

UKRAINIANS IN LANSING, MICHIGAN:  
THE ADJUSTMENT OF A SMALL  
ETHNIC GROUP.

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
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UKRAINIANS IN LANSING, MICHIGAN:  
THE ADJUSTMENT OF A SMALL ETHNIC GROUP

By  
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## CHAPTER I

### THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE<sup>1</sup>

The Scytho-Sarmatian Period. The history of Ukraine from 700 B.C. to 900 A.D. is semi-legendary. The land was in a state of ceaseless turmoil - the consequence of invasions, migrations, and wars. There was much blending of peoples under these circumstances. Invaders from east and west mixed with numerous indigenous groups to form what eventually became the Ukrainians. This early epoch is usually designated by Ukrainian historians as the Scytho-Sarmatian<sup>2</sup> period. Ordinary people simply call it, "Barbarian Times".

The Golden Period. The people remained a tribal state until the ninth century. The country was divided into a number of districts, each populated by a separate tribe, all tribes being related to each other. Then, in the ninth century, there emerged a consolidated nucleus around Kiev. The princes of Kiev gradually united more and more of these tribes under their sway.

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1. Most Ukrainians know this history very well. They were taught it by their parents from early childhood in the Old World and the New. The writer merely checked the key facts and dates for accuracy and found no discrepancies of consequence. The history as reproduced here is generally accepted by competent historians. (See bibliography) It is an instance where the lore of a people corresponds quite closely with the findings of experts. This circumstance accounts for the lack of references to sources.

A further comment may be of interest. Russian historians customarily begin their histories of Russia with the first two periods as given here. This annoys Ukrainians no end. They insist that this early history is Ukrainian history, not Russian history.

2. Scythians and Sarmatians were ancient peoples who settled along the northern shore of the Black Sea and the area now known as Ukraine.

During the reign of Volodimir the Great (980-1015), Kingdom of Kiev attained its greatest power, extending from the Black Sea to the Volga and from the Carpathians to the Caucasus. Volodimir brought all of the different Ukrainian provinces into one centralized state. He outlawed paganism and made the Greek Orthodox Church the official religion. Along with this church, many elements of Byzantine civilization entered the country. Kiev, formerly a provincial town, rapidly rose to be one of the wealthiest and most cultured cities of Europe, communicating with the West on equal terms in art, literature, and commerce.

This Golden Age of Ukraine - a period of national integration and advancing civilization - did not last long. After the death of Volodimir's successor, Yaroslav the Wise, there was internal dissention. The weakened kingdom suffered attacks and attempts at intervention from the rising Moscovite principality to the north. More serious still were the unceasing invasions of Tartars that culminated in the capture and destruction of Kiev in 1240.

With the fall of Kiev, the scene of organized Ukrainian national life shifted to Western Ukraine, the provinces of Galicia<sup>3</sup> and Volhynia. These had been united in 1200 under

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3. It is to be noted that the term "Galicia", when used throughout this work, refers to that portion of Central Europe lying on the northern slopes of the Carpathians, which constituted an Austrian "Kronland" between the years 1772 and 1918, and not to the former kingdom in north-western Spain.

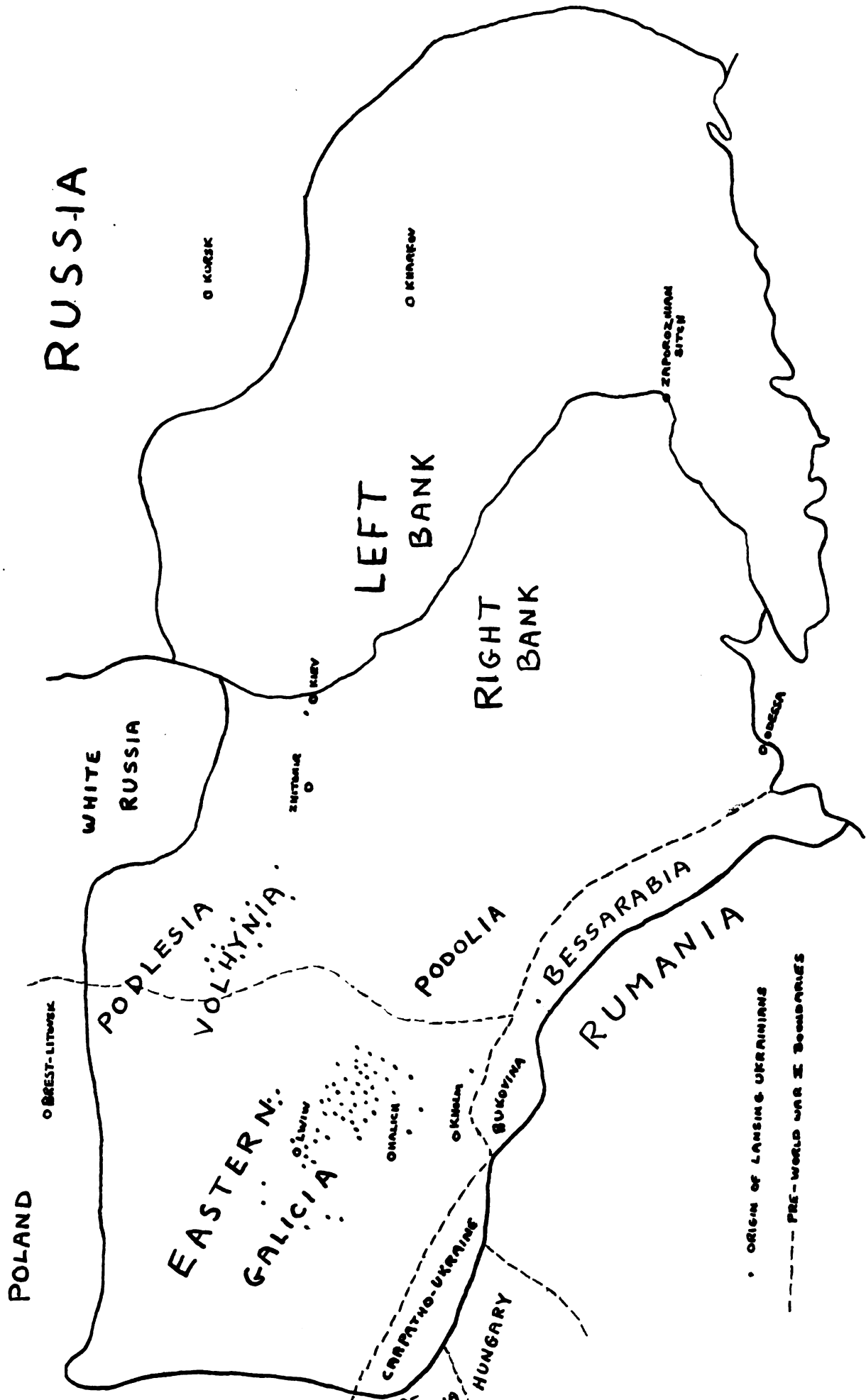


FIGURE 1. UKRAINIAN TERRITORY

the reign of Prince Roman. Halich (from which the term Galicia is derived) was his seat of government and became the new capital of Ukraine.

Western Ukraine was never without its troubles. There were constant Polish efforts to annex it, and the Hungarians, who were in process of carving out a new homeland, nibbled at its southern border. It managed, however, to keep its independence, especially under the rule of Danilo, his son, Lev, and his grandson, Yuriy. Lev extended his sway over Carpatho-Ukraine, and under Yuriy, Western Ukraine attained the peak of its power and development up to that time.

The Lithuanian-Polish Period. The independence of Western Ukraine lasted only a century after the collapse of Eastern Ukraine. In 1350 Poland managed to conquer most of Galicia and Volhynia. Meanwhile, large sections of the Tartar-devastated Eastern Ukraine had been gradually absorbed by Lithuania, which, further removed from Tartar encroachments, had been slowly rising to power. This absorption was quite peaceful, encountering little opposition from the war-ridden and strife-torn Ukrainians. Lithuania made few changes and allowed the people to keep their old laws and own language.

The system of beneficent rule by Lithuania was short-lived. In 1386, Lithuania united with Poland. But Poland, the stronger of the two, soon emerged as the dominant power. Poland was now able to extend her sway beyond Galicia into Eastern Ukraine. Ukrainians were treated as a conquered people by their masters who exploited and oppressed them.



If Poland had been a really strong power, Eastern Ukraine might have gained some benefit from the conquest in spite of the harshness of Polish rule. That is, if Poland could have protected the country from the constant onslaughts of the Tartars, there would have been a chance for its wounds to heal and for some rebuilding to take place. As it was, the attacks from the east continued without interruption. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Eastern Ukraine was devastated and largely depopulated of Ukrainians and only lightly occupied by Tartars. Hence, much of the country reverted to wilderness.

The Kozak Period. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the Kozaks (Cossacks) began to enter the picture. They were of diverse origin, mostly Ukrainians who were not able to tolerate the treatment meted out by Polish princes and feudal nobles. The group was augmented by renegade Tartars, Poles, Russians, and other neighboring peoples. At first they were little more than bandits who lived a hazardous life in sparsely occupied Eastern Ukraine, especially in the southern part. Gradually, as their numbers increased, they began to band together. Because of the necessity for protecting themselves at all times, these bands took on a semi-military character, which became more pronounced with their growth. Their first notable military achievement took place about the end of the sixteenth century, when they built themselves a fortified encampment on an island in the lower Dnieper, below the rapids, which became the famous Zaporozhian Sitch.

After the Tartars and Turks were under the control of the Kozaks, the Polish landlords attempted to rule the Ukrainians with their private armies. The people appealed to the Kozaks for support. Up to this time the Kozak military organization had been an independent body existing and fighting for its own sake. The experiences of fighting for and with other Ukrainians transformed them into an integral part of the Ukrainian nation.

The Polish-Ukrainian wars followed in the years 1625, 1630, and 1648-50. The Kozaks made an alliance with the Tartars which protected their rear. Then in 1648 the Ukrainian Kozaks, aided by the entire Ukrainian people, under the leadership of Hetmen Khmelnitsky, rose against Poland.

The Polish army was almost destroyed, and the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed.

In order to protect Ukrainian independence, Khmelnitsky entered into an alliance with Moscow. This alliance, the Treaty of Pereyslav (1654), provided for the complete independence of Ukraine, as well as her Kozak organization, with the Czar exercising a nominal protectorate. It was a treaty between two sovereign powers, pledging mutual aid in the event of an emergency.

Later Khmelnitsky observed that Moscow did not have the least intention of keeping its part of the alliance and started to plan the abrogation of the treaty. However, when Ukraine needed his leadership the greatest, he unfortunately died. After his death there was internal strife among the Kozak chiefs.

In 1667, Moscow concluded with Poland the Treaty of Andrussovo, whereby Ukraine was partitioned. Russia took the "Left Bank", the part of Ukraine east of the Dnieper, and Poland took the "Right Bank", that land to the west of the river. Ukraine was a battleground for years, but it was unable to resist the two nations. The Ukrainians were gradually deprived of their political, civil, and religious rights. The gentry and the people of the towns became Russians or Poles; but the masses, though reduced to serfdom, remained Ukrainian.

The Russian-Austrian Period. The Poland of the eighteenth century had a powerless king and an all-powerful parliament in the hands of the nobles. The nobles ruled the country in their own interests, and as a result, there was much internal strife and turmoil. Finally Russia, Austria, and Prussia took advantage of this situation and partitioned Poland in three installments, in 1772, 1793, and 1795.

As an independent Poland went out of existence, her Ukrainian provinces passed into the hands of Russia and Austria. Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine fell to Austria, and Russia took the rest of Ukraine. After these partitions, the Ukrainians were under the control of Russia and Austria-Hungary and were separated from each other for over a hundred years. The Ukrainian people under these circumstances underwent different experiences.

