Many individuals and institutions have contributed to this work over the course of its twelve-year incubation. Absent their generosity, insight, labor, and support, this book would not have been conceivable. Insofar as the endeavor can be judged a success, it is thanks to them. Nevertheless, I take full responsibility for any errors, inaccuracies, shortcomings of analysis or exposition, and controversial opinions found herein.

More scholars than I can name here have contributed to the conception and refinement of this project. I thank my first mentor in the field, Chia Yin Hsu, for inspiring me to study the Russian Empire and Soviet Union as multinational states while I was an undergraduate at Portland State University. Throughout my years at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC), Donald J. Raleigh was the best advisor one could possibly hope for. I have been extremely fortunate to have the intellectual and moral support and rigorous training in the historian’s craft that he, Louise McReynolds, Chad Bryant, Christopher Browning, and other faculty members at UNC gave to me. I thank Oleksandr Zaitsev, the world’s premier expert on interwar Ukrainian nationalism, for kindly welcoming and advising me during my stay in Lviv, and for his generous yet incisive critiques of my dissertation and previous drafts of this work. I am especially grateful to Mark von Hagen, who was munificent with his time, expertise, and
encouragement, and helped me to find my footing in the world of Ukrainian studies. Sadly, Mark passed away last year, before I could present to him a copy of this book, which would not exist without his guidance and trailblazing scholarship.

My gratitude also goes out to William Risch, Faith Hillis, Serhii Plokhy, Georgiy Kasianov, Benjamin Schenk, Fabian Baumann, Frank E. Sysyn, Olena Palko, Yaroslav Hrytsak, Robert Jenkins, Michael Matthews, George G. Grabowicz, Marta Kolomayets, Andreas Kappeler, George O. Liber, Eric Kurlander, Tanja Penter, Oleh Wolowyna, Heather Coleman, Natan Meir, Serhiy Bilenky, Gregor Thum, and all the other scholars who have fostered and commented on this project in various ways. Many archivists and librarians have assisted with my research over the years in Ukraine, the US, Canada, Poland, and Switzerland. I am particularly grateful to Kirill Tolpygo and Halyna Svarnyk for their aid in accessing and navigating Dontsov’s archival legacy. Anna Isaieva and Iaroslav Kovalchuk provided critical assistance with research. I thank my inspiring friends and colleagues from graduate school, particularly Emily Baran, Mike Paulauskas, Andrew Ringlee, Adrianne Jacobs, Aaron Hale-Dorrel, Gary Guadangolo, Alex Ruble, Mark Hornburg, Grace Mahoney, Scott Krause, Fabian Link, Jenya Mironava, Colleen Moore, Dakota Irving, Louis Porter, Michael Skalski, Emily Lipira, Andal Narayanan, Lars Stiglich, Amanda Bellows, Sarah McNamara, Liz Ellis, and Peter Gengler. Stephen Riegg has been a true comrade ever since that grueling first-year seminar.

Numerous institutions have sustained this project. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Department of History and the Graduate School of UNC, the Fulbright Program in Ukraine, the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, and the Ukrainian Research in Switzerland initiative at the University of Basel. These institutions generously funded the research and writing of this book and the dissertation on which it is based, provided employment and teaching opportunities, and granted me access to the wisdom and expertise of many scholars. The Centers for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at UNC and Duke University, and
the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University (HURI), sponsored my study of Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish. I thank the Ukrainian Catholic University for hosting me during my stay in Lviv, Ukraine, where the bulk of the archival research for this volume was conducted. My coworkers at the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, and the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies—including Nancy Condee, Zsuzsánna Magdó, Lynda Park, Sean Guillory, and many more than can be listed here—have boosted my academic work since I arrived at the University of Pittsburgh in early 2019.

It has been a pleasure to collaborate with the publications team at HURI. Oleh Kotsyuba’s advice, vision, and diligence were key to making this project a reality. Michelle Viise and Jessica Hinds-Bond did a marvelous job editing the manuscript. Portions of this work first appeared elsewhere, and I am thankful to Cambridge University Press for permission to publish this material in revised form: “The Birth of Ukrainian ‘Active Nationalism’: Dmytro Dontsov and Heterodox Nationalism before World War I, 1883–1914,” Modern Intellectual History 11, no. 3 (November 2014): 519–48. I also thank Paul Robert Magocsi for granting permission to reprint historical maps from his atlases, and the Ukrainian Museum, Ukrinform, Melitopol’skii Kraevedcheskii Zhurnal, Galinfo.ua, the Russian State Museum, and the Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine for the images reproduced here.

I owe everything to my family, a constant source of strength and inspiration. My parents—Jennifer FitzSimons and Graham Erlacher—set examples of hard work, determination, and intellectual integrity to which I still aspire, and taught me the value of education, world travel, self-discipline, and creativity. I am grateful to my sister, Mason Claine Erlacher, who brings joy to all who know her through her art and compassion. Finally, I dedicate this book to my partner in crime, the brilliant and stunning Amelia Parlier, whom I thank for the vital input and perspective on every aspect of this book, from the content to the cover design, and for her unstinting love, support, and companionship.
For Amelia.