austrian Galicia/Lemko Region)	80,000
Former Yugoslavia (Vojvodina and Strem Region)	34,000
Romania (Maramaros Region)	<u>20,000</u>
	1,341,000

UNITED STATES and CANADA:

Estimated total population of 750,000. Largest concentrations of Rusins in the United States are to be found in Pittsburgh, PA, and in Cleveland, OH. Smaller Rusin communities can be found in Minneapolis, MN; Yonkers, NY; Chicago, IL; Detroit, MI; and in some areas in New England, mostly Connecticut.

Machnyck Mychail	77
Punda Andrej	77.
Ludjia Zalko	78
Pelak Jurdo	64
Šepak Mychail	65
Stefan Petryszak	80
Iwan Prokop	81
Andrej Macko	82.
Iwan Romanko	83
Andrej Thnat	84
Marya Zupko II.	85
Anna Kotesar	86
Mychail Babej	87.
Iwan Goga	88.
Cemen Macusa	89.
Iwan Kuruc	90
Dmytro Berermyj	91.
Wasyl Očesuch	92
Stefan Jurewicz	93