The Ukrainians under Russia had hoped for autonomy for their country. Russia, however, had other intentions. After

uniting a majority of the Ukrainian provinces, she began a suppression of everything that was Ukrainian. In time, Russian historians spoke of "Little Russia" and "Little Russians." In the cities, the program was successful. Ukrainians spoke Russian, wrote in the Russian language, taught in the Russian language in the schools, and worked for the Russian government. The Russians regarded the Ukrainians as belonging to the Russian nation and their language as a mere dialect. The public use of the Ukrainian language was prohibited. In the country, however, the peasants continued to speak Ukrainian and to carry on Ukrainian traditions.

In the nineteenth century there was a Ukrainian renaissance. Finding all progress along political lines blocked, this revival turned to folklore and literature. It had spread from the peasantry to the intellectual and higher classes. Some of the persons who were prominent during this period were: Ivan Kotlyarevsky, father of modern Ukrainian literature; Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's great poet, patriot, and martyr; Lesya Ukrainka, a remarkable poetess; Ivan Franko, the greatest Ukrainian poet since Shevchenko; and Michael Hrushevsky, one of the most prominent historians of Eastern Europe.

The Czars began to recognize the fact that connected with this cultural renaissance there was a national Ukrainian movement. The political ideal of this movement was the union of all Ukrainians, including those under Austrian con-



trol, in a Ukrainian nation. The people, all social classes, were thinking of Ukrainian freedom rather than allegiance to the Czar. This, of course, was considered dangerous.

In 1876, the Czar ordered that no Ukrainian books, with the exception of poems and stories, be published in Russia. By the same order, none were allowed to be brought into Ukraine from other countries. In addition, no books for children were allowed in the Ukrainian language. Many Ukrainians disliked these restrictive measures. Because of the resistance to accept them, some Ukrainians were exiled. For a period of time, even Ukrainian plays and songs were forbidden on the stage and in public places.

The Ukrainians that had come under the control of Austria had a markedly different experience. They enjoyed a greater amount of freedom. After several decades of struggle, they attained the right of having their own grammar schools and several gymnasia (high schools). They were allowed to lecture in Ukrainian at the University of Lviv (Lwow). Books and newspapers could be published in the Ukrainian language.

But these freedoms represent only part of the picture. Along other lines, Austrian Ukrainians were less fortunate. It was the policy of Austria to grant privileges to the nationalities within her Empire for the purpose of obtaining their loyalty, but she also played one nationality against another. This latter principle was employed to prevent any nationality from becoming too powerful and thinking of separation from the Empire.

When the Ukrainians were taken over by Austria with the last partition of Poland, the Polish nobles continued to be the lords. The land and the Ukrainian peasants were considered their property. It was not until 1848 that serfdom was abolished in Austria. This was more a legal gesture than a real reform. Ukrainians continued to suffer under the Polish officials. These conditions became especially acute after 1873 when the Poles, taking advantage of the corrupt conditions in the Austrian government, concluded a secret agreement with it. In return for their promise of absolute loyalty to Austria, they were given a free hand in Galicia. As a result, the Ukrainians suffered a fresh wave of oppression which lasted up to the first World War.

The Period of Independence. Even though the Ukrainians were dominated up to the first World War by Russia and Austria, they never lost hopes of independence.

The chance for independence came with the war. Czarist Russia collapsed in 1917. There was a brief republic and then the Bolsheviki seized power. Taking advantage of the disorder, Eastern Ukraine declared independence on January 22, 1918.

Conditions in Austria-Hungary a few months later afforded an equivalent opportunity there. The war-weary country began to crumble. On October 18, 1918, Ukrainian delegates elected a Ukrainian National Council to act as the constituent assembly of Western Ukraine. This assembly established an independent Western Ukrainian Republic.

On January 22, 1919, representatives of the two Ukrain-

ian republics met in the historic St. Sophia Square in Kiev, and there proclaimed the reorganization of the republics into the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Post-War Period. The life of the republic, however, was short. It was invaded by Polish, Russian, and Rumanian armies. Little by little, it was divided among its neighbors.

On September 10, 1919, by the Treaty of St. Germain, Czechoslovakia received Podkarpatska Rus (Carpatho-Ukraine).

On December 9, 1919, by virtue of the Minorities Treaty signed at Paris, the Allies gave the Ukrainian provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia to Rumania.

By the Treaty of Riga, concluded between Poland and the Soviets on March 18, 1921, Russia received the eastern part of Ukraine, former Russian territory. This was really the end of the Ukrainian Republic, though its demise was not internationally official until a couple years later.

On March 15, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris recognized the occupation of Galicia by Poland and approved the Riga Treaty. This gave Poland all of Galicia as well as northwestern Russian Ukraine, including Kholm, Volhynia, and Podlesia.

In this conference, Poland agreed to recognize the autonomy of the Ukrainians in those regions she acquired and to respect the pledges she had made at the signing of the Versailles Treaty. At Versailles, Poland had pledged to preserve the national rights of the Ukrainian people

within her borders.

Poland, however, made no attempt at any time to fulfill these promises. She continued her Polonization program. Ukrainian national, cultural, and economic progress was retarded at every step.

In 1934, Poland made this noncompliance official and announced that she would no longer be held by the Minorities Treaty. She increased her Polonization measures. The Ukrainians resented these measures and made stronger demands for autonomy. The Polish government feared nationalism was growing among the Ukrainians and launched a pacification campaign in 1938. National Ukrainian organizations were dissolved, Ukrainian churches were destroyed or converted into Polish institutions, Ukrainian priests were sent to prison, and the use of the Ukrainian language was discouraged by every available means. In courts, in governmental announcements, in universities, and generally in all public places only Polish was allowed. In spite of all these measures, Ukrainian nationalism persisted.

In Russia, the experience of the Ukrainians was again different. They were Sovietized, but, along with other non-Russian peoples, they were given a measure of cultural autonomy. The details of just what happened have not been revealed. Yet, it appears that assimilation into the Soviet Union proceeded far. Evidence of sentiments in favor of national separatism are lacking after about 1930. This may have been due to very effective suppression, or it may mean that such senti-



ments no longer existed.

World War II and After. The Galician Ukrainians thought they might have another chance for independence when the second World War broke out. The Germans sought the support of Galician leaders and made them the proposition that if they, the Germans, were in control, the Galicians would enjoy an autonomous government. It is reported that the leaders suspected that the Germans had no intention of fulfilling the promise. In any case, they offered no help.

The only Ukrainians who took a definite step toward attaining independence were the Carpathian Ukrainians. When Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Germans in March, 1939, Carpatho-Ukraine declared its independence. Hungary, however, took advantage of its weakness and acquired the republic the same day. Perhaps, this is something of a record. The independent state lasted just two hours.

In September, 1939, German armies invaded Poland from the west, and Russian troops entered eastern Poland. As a result of a treaty with Hitler, the Soviet Union occupied the eastern half of Poland. With the acquisition of this territory, the Soviet Union added Eastern Galicia to the Ukrainian territory previously held. Only Carpatho-Ukraine lay outside the Soviet Union.

In June, 1945, by agreement with Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union was granted Carpatho-Ukraine, thus completing the unification of the Ukrainian people under her control.

Historical Reflections. Reflections of this history

can be seen in the organization and ideas of the Lansing Ukrainians - probably in all Ukrainian settlements everywhere. This was the reason we began with history. So the reader will be prepared to see these reflections in the main body of the thesis more clearly, we shall call attention to some of the more significant aspects of the foregoing account.

Even though the Ukrainians have been dominated by other nations throughout most of their long history, they still have a feeling of nationality. Each generation learns of the Golden Period, of glories of the Kozak Republic, and of the exploits of Ukrainian heroes. Three times in the present century one or another Ukrainian group has made an overt bid for independence.

The Ukrainians were divided between Austria and Russia for more than a century. This led to the development of profound differences among the Ukrainians. Those coming under Czarist Russia were somewhat assimilated into Russian culture. The Galician Ukrainians under Austria-Hungary were less influenced culturally by the Empire and managed to retain their Ukrainian identity.

Relations with the Poles have been hostile for centuries. Most of the time since 1350 Galician Ukrainians have been under pressure in the direction of Polonization. They have resisted these efforts and have carried the struggle against the Poles to the New World - and to Lansing.

Russian Ukrainians, who at first resisted the Soviet Union, seem to have been assimilated into the Soviet Union. The policy of cultural autonomy probably aided in this process

and has made a favorable impression on a few Lansing Ukrainians.

Some important religious aspects of the history of Ukraine were omitted. It seemed better to leave them to be taken up in the chapter on religion.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD

From 1870 to the first World War, there was a great exodus from Ukraine to the New World. Most of the Ukrainian immigrants came from Eastern Galicia<sup>1</sup> and Carpatho-Ukraine. Carpatho-Ukraine contributed the larger number until 1906. In that year, Galicians surpassed them and continued to predominate until the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. The following discussion concentrates on Galicians because of their numerical importance and because the Ukrainian community in Lansing is essentially a Galician community.

The Causes of Emigration. The chief reason for departure was the economic situation to which the Ukrainian peasant was subjected. The situation as it existed in the early part of this century is well described by Koenig.

"The Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia is almost exclusively rural; well over 90 per cent of the people are farmers and herders.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the unusual fertility of his soil, the Ukrainian peasant in agricultural productiveness lags, not only behind his neighbors in the surrounding countries, but even behind the rest of Poland. Unable to make use of advanced means of cultivation owing to his lack of training, the peasant still clings to primitive methods of tillage. The attempts of his leaders to enlighten him in this respect are completely counteracted by the extreme land-hunger and poverty. No amount of advice can possibly be of much help to an individual who has reached a state of virtual starvation.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ethnically, Galicia is divided. The western half is predominantly Polish and contains few Ukrainians. The Ukrainians form the majority in the eastern half. Originally the entire province of Galicia was populated by Ukrainians, but with the passage of time, its western half has become Polish.

2. Koenig, p. 119.

3. Ibid., p. 129.

With 67 inhabitants per square kilometer living from agriculture as against 34 in Germany and highly agricultural Denmark, Eastern Galicia has twice as dense a rural population as these two countries, in fact, the densest agricultural population in Europe."<sup>4</sup>

In addition to a dense agricultural population, there were other contributing factors. Much of the land was in the hands of Polish nobility, and churches and monasteries held considerable tracts. There was great pressure on the land that was available to the Ukrainian peasants. Contrary to the practice of the Polish peasant, who endeavored to leave his property undivided,<sup>5</sup> the Ukrainian peasant distributed his property among all his children, and, if possible, assigned a particular share to each before his death.<sup>6</sup> This process had about reached the absolute limit. Farms were so small that they could no longer be subdivided. There were too many children entitled to share, more than the land would support. There were no industries in Eastern Galicia in the first quarter of this century that could have helped to alleviate the pressure of the dense agricultural population.

"With the exception of the oil wells at the foot of the Carpathians and some industries devoted to the production of flour, alcohol and other derivatives of agriculture, Eastern Galicia is void of large scale manufactures. Of all the active workers in Galicia, there were in 1900 only seven per cent employed in industry, and according to the record of enterprises in 1902, this industry was primarily of a petty type, peasant and artisan."<sup>7</sup>

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4. Ibid., p. 29.

5. Thomas and Znaniecki, I, p. 118.

6. Koenig, p. 501.

7. Ibid., p. 30.

Other factors contributed to the peasant's extreme poverty. Galicia was far from the Western European markets. The small local towns needed only a limited supply of farm produce. Prices were consequently low. And much of the money that the peasants did receive went to pay the taxes to the state, the landlords, and the church. The hopeless indebtedness of the peasant resulted in the auctioning off of about 3,000 peasant holdings each year in the period before 1914.<sup>8</sup>

Of course, these severe economic conditions had existed for many years before emigration became a significant movement. Some other things had to happen before Galician peasants could conceive or carry out the project of going to America. They began with briefer journeys to do seasonal work in Germany. This gave them experience in a wider world. Perhaps, also, they were influenced by Germans with whom they came in contact. Emigration from that country was heavy during four decades before 1890.

The final stimulus was political. The pressure of Polish officials increased after 1873 as a consequence of the deal with Austria mentioned above. Then, in 1902 there was a small revolt in Galicia that the Poles repressed ruthlessly.<sup>9</sup> Restlessness and punitive action continued sporadically. Some Ukrainians fled for their lives. Others, though not immediately threatened, felt uncertain. Letters back from the pioneers attracted still more. Soon the migration acquired

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8. Ibid., p. 254.

9. See p. 78.

some organization. Recruiters, steamship agents, and money-lenders entered the picture, encouraging and facilitating the departure of additional thousands. Peasants mortgaged or sold their farms to get passage money to the countries of high wages (United States) and free land (Canada, Argentina, and Brazil).

Number and Distribution of Ukrainians in the New World.

By 1918, there were about 1,200,000 Ukrainian immigrants in North and South America,<sup>10</sup> distributed as follows:

1. In the United States, there were 800,000 Ukrainians, 400,000 from Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, 300,000 from Carpatho-Ukraine, and about 100,000 from Russian Ukraine (mostly from Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiev).

2. In Canada, there were 300,000 Ukrainians, nearly all of whom were from Galicia and Bukovina. Most of them were farmers in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Ukrainians form the third largest ethnic group in Canada, with English and French preceding it.

3. There were over 60,000 Galician Ukrainians in the province of Parana, Brazil.

4. In Argentina, there were about 10,000 Ukrainians from Galicia.

These figures are necessarily only estimates. The exact number will never be known. Immigration officials recorded entries according to the country that issued the passports. Since a Ukrainian state did not exist, Ukrainian immigrants

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10. Ukraine, I, 28 (April, 1918).

were classified as Austrians, Hungarians, or Russians.

No later statistics are available, but these indicate the present situation with fair accuracy. Immigration began about 1870. The heavy period was 1900-1914. After the interruption of the war, there was a slight increase during the early twenties. The restrictive laws of 1921 and 1924 virtually shut off Ukrainian immigration to the United States. For instance, from 1931 to 1936, an average of 96 per year were admitted. They continued to go to Canada and South America, but the numbers were small compared to the earlier periods.

Settlement and Adjustment in the United States. A great majority of the immigrants became laborers in the coal mines of Pennsylvania and in the industrial cities of New York and New Jersey. Greater occupational opportunities were to be found in industry rather than on the land at that time. The period of free homesteads in the United States had already passed when the Ukrainian immigrants began to enter this country in large numbers.

The situation in Canada was quite different. Manchur points out that the Canadian government had persuaded and helped to bring Ukrainians into Canada for the purpose of settling on the land. As of 1931, 74.1 per cent of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada were engaged in farming.<sup>11</sup>

The immigrants arriving in the United States were usually without much money, since most of it was consumed by the

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11. Manchur, p. 16.



ocean trip. They needed money immediately with which to live. The usual method was to ask other Slav immigrants to direct them to places of employment. There was ample demand for the cheap labor immigrants offered. To them, however, the wages they received appeared to be huge when compared with the very low incomes they had had in Ukraine.

The immigrants' progress was somewhat retarded. About 50 per cent of them were illiterate. Like all new immigrants, they had to become unskilled laborers at first. They knew no English, and had scant opportunity to learn, since intimate contacts with native Americans were rare. Most immigrants settled near the mills and in mining towns among the immigrants of other nationalities, particularly those of Eastern Europe.

It is interesting to note here that these various Eastern European peoples, such as Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians, hated each other in Europe. These same peoples, however, developed less hostile relations with each other in this country. This could be explained that here the cultures of these different nationalities, so distinct in Europe, resembled each other so much that they were little islands in a vast population of people from Northern and Western Europe.

Some Ukrainians encountered special difficulties at the outset:

"The first appearance of Ukrainians in the Pennsylvania anthracite-coal mines was in the seventies (1877) in the regions of Shenandoah, Shamokin, Mt. Carmel, Olyphant and Scranton. They were induced to come to America by an

agent of coal-mining companies whose workers were then on strike. Not understanding the conditions, or probably because of necessity, they went to work as strike-breakers; consequently they brought upon themselves the hatred of old miners, mostly Irishmen. There were frequent assaults on the strike-breakers which ended in riots. The influx of fresh immigrants tended to keep the wages low, and this prolonged the labor antagonism between the Ukrainian and Irish groups. The newcomer sometimes became a victim of 'accidental' injury, or even death."<sup>12</sup>

By 1937, about 80 per cent of the Ukrainians in the United States lived in cities and worked in coal mines, textile mills, foundries, factories, and building trades. Some managed to save some money and established themselves in business. Many of these small businessmen serve their communities as grocers, butchers, tavern keepers, and tailors.

"With improvement in skill has come economic and social betterment. Only a very few, probably a fraction of one per cent, however, have attained the status of 'rich' as defined by their countrymen. A large percentage have tasted a measure of prosperity by thrifty living. Especially during and immediately after the first World War, a considerable number of them invested in homes. Although their homes often approach the American standard, even now a majority of them still live in the poorer sections of American cities."<sup>13</sup>

The largest centers of Ukrainian population in the United States today are the industrial cities: Boston, Hartford, New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh in the East; Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, St. Louis and Minneapolis in the Middle West; and San Francisco and Los Angeles on the West Coast. The "capital" of Ukrainians in America is Scranton, Pennsylvania. Here are the headquarters of the minority associations and the place of

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12. Halich, pp. 28-29.

13. Ibid. p. 36.

publication of most of the Ukrainian press. In all of these larger communities, Ukrainians usually occupy certain sections and are well organized within them. They were able to establish formal associations, reconstruct their churches, and develop primary relationships within their own groups.

But Ukrainians do not form one cohesive group in any community. Russian Ukrainians, Galicians, and Carpatho-Ukrainians have little in common, reflecting their distinct European backgrounds. Any of these divisions may be further divided by differences regarding Ukrainian nationalism or other historic issues. Variations in assimilation and in status mobility introduce new forces of disunity that grow stronger with the years.

### CHAPTER III

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE LANSING UKRAINIANS

The first Ukrainian family arrived in Lansing in 1907, after going from place to place and job to job for ten years. All travel was by foot. During the next five years, several others came. Most of these early settlers reached Lansing after a few years in other American communities. Some of them moved on after a while to continue their migratory travels. Those who remained in Lansing sent for their relatives and friends to join them. The bulk of the Ukrainian immigrants settled in Lansing during the first World War, attracted by the employment afforded by expanded war production.

General Characteristics. The Lansing settlement is much smaller than most Ukrainian settlements in the United States. The nearest larger Ukrainian community is Detroit, where some 10,000 Ukrainians are concentrated in Hamtramck, the Polish section of that metropolitan region.

The Galician Ukrainians constitute 80 per cent of the total Ukrainian immigrant population of Lansing and vicinity. One immigrant is from the Ukrainian province of Bessarabia. The rest are from Russian Ukraine. Carpathian Ukrainians are not represented. The total immigrant population is 69, composed of 32 males and 37 females. Their children, living in Lansing, number 116.

In 1920, soon after their arrival, most of the Galician Ukrainians were located in the immigrant section in the southern part of the city. The Ukrainians were situated in the area

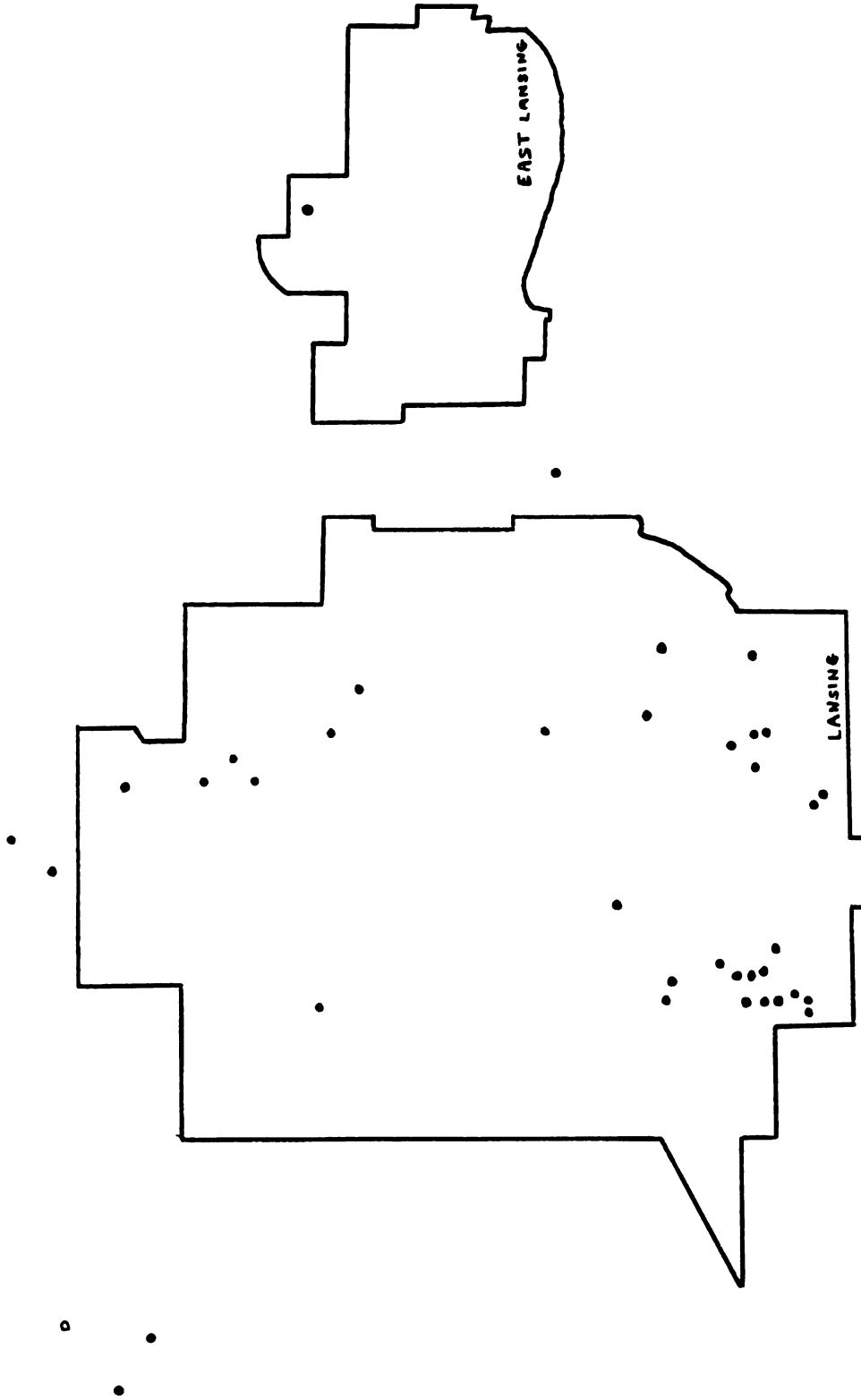


FIGURE 2. LOCATION OF LANSING UTAHNIANS

- GALICIAN UKRAINIAN
- MIXED UKRAINIAN
- RUSSIAN UKRAINIAN
- BELARUSIAN UKRAINIAN

bounded between South Logan and Stirling streets and between Barnes and Cooper streets. The Russian Ukrainians were situated in the north-eastern section where most of the Russian immigrants lived.

Today, sixty-one of the immigrants are dispersed in Lansing, four are on farms near Lansing, and four live in the suburb of East Lansing. Approximately three-quarters of the second-generation are scattered in the Lansing area, and one quarter are as yet unmarried and live with their parents.

Group Structure of the Lansing Ukrainians. Before this study was attempted, the writer had known some of the Ukrainian immigrants in Lansing. His preliminary information indicated that they were divided into two segments: one group of immigrants from Galician Ukraine desired to see a free Ukrainian state; the other group, from Russian Ukraine, felt indifferent toward a free Ukrainian nation. The writer thought this could be explained simply by the fact that immigrants from Russian Ukraine were more or less Russified and thus identified themselves with Russia.

Upon investigation it was found that this hypothesis was untrue. Rather than being divided into two groups, it was found that the Ukrainians were divided into four major categories, two of which are groups. According to numerical importance, they are:

1. A majority of Galician Ukrainians consisting of those who desire to see a free Ukraine. This group is ex-

tremely nationalistic and is proud of its Ukrainian heritage.

2. A minority of Galician Ukrainians who are pro-Russian in sentiment. This group considers the present status of Ukraine in the Soviet Union as fulfillment of the national ideal. The nationalistic Galician Ukrainians previously led the writer to believe these were not Galicians, but Russian Ukrainians. The reason for this supposition was that the nationalistic Galician Ukrainians constantly referred to them as "those Russians."

3. A small number of immigrants from Russian Ukraine, coming primarily from Volhynia (Volynsky). They have no relations whatever with either of the Galician groups. They identify themselves as Russians.

4. A small number of Galician Ukrainians who intermarried and became identified with other ethnic groups, particularly Poles.

Development of Formal Organizations. In the early settlement, the Galician Ukrainians were one cohesive group, and the Russian Ukrainians, not having any group feeling, were isolated from each other and from the Galician Ukrainians.

In 1916, the Galician Ukrainians founded their first organization, Wilna Ukraina (Free Ukraine). It had 37 members. Meetings were held in homes. It functioned as a social club for those of Ukrainian birth, with Ukrainian parties, dances, and dinners among its activities.

In 1917, Wilna Ukraina petitioned the Ukrainian Work-

{ ingmen's Association,<sup>1</sup> a national mutual aid association, for membership. The request was granted, and Branch 138, Wilna Ukrainia, came into existence. This organization provided all Ukrainian American activities until 1922.

| There was a decline of activities during the early twenties. Nineteen members of Branch 138 held a meeting in 1922 and decided to have another organization, with a more diversified program. Rather than meeting in the homes of the members, they desired to have a building devoted for all social affairs. The Ukrainian Home Society<sup>2</sup> was founded. In order to raise money, the Society held bazaars within the group. Meetings were still carried on in various homes. By 1925, the membership in the Society had increased to thirty. Early that year there was a special appeal for large loans of money from the members. With the money collected from this appeal, added to the amount already on hand in the treasury, the Society purchased a lot and then contracted a builder.

The building started in May, 1925. All the members contributed their own labor in the construction of the building. In June, when the Home was near completion, there was growing friction within the group. The small minority of Galician Ukrainians who were pro-Russian attempted to persuade the others

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1. There are several hundred branches of this national organization throughout Ukrainian communities in the United States.

2. Local organizations like Wilna Ukrainia are common in other Ukrainian settlements. Home Societies like the Ukrainian Home Society are maintained by most Ukrainian groups. They are usually designated as Ukrainian National Homes or Ukrainian Benevolent Homes.





FIGURE 3. UKRAINIAN HOME SOCIETY  
LANSING, MICHIGAN

to identify themselves with Soviet Russia. The following incident finally broke the Galician Ukrainians into two hostile camps. The pro-Russian group wanted a red border around the interior walls of the Home, showing some identification with Soviet Russia. The nationalistic group objected and insisted on the Ukrainian national colors, blue and yellow (symbolizing the sky and the grain of Ukraine). The two groups almost came to blows. After much discussion and threats on both sides, the smaller faction submitted to the nationalistic group, beaten but not convinced.

The Home was completed, and on the Fourth of July, 1925, it was formally opened. The Ukrainian Home Society had much reason to rejoice in 1936. The contractors of the building were finally paid off, and the Ukrainian Home was now theirs.

The struggle between the two discordant groups continued until 1926. Finally, at the request of the nationalistic group, the pro-Russian faction separated. Each member of this group was refunded his share of the money contributed toward the building of the Home and was cast out of the Society. The smaller faction did not regret this action because they thought that without their assistance the society could not exist. Events proved otherwise.

The program of the Ukrainian Home Society had two main purposes. It served as a means for the satisfaction of nationalistic feelings of the members in the Society and provided social activities for the families affiliated with it.

One of the nationalistic aspects of the program was for

⇒ the preservation of Ukrainian identity of the second-generation.

A Ukrainian language school for the children was established. Classes were held three times a week. The teachers were those members of the group who were more experienced with the grammatical aspects of the language than the rest. The children were taught to read, write, and speak Ukrainian and were instructed in the history and geography of Ukraine. The students showed little enthusiasm for their studies and grew up with no great knowledge of Ukrainian language or culture. But their parents felt easier in their minds to have the opportunity afforded their children. They did not know at the time that it would prove largely ineffective.

Another nationalistic activity was the presentation of Ukrainian dinners. There were usually three dinners given annually to the general public. The proceeds from these affairs were contributed to Ukrainian national aid societies.

Social activities for entertainment were also provided by the Ukrainian Home Society. Picnics were held. These were Ukrainian in character in that the people wore their national costumes and ate Ukrainian food. Occasionally there were programs at which the second-generation recited poetry. Some of the older children among the second-generation had Ukrainian dances in the Home.

In 1937, the women in the Society organized Lesya Ukrainka (named after the great Ukrainian poetess). This club gives three Ukrainian dinners annually in the Ukrainian Home. The proceeds from these affairs have been sent

to relatives and friends in Ukraine to purchase books and newspapers, to maintain clubs and homes, and to hospitalize crippled Ukrainian soldiers.

The Ukrainian Workmen's Association and the Ukrainian Home Society have few functions today. There are no picnics in costume, no reciting of Ukrainian poetry, and no Ukrainian dances. Participation in the Ukrainian Home Society has decreased greatly. Meetings are not held as often as they once were. Absences are common, something which rarely happened in the early days of the organization. Only when important Ukrainian national holidays are celebrated is attendance about as full as it used to be.

The Ukrainian Workmen's Association is experiencing the same decline. It holds one meeting monthly but attendance is generally low. Most of the members go to the first meeting, pay their premiums for the entire year, and then stay away the rest of the time.

The leaders of the Galicians fear that the group is breaking up from lack of interest and participation and plead for suggestions to keep the group together.

Class Structure in Ukraine. In Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainians have an interesting stereotypical conception of the prevailing class system.

"Viewing the world in terms of his own society he distinguishes three economic classes: the pan (lord), who, of course, is always a Pole; the kupec (merchant), who is necessarily a Jew; and the nuzyk (peasant), who is a Ukrainian."<sup>3</sup>

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3. Koenig, p. 241.

In Eastern Galicia during the first part of this century, there were few Ukrainians in the upper and middle classes. The once powerful Ukrainian nobility had been completely Polonized.<sup>4</sup> Most people who considered themselves and were considered to be Ukrainians occupied the lower class. Nevertheless, there was some status differentiation among them.

As previously mentioned in chap.ii, the Ukrainian population in Eastern Galicia during the first decade of this century was almost exclusively rural. Well over 90 per cent of the people were farmers and herders, while 7 per cent were employed in industry. The most clearly marked division among them was that between landed and landless laborers.<sup>5</sup> Since the land problem was so acute, the amount of land held by a person was one of the main indices of status. If a person held a larger amount of land than his neighbors, he usually held higher status in the community. Those who were landless were usually at the bottom of the scale. However, even though there were distinctions among the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, the people usually worked together regardless of class. There were no sharp class antagonisms.

The Immigrant's Position in the Class System. A few of the immigrants had resided in other American communities for a short time before their arrival in Lansing. Even

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4. Ibid., p. 119.

5. Ibid., p. 234.

though those who had settled early in Lansing had the advantage of time for adjustment, this did not necessarily assist them in economic or social mobility. The obstacles retarding mobility, socially or economically, were so great that a good many years had to pass before anyone could achieve much real advancement. Practically all of the immigrants had an even start: the men in unskilled occupations, such as factory and farm labor; the women in domestic service. During their early settlement, that is, they were in the lowest socio-economic class of Lansing.

The immigrants, however, were not satisfied with their status. Most of them attended night school and learned English. Helpful in this respect were the efforts of the Neo Corporation which employed a good share of them in the twenties. It provided them with transportation and time off from work in the factory to attend day school designed to teach them English.

After gaining some knowledge of English, the immigrants undertook apprenticeships to learn skilled and semi-skilled trades. Through thrifty living and through the desire to improve themselves, all have moved up in status, some more than others.

Present Class Structure in Lansing. Occupation is perhaps the best single index of the status position of Ukrainians. It will be the starting point in the following analysis.

The Ukrainian immigrants in Lansing are occupationally distributed in the form of a pyramid. At the base of the pyramid are the semi-skilled and skilled workers. Next are a

few foremen and white-collar employees. Rating slightly higher still are the owners of various modest business establishments. At the apex of the pyramid is found a very small group consisting of those who are in executive positions and of high financial status.<sup>6</sup>

The semi-skilled and skilled workers who form the lowest class include machinists, die-makers, painters, mechanics, and assembly men. Many are employed in the automobile factories. These women who work are cooks and cleaning women. There are eighteen families in this class. Of all Galician Ukrainians, these persons interact with each other most frequently. Social interaction outside the Ukrainian pattern is with other Americans of the same socio-economic level. These people realize their low position and identify themselves as such. Sentiments regarding their status are uniform. "We don't have a lot of money, but we have everything the average American family could ever want." Gosh, we're not rich like some of those up there, but we eat just as good as they do, own our own homes, and sent all our kids to high school." "So what if I don't have a pile of dough, I'm satisfied with what I have. Everybody can't be rich." Ukrainian is spoken in the home. However, English is used when away from the home and in contacts with native-Americans. Most of these individuals still have an accent. Some of the women still

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6. These classes correspond in general with the W. Lloyd Warner classification of social classes in the United States. Three of his classes are missing, however.

have difficulty in expressing themselves in English, and at times resort to Ukrainian completely when their knowledge of English proves inadequate. Ukrainian newspapers are as important as the American papers.

The small group of people who are foremen, white-collar workers, and employees of the city constitute another social class. There are eight families in this class. They regard themselves higher in status than the semi-skilled workers. Interaction with those occupying the lower stratum, Ukrainian or American, is not encouraged, but they do participate with other Ukrainians on ceremonial occasions as when the Home Society puts on a large affair. Its spontaneous contacts are with other Americans of the same level. English is the language used by these persons; Ukrainian is intentionally disregarded. Reference to their Ukrainian heritage is avoided. American newspapers are more important than Ukrainian papers.

Another small group of individuals, about the same size as the preceding class, owns business establishments. Five families have grocery stores, and one has a gasoline station. These families live in the middle class sections of the city. English is the only language used within the homes. This class takes only American newspapers. Visiting is confined to other middle class Americans. Only very special Ukrainian affairs induce them to join with other Ukrainians.

In order to facilitate social mobility, all except one of these individuals changed their surnames. The names were either translated into the corresponding English name or



modified so as to make them simpler. The one name that was maintained had a pronunciation that was not difficult for English-speaking people.

Three families occupy the peak of the pyramid in their own conception and, grudgingly, in the minds of others. Two of its members hold executive positions in the automobile industry, and one owns an exclusive night-club. All social interaction is with the native-American middle class. These individuals belong to middle class organizations of the larger society. They never visit with any other immigrant families. Their homes are in the middle class suburban areas. To them, Ukrainian language is a symbol of low status and is systematically eschewed. There is a persistent effort to make their English speech grammatically correct. Ukrainian literature is absent from their homes. Here too, as in the group below, the surname is changed. When Ukrainians are referred to, it is never "we", always "they"; at times even as if Ukrainians were still all in Europe. It is rare for persons of this top level to attend Ukrainian affairs. One man surprised everybody by attending a recent major Ukrainian celebration. His intentions, however, were for political reasons within the larger Lansing community.

Class Antagonisms. As already mentioned, there was very little class distinction in Eastern Galicia in the past. Under the impact of American culture, the Ukrainians in Lansing have become differentiated and aware of class. They recognize the various levels of status, and feel their effects.

Class antagonisms have developed. The lowest class is especially hostile toward those Ukrainian Americans occupying the higher levels. They can remember when all the immigrants held the same status and when more social interaction existed among them. As the climbers have severed social contacts with their former equals, those left behind naturally show resentment. Sentiments regarding Ukrainians of higher status are consistent among these lower class persons. The following statements are characteristic: "They think they are pretty good, now that they have a nice home in Mortgage Town [East Lansing]. They were pretty low at one time, and everyone of us helped them. But during the war they managed to make some money, and now they don't even know us. Yes, they think they're pretty good, the bastards." "Now that they are rolling in dough, they think they are pretty God-damned good, too good to call themselves Ukrainians. They don't even want to admit they are Ukrainians any more."

Reciprocal antagonisms among the higher class persons are evident. They regard those below them as "immigrantish" and "slow in adopting American ways." The higher class persons believe insufficient education is responsible for the low status of those below them, overlooking the fact that theirs was no more complete.

The higher classes regard one of their number, who is financially far above them, as one who became higher mostly by accident. "Why he never had anything. He was a n'er do well, never worked, and always got into trouble. Then he

married into money, and he's been well off ever since. Now that he's got that business, he's making money hand over fist. He still isn't worth a damn. He won't even come around to see any of his old friends. He's pretty high class, so he thinks." This person has been trying to move higher in status, but he realizes that his immigrant background is one of his greatest obstacles.

Status of the Second-Generation. The second-generation Ukrainian Americans did not have the set of obstacles which confronted their parents. All have completed high school, some having gone through college and business school. Because of this, they do not have the language barrier. Since they have the proper means of communication, they can and do interact easily with the native population. This has aided their social mobility.

The second-generation is dispersed throughout the class system<sup>7</sup> of the larger society. A few are unskilled laborers, occupationally below any of the immigrant generation. Above them lies the greatest share of the second-generation, half of whom are semi-skilled workers in the automotive industries. The next class consists of white-collar workers and employees of the city and state. A few have attained upper-middle class status, these being a chemist, a physician, and an engineer. There is practically no social interaction among the second-generation. This is not due to intentional avoidance, but

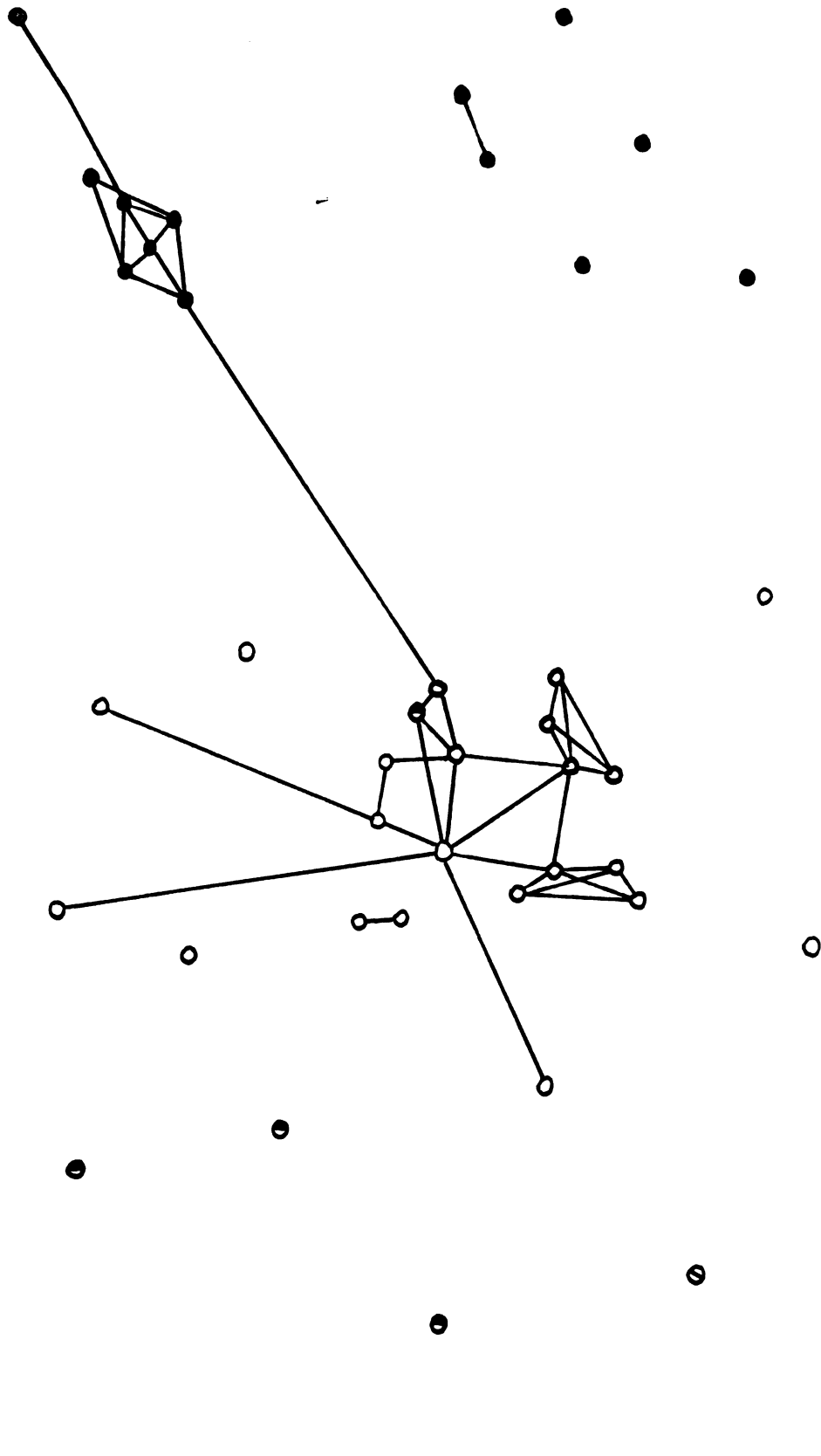
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7. These classes follow the Warner classification.

rather to the development of different interests. Interaction is with other Americans having the corresponding status. Marriage shows the same pattern. There are only three unions where both mates are second-generation Ukrainian Americans. Parents attempted to foster marriage with others of same ethnic background, but the second-generation feared this would retard their social mobility. They reasoned that marriage with native-Americans would facilitate social climbing.

Cliques Among the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian immigrants who have much of their interaction with each other are divided into small, very intimate groups. These cliques follow class lines and political ideals.

There are three major cliques among the nationalistic Galician Ukrainians. Practically all of the full members belong to the lowest class described above. Each clique has its own visiting pattern and its own interests. The individuals in these cliques are all in the lowest socio-economic class. Familial relationships help account for the high degree of integration among the members of each clique. These cliques are closely bound to each other to form the larger nationalistic group. There is a high we-group feeling in that they recognize themselves as members of an ethnic group and that they share common sentiments. The Ukrainian Home Society and Lesya Ukrainka (the Ladies Club), the formal organizations of the nationalistic group, aid in the integration of the members. They are bound furthermore by common membership



- NATIONALIST GALICIAN UKRAINIAN
- PRO-SOVIET GALICIAN UKRAINIAN
- RUSSIAN UKRAINIAN
- SESSARESIAN UKRAINIAN
- MIXED UKRAINIAN

FIGURE 4. VISITING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

in the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association. The sentiments of these three cliques are common in that they wish to see a free Ukrainian state. To satisfy these desires, most of these people subscribe to Narodna Wola (The People's Will), the publication of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association. This newspaper (printed in Ukrainian) supports the Ukrainian National Movement, and strives for further participation in it to its readers. Whenever these nationalistic individuals attend the meetings of the Ukrainian Home Society, they bring this newspaper with them and discuss the news items pertaining to the national ideal.

The minority of Galician Ukrainians who are pro-Russian in feeling form another group of interacting individuals. We-group feeling runs high as in the nationalistic group. Even though familial relationships are lacking, this clique is well integrated and has much interaction. They visit in each other's homes and attend social affairs within their own group. There is no formal organization, probably a consequence of small size. They hold common sentiments intensely. They definitely disapprove of the Ukrainian National Movement and consider Soviet Ukraine as the fulfillment of the national ideal. They reinforce their convictions by subscribing to the Ukrainian Daily News, the publication of the pro-Soviet Ukrainian American League. The contents of this paper are discussed as avidly as the nationalists discuss theirs.

The cleavage on the issue of nationalism is complete.

The pro-Russian clique avoids all contacts with the nationalists.

The nationalists in turn refer to this clique as "these God-damn Russians" and "these turncoats." They have deliberately attempted to drive out all painful remembrance of them. Most of the members of the nationalistic group have succeeded so well that they have some difficulty, partly intentional, in remembering the names of the pro-Russians.

There is no interaction among the immigrants from Russian Ukraine. They are not connected with each other by family ties. Nor are they united by common sentiments. They regard themselves as Russians and interact with Russian immigrants. None of them know any of the Galician Ukrainians. The writer heard about them through a Galician who had made an intensive search for years for more members for the Ukrainian Home Society.

Ukrainians who married into other ethnic groups are socially isolated from any of the Ukrainians. They do not constitute a clique in that interaction among them does not exist. Those who married Polish persons have lost their Ukrainian identity. Rather than interacting with others of their own ethnic background, they have sought integration within the Polish group. (There are over 1000 Poles in the city.) They belong to Polish organizations, have acquired Polish American sentiments, and use Polish in their homes. The nationalistic group at first regarded these persons as outcasts since their behavior indicated Polonization, something which was resisted in the New World as well as in the Old. Sentiments against them were especially high during

Poland's Pacification Campaign against the Ukrainians in 1938. However, time has healed these antagonistic feelings. When they are encountered casually or when they return for a Ukrainian funeral, they are treated cordially.

One individual married a Russian and has severed Ukrainian ties. The sentiments of this individual lie entirely with the Russian group. (There are over 200 Russians in Lansing.) Interaction is with the Russian group, Russian is the language spoken in the home, and the children are recognized by the parents as Russian Americans.

One Ukrainian married a Lithuanian immigrant. But in this case, the dissimilar person was brought under the influence of the nationalistic clique. This Lithuanian became well integrated in this group and is active in the Ukrainian Home Society. Interaction is entirely within the nationalistic group, the children were reared as Ukrainian Americans, and the individual as well as the children learned to speak Ukrainian.

Relations With Other Groups. The Galician Ukrainians in Lansing have some relationships with other Ukrainians in the United States. These are largely with Ukrainian friends and relatives in Jackson and Detroit, Michigan, and in various large cities in Pennsylvania. Visiting occurs during holidays and vacations. Until the second World War, the immigrants corresponded with and gave aid to friends and relatives in the Old World. During the war and since, there has been no communication with Ukraine. Hoping that aid will reach them, Lansing Ukrainians are contributing funds from their local



organizations to national Ukrainian aid societies.

Galician Ukrainians have maintained certain historic antagonisms toward other ethnic groups. Interaction with the Polish segment of the population tends to be avoided. There are no relationships with the Russians in Lansing. Because of their early cultural conditioning, Galician Ukrainians are anti-Semitic. This prejudice is evident in all social strata of Ukrainian Americans. Most of the immigrants regard the merchants in the city as Jews, whether they are or not. "Just like in Ukraine, all the business in Lansing is handled by Jews. It's like that all over. They seem to get everything."

The Ukrainians feel themselves to be residents and members of the Lansing community, and they have relations with all kinds of Lansing people. As indicated before, these relations are largely confined to persons of same social status, a pattern that everybody follows. They take part in the activities of the city and comply with their civic duties and obligations about as much as anyone does.

In all respects they regard themselves as Americans. Most of them have become American citizens and take part in elections. Because of various circumstances, the immigrants have forsaken all thoughts of returning to their homeland. Acculturation has occurred and they have become integrated within American culture.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELIGIOUS DILEMMA

The first part of this section deals with the historical development of religion in Ukraine. The importance of the various historical events will be shown in this chapter as religious crises to the Ukrainian people.

The Introduction of Christianity. Until the tenth century, the people were pagans. There was no organized religion as in contemporary Western Europe. Somewhat prejudiced historians dismiss paganism as adoration of nature and ancestor worship; and point to the absence of a priestly hierarchy and imposing temples. (Of course, there was religion.)

The Ukrainian people became Christians in 988 through the efforts of Volodimir the Great, prince of Kiev. He outlawed paganism and made Christianity the official religion. Since he married the sister of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, it was quite natural that he should seek help from the priests of the Imperial City in regard to spreading the Gospel to his countrymen. Thus, it came about that the Byzantine rite was introduced to the Ukrainians. This rite was somewhat modified by the fact that the Slavonic language was used in ceremony and prayers as translated from the Greek by the Saints Cyril and Methodius.

The Schism of 1054. Shortly after the Ukrainian Church had been organized with a hierarchy dependent upon the Patriarch of Constantinople, the famous schism of 1054 arose to split the East and West. Political, theological, and sociological differences led to this split. The Universal Church

broke into two separate churches: the Eastern Orthodox and Apostolic Church, and the Western or Roman Catholic Church. The Eastern Church uses the Byzantine-Slavonic rite, whereas the Roman Catholic Church follows the Latin rite. At first it had no effect upon the Ukrainians, and they remained in union with the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Compromise of 1595. The Polish-Lithuanian state incorporated a large part of Ukrainian lands, including Galicia, Volhynia, and large sections of Eastern Ukraine, during the fourteenth century. With this transfer of territory, the bulk of Ukrainian people came in direct contact with Roman Catholicism, the prevailing religion of the Western Slavs. As a consequence, a struggle ensued between the Western and Eastern Churches in Ukraine, in which the former was on the offensive. Roman Catholicism, having suffered severe losses as a result of the Protestant Reformation during the sixteenth century, was particularly interested in the Ukrainians controlled by Poland. Moreover, the Orthodox Church of the Ukrainians had been weakened by the loss of Ukrainian lands to the Tartars during the same period.

Rome was desirous of bringing the Ukrainians into its fold, and Poland, for political reasons, was equally anxious to have them converted to its state religion. Religion was the barrier between the Poles and Ukrainians. Poland was determined to destroy this barrier since it retarded the assimilation of the Ukrainian masses and the creation of a cohesive state. In addition, it would mean the complete break of Ukrainians with the Moscovite state, which had be-

come Poland's most dangerous enemy.

The Ukrainians resisted the efforts of both Rome and Poland. They realized that conversion to Roman Catholicism would mean conversion to Poland, and becoming Poles would be a national catastrophe for them. The memory of the Kievan state still persisted in their minds, and hopes for independence were still strong among the people.

The Jesuits of the Roman Catholic Church, who recognized this persistence of religious adherence because of political reasons, devised a compromise in the form of the "Uniate Church" for Poland's eastern provinces. The point at issue was the liturgy. The Ukrainians wished to retain their Byzantine-Slavonic liturgy, whereas Rome and Poland desired to Latinize the rite, that is, conversion to the Latin liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. The compromise provided for the maintenance of the Byzantine-Slavonic liturgy and the preservation of their customs and ecclesiastical discipline. Otherwise, their faith in all particulars was the same as that of the Roman Catholic Church. The Orthodox Church dignitaries and Ukrainian society could hardly refrain from accepting this compromise. In 1595, a number of Ukrainian bishops and priests, together with large groups of laity, entered into a pact of union with the Roman Catholic Church. Allegiance was transferred from the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Pope of Rome.

In spite of this, the Poles still sought to Latinize the Ukrainians. Poland perceived the political aspirations

of the Ukrainians who used their Uniate Church as the political symbol for independence. Polish attempts to destroy the Uniate Church never relaxed while the Ukrainians were under their control.

Religious Splits. As already indicated in chap.i, most of the Ukrainians were under Polish control from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. After the short life of the Ukrainian Kozak republic, Poland and Russia partitioned Ukraine by the Treaty of Andrussovo in 1667. As a result, a large number of Ukrainians again came under Russian control.

It was during this period that there opened up between the Galician and Russian Ukrainians a breach which threatened to sever completely the ties binding them together. Poland still held Galicia, Volhynia, and Podolia, and the Ukrainians in these provinces succeeded in preserving their Uniate Church. Those Ukrainians coming under Russia were forcibly reconverted to Orthodoxy, the Russian state religion. The Ukrainians were finally and definitely divided by religious differences.

A further change took place when Poland was partitioned in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Russia acquired Volhynia and Podolia. The Ukrainians in these provinces underwent the same religious reconversion and became Orthodox Catholics. By the middle of the nineteenth century, all the Ukrainians under Czarist Russia had become members of the Russian Orthodox Church, since it was impossible to be otherwise. It was forbidden for any subject to withdraw from the Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainian people were divided in this manner from the end of the eighteenth century to the first World war. The Galician and Carpathian Ukrainians were Uniates, while all the Ukrainians under Czarist Russia were Orthodox Catholics.

Austria-Hungary gained Galicia and a good share of Poland. As previously mentioned, the Poles still held considerable control over the Ukrainians in Galicia even though both the Poles and Ukrainians were under Austria-Hungary. The Poles still attempted to Polonize the Ukrainians through Latinization of the Church. However, the Ukrainians continued to resist all these efforts.

The Galician Ukrainians, not being able to realize their "terrestrial" life freely, sought a refuge in religion. Church and nationality were really united in the sentiments of the Galician Ukrainians. Whoever was a member of the Uniate Church regarded himself as a member of the Galician Ukrainian nation. The Uniate Church and the religious institutions became powerful means for defense both as organizations and symbols of unity.

Ukrainians in America. Since the Galician and Carpathian Ukrainian immigrants constituted about 90 per cent of the total Ukrainian immigration, about 90 per cent of the Ukrainians in this country were of the Uniate Church, commonly called the Greek Catholic Church.

To the Galician Ukrainians, the church served as a social as well as religious and political institution. When the Galician Ukrainians came to America, they had a feeling of help-



FIGURE 5. A TYPICAL UNIATE CHURCH

lessness natural to the problems of adaptation in a new country. The church served not only their religious needs, but also served as a social necessity, a means to effective struggle for existence.

Since there were also larger numbers of Poles in the United States during the same period of immigration, the Poles naturally attempted to Polonize the Galician Ukrainians here in America. Even though the Poles have outnumbered them, the Galician Ukrainians have resisted their Latinization efforts. To the Ukrainian Americans, the Roman Catholic Church remains still a symbol of Polonization. Ukrainians feel that Latinization means contact with Poles, and ultimately, Polonization, even in America. Wherever the Ukrainians settled in large numbers, they commenced to build their Uniate churches, and through them were able to retain their Ukrainian identity. However, wherever the Galician Ukrainians were too small in numbers to reconstruct their Uniate churches, they either had to convert to Roman Catholicism or else take another course.

The Religious Dilemma in Lansing. The Galician Ukrainians constitute 80 per cent of the Ukrainian population in Lansing, Michigan. Since they are Galician Ukrainians, they are naturally Uniates. Circumstances, however, are not very favorable for the continuance of their religious life. The solution available in larger communities was not open to them. Their numbers are too small to support a church, and as the years pass by, their numbers are decreasing because of deaths occurring within the group. But even if this small group



could support a parish, it would have some difficulty in obtaining a Uniate priest because of their scarcity in the United States.

Several choices were possible for the solution of this religious problem. They were: membership in one of the Uniate churches in Detroit, conversion to Orthodoxy, conversion to Roman Catholicism, acceptance of Protestantism, or no religious preference at all.

Membership in one of the Uniate churches in Detroit was a possible way of satisfying the religious needs of the people, however, they could not cope with the distance necessary to travel there.

A choice could have been conversion to the Orthodox Church, since its liturgy is Byzantine-Slavonic, which is the same as their Uniate liturgy. However, at the time of their settlement in Lansing, there was no Orthodox Church in existence. There was a Russian Orthodox Church in Albion, Michigan, but this seemed too feeble an attempt to solve their problem. An Orthodox Church was established later, but the parish was strictly Greek, the priest was Greek, and the liturgy was Hellenic, not the Old-Slavonic to which they were accustomed. Since they would not be able to understand the content of the mass, they have not turned to this Orthodox Church for their religious needs.

Religion to the Lansing Galician Ukrainians was the most notable compensatory form of defense against their enemies. In the Uniate Church in Galicia, they were able

to pray for Ukraine and listen to the hopeful sermons of their priests. However, the Orthodox Church in Lansing could not provide any satisfactions for their religious, political, and social needs.

Another choice, of course, was Roman Catholicism. In the early twenties, these Galician Ukrainians came to the attention of a Roman Catholic priest of Polish descent. He knew that they were not attending the masses of the Roman Catholic Church serving the Catholics in his section of the city. He visited each Galician Ukrainian home and told each family that he noticed that they were not attending religious services. He explained that this was not correct; even though the liturgy was different from that of the Uniate Church, they were still under the Pope of Rome, and that it was up to him, as a servant of the Church, to see to it that they were not neglecting their religious duties.

The efforts of this priest were in vain. The people kindly told him to leave their homes and never to come around again. One of the Galician Ukrainians, however, resented this intrusion so much that he expelled the priest from his home with great vigor.

A few years later, another Roman Catholic priest attempted to bring the Galician Ukrainians into his confidence. Since this priest was of Irish descent, and since the immigrants knew little English, communication was very limited. He also failed to convert the Galician Ukrainians.

Now here is a group of people who recognize the Pope

of Rome as the head of their church. Why should they refuse to become members of the church whose supreme authority they recognize? There are several factors that contribute to this situation. They are:

1. The simple inertia to change. These people were brought up in a culture requiring that they become Uniates. Since it was imposed upon them during the formative period of their lives, they accepted it as the form of religion which was distinctly theirs. They simply did not want to make a change from something to which they were accustomed.

2. Difference of liturgy. The people could understand the Byzantine-Slavonic liturgy, while the Latin rite of the Roman Catholic Church was strange, and the language of the liturgy was unintelligible to them.

3. Fear of Polonization. There are over 1000 Poles in Lansing; these Polish immigrants are members of the Roman Catholic Church. The Galician Ukrainians feel that attending religious services of the Roman Catholic Church would mean contact with these Poles who represent their historical oppressors. And contact with the numerically superior Poles would be conducive to Polonization, something which they have resisted for centuries.

Acceptance of Protestantism was another solution to the religious problem of the Galician Ukrainians. The people of Lansing are predominantly Protestants. Most of the larger Protestant denominations are found in the city. However, the Galician Ukrainians have not turned toward any of these

denominations since they feel that they do not represent the true form of Christianity. Only one family in the entire group accepted Protestantism. During the early thirties there was a good number of Russian Baptists in the north-eastern section of the city. Because this family received some financial assistance from the Russian Baptist minister during the depression years, they became members of the Russian Baptist Church. This church is no longer Russian in character, and it is now part of the South Baptist Church. However, this family has remained as Baptists. The Galician Ukrainians have detested this Baptist family because the Russian Baptists helped in the defeat of the Ukrainian republic that was established during the first World War.

As a result of these various circumstances, the Galician Ukrainians in Lansing do not have any religious institution to serve them. Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism have failed to supplement their religious needs. The people are truly in a religious dilemma. They feel themselves as Christians, and yet they have no religious affiliations, no religious functionary, and no religious rituals which they can accept as their own. Their solution to the problem was no religious preference at all.

The Rituals of Life Crises. Birth, marriage, and death, the crises of life, are vital events in all societies. A group of people have an established set of relationships which are more or less in a state of equilibrium. When a life crisis occurs, this equilibrium is disturbed. It is the role of re-

ligion to re-establish this equilibrium or to make certain modifications accordingly.

Clearly, it is in these life crises that the dilemma bears hardest on the Galician Ukrainians in Lansing. They feel they must do something. What do they do?

When a baby is born, the parents, as Christians, believe that it should be baptised. Their main desire is to have it baptised in a Uniate church. Since this is somewhat difficult due to the absence of a Uniate church in Lansing, about half the babies have been taken to Uniate churches in Detroit, Michigan, and there baptised by a Uniate priest. Because of unsatisfactory circumstances, the remainder of the babies were baptised by Roman Catholic priests. Of course, the parents did not like this alternative, but it was the next best thing to do.

Most of the marriages took place in the Uniate churches in Detroit. Arrangements were made in advance with the Uniate priests, and all individuals involved returned to Lansing for the ceremonies following the wedding. Just a few weddings took place in Roman Catholic churches in Lansing when circumstances prevented their being otherwise.

When death is expected in the family, arrangements are made in advance with the Uniate priests in Detroit. When it occurs, the Uniate priest comes to the funeral and performs the Byzantine-Slavonic rite. However, when death occurs suddenly, time is too short for funeral arrangements, so the people resort to the Roman Catholic Church as a last resort.

However, some individuals still detest the presence of Catholicism, and at times Protestant ministers, acting as non-denominational functionaries, administer the funeral rites. All burials take place in the Roman Catholic cemetery, which seems ironical. Only in death has the Roman Catholic Church been able to bring the Galician Ukrainians into its fold with any certainty.

The Russian Ukrainians. Russian Ukrainians have had no troubles of this sort. As previously pointed out, in Russia they were of the Orthodox Church. When they settled in Lansing, they naturally wished to continue under the same religious institutional system. Since there was no Russian Orthodox church in Lansing, they have become members of the Russian Orthodox Church in Albion, Michigan. This is near enough so that they attend the Orthodox services almost every Sunday and observe most of the religious holidays of the Orthodox Church. The life crises are officiated by the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Second Generation. As a result of the religious dilemma of the Galician Ukrainians, the children were reared without adherence to any religious institution. By the time these children married, they were still without any religious preference.

Since they chose mates who were mostly of English descent, they were influenced by their Protestant background. Also, a good number of the second-generation have married persons of German background. As a result, more than half of the second-

generation have become Protestants, particularly Methodists, Baptists, and Lutherans.

About one-quarter of the second-generation still have no religious adherence. Their mates are partly responsible for this since they also do not have any preference. Hence, there are no influencing factors present.

A very few have married persons who were Catholics, and here the Roman Catholic Church scored again. These persons were converted to Catholicism through the persuasion of their marriage partners.

The Future. The last Uniate will probably vanish from Lansing when the last Galician Ukrainian immigrant dies off. And there are no second-generation Uniates to carry on this religious dilemma. The Uniate church never was established, and in all probability never will make its appearance in Lansing. The second-generation has been influenced by other religious institutions through marriage. The second-generation is being absorbed by Protestantism. Since they have no intention of establishing the Uniate church, "Uniate" will probably become another word in the dictionary.

## CHAPTER V

### ACCUULTURATION

The process of acculturation has gone far with the Ukrainian immigrants in Lansing. Practically all phases of living were affected. There was considerable substitution of American ways for Ukrainian ways.

First Adjustments. The Ukrainian immigrants were aware of the fact that their manner of dress was different from that of the people in the larger society. Since they did not want to be conspicuous and to be laughed at, they wanted to resemble the native-Americans. This was done by accepting and wearing American clothes. This act was their first step in becoming superficially Americanized.

The immigrants were confronted with an entirely different occupational pattern when they settled in the United States. In the Old World they were engaged in farming. But here in this country, they had to adjust to the prevailing conditions. They were handicapped in their adjustment since they had little or no training in other fields. But they overcame their shortcomings by learning new occupational techniques, particularly in industry.

As the years passed by, contacts with the native-Americans increased. The immigrants recognized the necessity of learning the language of the larger society in order to satisfy basic needs and wants. Since the need for English was so pressing, the people acquired a knowledge of it.

Social and Recreational Activities. In addition to their



normal organizations, the Galician Ukrainians formed some groups through which they expressed their cultural distinctiveness. In 1916, twelve of the immigrants established a dramatic group which they named Amatorskiw Kryshok (Amateur Group). They presented about three plays annually; the last play took place in 1923. These were popular Ukrainian plays, and the players spoke Ukrainian and wore Ukrainian costumes.

Singing also held an important place in the lives of the Galician Ukrainian immigrants. They organized a Ukrainian chorus, and in 1916 and 1917, they presented several public concerts in Lansing. These concerts were vocal with no instrumental accompaniment. Ukrainian costumes were worn, and Ukrainian songs were sung.

During the early twenties, the Galician Ukrainian immigrants had numerous picnics among themselves.<sup>1</sup> They had their own specially prepared food dishes, and some of their number played Ukrainian music at these picnics.

These activities, however, are now only memories with the Galician Ukrainians. They no longer exist to exhibit the apparent features of their original culture. The second-generation is not perpetuating the Ukrainian culture in Lansing. The immigrants still hold on to certain visible forms of the culture they once possessed. They have kept their Ukrainian costumes in storage only to bring them out

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1. See Figure 10. Note the appearance of the persons wearing their Ukrainian costumes.



FIGURE 6. EXAMPLES OF UKRAINIAN CLOTHING

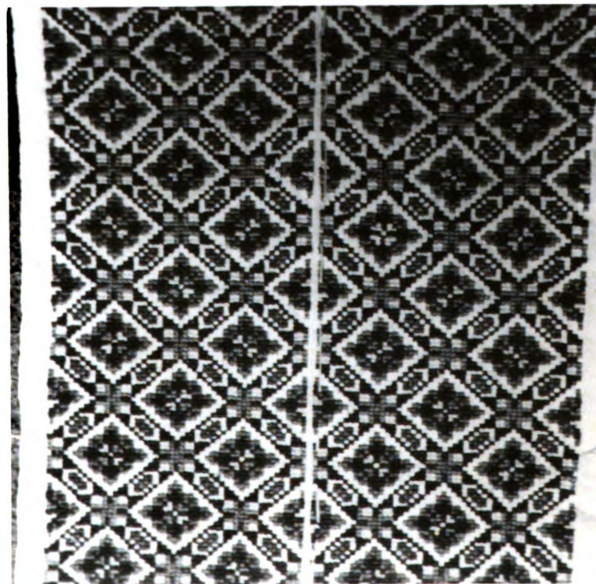
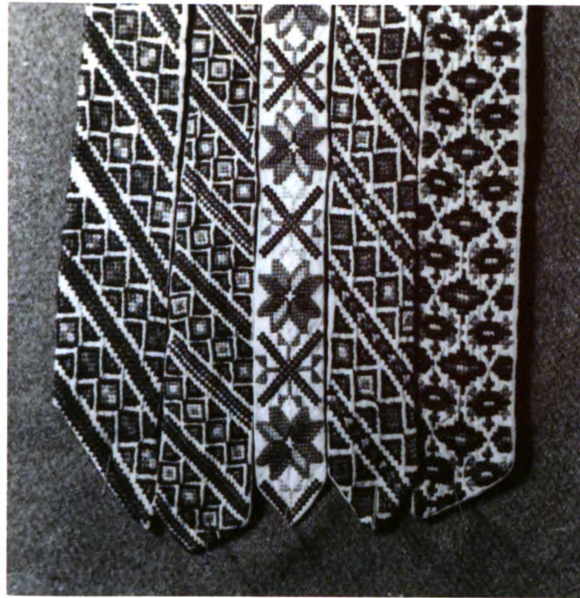


FIGURE 7. EXAMPLES OF UKRAINIAN CLOTHING

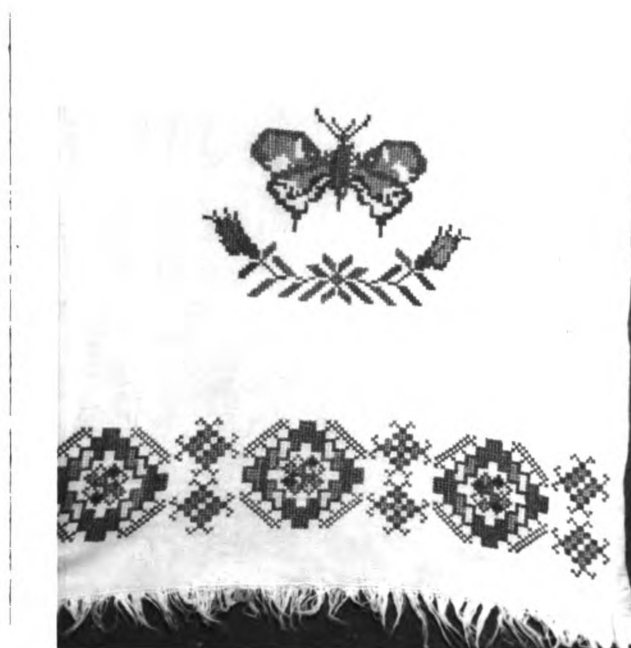


FIGURE 8. EXAMPLES OF UKRAINIAN EMBROIDERY



FIGURE 9. THE ALIATEUR GROUP  
(1922)





FIGURE 10. GALICIAN UKRAINIANS, LANSING  
(1924)



FIGURE 11. A TYPICAL UKRAINIAN CHORUS

for exhibition purposes. These costumes are like skeletons in a closet which make noises now and then. They are among the last symbols of the culture which they brought with them to the New World, and this symbolism is the only purpose they serve. Having undergone acculturation, their culture is no longer evident.

Their social and recreational activities lie within the larger society. The immigrants belong to various social clubs and attend movie theatres and sporting events.

Family Pattern. Even more remarkable than the acculturation so far mentioned are the profound changes in the family and marriage. Just why the modification has been so complete is not clear. Clothing differences are obvious. The need for English is pressing. American ways of entertainment are constantly available. But in family relations, observation of American behavior is not easy. It is a private and domestic matter. Perhaps not just a question of observation and imitation, but a response to some of the same urban industrial forces that have made American families what they are. How great the change has been can be appreciated if a little Ukrainian background is given.

In Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainians were predominantly rural, and they were engaged in agriculture. During the early part of this century, the father in Eastern Galicia was considered the head of the whole family. He had the final decision in all matters. The father administered all property acquired by himself and his children. All the members of the family were



treated as minors, who owed him absolute obedience.

The status of the wife was definitely inferior to that of the man. The man was master of the household, and the woman owed him obedience and respect. The wife had little voice in matters other than cooking and the rearing of the children. When a wife presumed to interfere in affairs that did not concern her, she was usually silenced with strong remarks such as "mind your own business" or "shut up."

As brought out in chap. ii, the land problem in Eastern Galicia was very acute. Because of this problem, the grown sons were economically dependent on the father. In most cases, the father arranged the marriages of his sons. Since the married sons were not able to get land of their own or become tradesmen or craftsmen in the city, they were forced to live on the land of their father. Under these circumstances, the sons with their wives and children, were under the dominance of the father, and all these people responded to the actions originated by the head of the household. And all within the household contributed to the operation of the farm.

The Gallician Ukrainians in Lansing were brought up under this strong patriarchal family pattern. The dominant role of the father and the inferior position of the wife and the children and the grand-children were certainly well understood.

Through the process of acculturation, the dominant paternal families pattern soon disappeared among the immigrants in Lansing. Husband and wife are on more equal terms. The husband

does not hold a dominant role over his wife. She has more freedom in matters concerning the welfare of the family. Husband and wife consult each other before making decisions. The wife is given a large degree of individuality.

The children of these immigrants were not brought up under the strong discipline which their parents had experienced. They were given a greater amount of freedom. No work was expected of them and they were allowed some voice in family affairs. Since their parents adopted the American family pattern, the children were given training and social conditioning from this viewpoint. This being the case, the children did not have the cultural conflicts confronting them as did most native-born children of foreign-born parents.

Family Size. Most of the Galician Ukrainians in Lansing, Michigan, came from large families. The average number of children in these families was between seven and ten. In Lansing, however, these people did not continue to follow this custom of having large families, as evidenced by the following table:

TABLE I. NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN GALICIAN UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES.

Number of Children in Family	Number of Families
No Children	1
One Child	3
Two Children	4
Three Children	12
Four Children	6
Five Children	3

The largest frequency of children in Galician Ukrainian immigrant families is three. The greatest number of children per family is five, and there are only three families having this number.

Why should the family, one of the basic institutions, undergo such a drastic change? The data collected reveal one reason for this decrease in family size.

The marriages among the Galician Ukrainian immigrants took place when the mates were between the ages of 18 and 27. Most of the women bore their first child soon after marriage. The late age of marriage would help reduce the number of children born in that the female's child-bearing period was shortened.

TABLE II. RELATION BETWEEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND AGE OF MOTHER UPON BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD.

AGE OF MOTHER UPON BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD	NUMBER OF MOTHERS HAVING				
	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE CHILDREN
19					1
20				1	
21			1	2	1
22			2	2	1
23			1	1	
24	1		2		
25			4		
26		2	2		
27	2	1			
28		1			

The coefficient of correlation between the age of the mother

upon birth of her first child and number of children born is -.7, which is very significant. This shows that the older the Galician Ukrainian female was when she married, the lesser number of children she bore.

Another factor may be present but it is purely hypothetical. There was no relation between religion and birth control. As indicated in chap. IV., the immigrants did not affiliate themselves with the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, there was no restriction on the practice of contraception. There was no religious objection to the use of birth control simply because it did not exist. However, this reason appears uncertain in that it would be difficult for a group of people to accept another people's custom of family size so rapidly. Also, these people did not have such a high rate of interaction with the native population that they would be influenced to any great degree by this measure.

Nothing definite can be said of the family size among the second-generation. Present data indicate a further decrease in number of children per family. Two children per family occurs most frequently. This, however, can be misleading. The married segment is still in the process of having children. In addition to this, one-quarter of the second-generation remains unmarried; these individuals are mostly the younger members and have plans of marriage.

Marriage. Most of the Galician Ukrainians chose Galician Ukrainians as their marriage partners. There was no marriage with the native-American population and very little marriage

outside the group.

At the time of their settlement, the Galician Ukrainians interacted exclusively among themselves, because of their language similarity and common sentiments. This interaction naturally strengthened the bonds between these individuals, and consequently they chose their mates from these primary relationships.

There was a change in parental attitude regarding marriage of their children. The parents allowed their children freedom in the choice of marriage mates. There were no prearrangings of marriages by the parents. Practically all marriages were out of the group since there was no desire on the part of the second-generation to perpetuate in-group unions. In addition to this, the second-generation had high rates of interaction with the native-American population; hence they were not limited in selection of marriage mates. There were only three in-group marriages from a total of 86 second-generation Galician Ukrainians.

## CHAPTER VI

### CULTURE, ORGANIZATION, AND SENTIMENTS

Studies of other Ukrainian settlements indicate that the immigrants in those places have been rather slow in acculturation and assimilation. In Lansing, however, these processes appear to have gone further. This is probably a function of the small size of the settlement. Services and social satisfactions, that in larger Ukrainian communities could be obtained from other Ukrainians, had to be sought in the general Lansing community - thus increasing interaction with all kinds of people. A special consequence of the small size of the settlement was the inability of Lansing Ukrainians to establish a Uniate or Greek Catholic Church. The absence of this religious and social center of Ukrainianism was an important additional factor in hastening acculturation and assimilation. Examples of cultural changes are found in the change of dress, the acceptance of English, integration within the industrial system involving the adoption of different occupations, and even in such matters as family. In addition to this, the Lansing Ukrainians were faced with a religious dilemma. Rather than doing something about their religious needs, they preferred to remain indifferent as a satisfactory solution to their problem.

Notwithstanding the very considerable substitution of American ways for Ukrainian ways, the organization of the group reflects faithfully the major cleavages among Ukrainians and between Ukrainians and other peoples in the Old

World. Ukrainians who emigrated from Czarist Russia have no contact whatever with those from Eastern Galicia. They are ignorant of each other's presence in the city. When members of either segment are reminded of the other, their reactions tend to be hostile.

Galicians, who compose the majority of Lansing Ukrainians, are themselves split by an ancient and deep political issue. This involves the national ideal. In Eastern Galicia, Ukrainians were divided among themselves. There were some who desired alliance with Russia since it was the traditional enemy of the Poles and the Austrians. The majority of Galician Ukrainians, however, wanted complete independence. In Lansing, this division has continued practically along the same lines. The nationalists, who are greater in number, desire to see the creation of an independent Ukrainian nation with all the Ukrainians within its boundaries. The pro-Russian group considers the present status of Soviet Ukraine as the fulfillment of the national ideal. These groups oppose each other with much hostility and there has been no interaction between them.

The out-groups toward whom Galician Ukrainians manifest the strongest antagonisms are their traditional Old World out-groups - Poles and Jews. The Poles in Lansing represent their historic oppressors, and the Galician Ukrainians detest their presence. Interaction with these Poles has been systematically avoided. The Galician Ukrainians still continue in their anti-Semitic feelings.

In another aspect of organization, however, the Ukrainians have completely abandoned the pattern of their homeland. In the Old World, there was very little class distinction among them. In Lansing, however, they are differentiated in accordance with the American class system and accept quite fully the attitudes and behavior that go with that system.

It is with reference to national sentiments that Ukrainians, Galician Ukrainians specifically, are least assimilated. At any rate, their feelings point in two directions, the United States and Ukraine. In Europe, through centuries of hectic history, the hope of a free Ukraine persisted. The immigrants brought the hope with them to the New World, and it has continued to flourish. The power of the sentiment was revealed in the Galician political split mentioned above. For more than two decades, a small minority that expressed opposition to the idea of independence for the homeland and the nationalist majority have consistently avoided each other. There is no friendship across the line. Those who occupy higher social status are not affected by these sentiments. They do not exhibit any feelings in the state ideal; their interests lie in further integration within the larger society.

The Galician majority maintains the only strictly Ukrainian organization. It has few functions today. Still, there are celebrations of important Ukrainian national holidays. In October, 1948, the Galician Ukrainians celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the Ukrainian independence



which the Kozaks had achieved. Money is still raised to help Ukraine. The immigrants tell each other that independence must come someday. The following statements are characteristic: "The Ukrainian people can not always be held down. We will again rise to the glory that was once ours. I'm getting along in years, and I probably won't live to see the day, but we will be free, even if it takes a hundred years." "Won't we ever be free? This can't last forever. How I wish we were free." Perhaps a free Ukraine is a more vivid dream in Lansing than it is in Galicia now. The people are on the remote sidelines, not in the game itself. The symbols they respond to are the ones they learned many years ago. Far away from the realities of the homeland, the symbols have been thought about, worked over, and intensified. These hopes of a free Ukraine are probably best interpreted as a compensatory phantasy that relieves the tensions produced by a large amount of acculturation and assimilation.

This emphasis of the interest in Ukrainian freedom should not obscure the fact of attachment to the United States. Life here, in any case, would have created some conditioning favorable to this country. But the work of two men helped the Ukrainians reorganize their feelings. These two men were Miroslav Sichinsky and Professor Hryhoriw.

Miroslav Sichinsky was a student at the University of Vienna in 1908; at this time there was a student movement which wanted more schools and more rights for Ukrainian

students. However, Sichinsky found no satisfaction. He thought that retaliation for this problem would be in the assassination of the Polish official responsible for the massacre of 1902.<sup>1</sup> Sichinsky was immediately arrested after the assassination of the official. He was found guilty and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. After four years of imprisonment, he escaped with the aid of friends and fled to Sweden. In 1914, he came to the United States. After the immigration officials discovered that he was a patriot, and not a murderer as was supposed, he was allowed entrance into the United States. He attended Columbia University, and afterwards became president of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association. Later, he traveled throughout the northeastern states and gave lectures to various Ukrainian groups. Sichinsky came to Lansing in 1927 to speak to the Ukrainians. The presence of Sichinsky was a moment of great importance in the Americanization of the Galician Ukrainians. He explained to the group that he knew it was natural for them to persist in Old World sentiments but that it did not aid them in becoming American citizens.

"You are no longer in Ukraine; you are in America.

---

1. In 1902, the Polish officials had much trouble with the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. The Galician Ukrainians staged a small revolt, and in order to stop this revolt from spreading, Polish troops burned three Ukrainian villages and killed a large number of peasants. This act by the Poles echoed all over Galicia, and it made the Ukrainians hate the Poles even more, if this were possible.

This is the land of your adoption. Become Americans, receive American citizenship. Vote in elections, learn English, think of America. This is a wonderful country. Here you are free. Love your new land, make it prosperous. Become Americans in every right, but never forget the land of your birth."

In 1928, Professor Iryhoryiw, a patriot who had just escaped from Soviet Ukraine, told the Galician Ukrainians in Lansing of the suppressive measures of the Bolsheviks. He told them how wonderful it was to be in a democracy like the United States. He further told them that Communism had destroyed all hopes for Ukrainian independence.

These two men helped to remove the fears of Americanization on the part of the Galician Ukrainians and supplied the necessary impulses in the direction of acculturation and assimilation.

How do the Ukrainians stand with reference to their sentiments? Perhaps it can be epitomized by saying that they are attached to a dream Ukraine and to a real United States.

## APPENDIX

## A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURE EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

One of the aspects of this study has to do with the technique of compiling data. In such a study as this, it is indeed difficult to observe what actually goes on in the immigrant world unless one has an entrance into it. The writer has the advantage of a knowledge of Slavic languages. Being of Ukrainian descent has enabled him to move freely among the Ukrainian immigrants in Lansing, Michigan.

The writer did not know of the presence of Ukrainians in Lansing until he saw the Ukrainian Home Society at 921 West Mount Hope Avenue. He then inquired persons in the vicinity as to the whereabouts of the people associated with the Home. After some preliminary questioning, it was learned that there was a small settlement of Ukrainians in the city.

Close acquaintance with the leaders among the Ukrainian immigrants was very helpful in undertaking this study. They helped the writer in meeting some of the immigrants. In addition to this, the mention of their names provided easy relations with the immigrant families.

Each immigrant family was contacted and interviewed. Each was asked if it knew of any other Ukrainians in Lansing. In this manner, the writer was able to find all the Ukrainians who were known to these people. If any Ukrainians were missed, it was due to the lack of information. The writer believes he knows more Ukrainians in Lansing than anyone else.

Some difficulty was encountered when the writer interviewed one of the cliques. This was because of their suspicions and fear of any governmental investigation into their political aspirations.

COPY OF THE SCHEDULE USED IN THIS STUDY

1. Name  
Male  
Female
2. Is the surname changed?  
Why?
3. Age  
Male  
Female
4. Birthplace  
Male  
Female
5. Parent's background  
Male  
Female
6. How many brothers and sisters did you have?  
Male  
Female
7. Why did you leave Europe?  
Male  
Female
8. How did you come to the United States?  
Male  
Female
9. Year of Arrival in the United States.  
Male  
Female
10. Port of entry  
Male  
Female
11. Settlement elsewhere in the United States  
Male  
Female
12. Year of settlement in Lansing  
Male  
Female
13. Where did you first settle in Lansing?  
Male  
Female

14. Present location
15. Age at marriage  
Male  
Female
16. Where did the marriage take place?
17. What religious affiliations did you have in Europe?  
Male  
Female
18. What religious affiliations do you have now?  
Male  
Female
19. What do you do in the event of a birth of a child?
20. What do you do in the event of a death in the family?
21. What do you think of the Roman Catholic Church?
22. How much education did you have in Europe?  
Male  
Female
23. Did you know how to read and write when you came to the United States?  
Male  
Female
24. How much education did you receive in this country?  
Male  
Female
25. What languages do you read, write, and speak?  
Male  
Female
26. What languages are spoken in the home?
27. What newspapers do you get?
28. Occupation in Europe  
Male  
Female
29. Occupation during early settlement  
Male  
Female
30. Present occupation  
Male  
Female

31. Who among the Ukrainians in Lansing do you visit with most frequently?
32. What other Ukrainian people do you visit outside of Lansing?
33. What relations do you have with other immigrant people?
34. What kind of people do you visit among the American people?
35. Where do you place yourself economically and socially among the Ukrainian people in Lansing?
36. How do you feel about this?
37. Who do you consider the most successful among the Ukrainian people in Lansing?
38. What do you think about them?
39. What organizations do you belong to?
40. What do you do for recreation?
41. Are you now a citizen of this country?  
Male  
Female
42. What are your feelings toward a free Ukrainian nation?
43. Do you have any correspondence with friends or relatives in Europe?
44. Children.
  - I - A. Sex
  - B. Age
  - C. Amount of education
  - D. Occupation
  - E. Religious affiliation
  - F. Ethnic background or marriage mate
  - G. Religious background or marriage mate
  - H. Number of children
    - (1) Sex
    - (2) Age
  - II - Etc.
  - III - Etc.



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