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# **UKRAINIANS IN AMERICA**



Ukrainian National Bicentennial Committee 1976

From the anthracite coal counties of northeastern Pennsylvania to the fertile prairie land of North Dakota and the tenement house of New York's Lower East Side, the hard-working hands of Ukrainian immigrants have helped to shape America. The last of the 19th century saw a steady stream of peasants leaving their poverty-ridden homeland in Carpatho-Ukraine (Ruthenia) and Eastern Galicia (Western Ukraine) for the labor-hungry coal mines of Pennsylvania. Shamokin, Scranton, Hazleton, Minersville and other cities and towns in the eastern part of the Keystone State still have significant Ukrainian American populations to this day. 1975-1976 marks the 100th anniversary of this mass Ukrainian settlement in the United States.

### Ukrainians in America Before 1875

Individual Ukrainians had come to the New World perhaps as early as 1607, the year in which Jamestown Colony, Virginia was founded. During the late 16th and first half of the 17th centuries, Ukrainian lands formed a productive part of the Polish Republic. The Colonial Records of Jamestown mention that "Polanders" (i.e., people who had lived under the government of the Polish Republic) contributed to the economy of this settlement by their skill in making pitch, tar, potashes and soap-ashes. The heavily forested area of the southwestern Ukrainian lands incorporated within the Polish Republic was an important center for these same skills. One "Polander." Molasco. became well-known at the Colonial Court as he made repeated attempts to secure his back pay. Another Ukrainian sounding name, "Bohun," was mentioned at Jamestown. Dr. Bohun was a personal friend of John Smith, the founder of this first permanent English outpost in the New World. While returning to Virginia in 1620, Dr. Bohun met his death at the hands of the Spanish in a sea battle.

"Polanders" continued to make their way to America during the 17th and 18th centuries, settling in such places as New York and Pennsylvania. Both the lists of 18th century Pennsylvania immigrants and the register of soldiers from this state who fought in the Revolutionary War under Washington contain Ukrainian names (e.g., Anton Sambir, Albertus Rusyn, Mychajlo Doshch; Mykola Bizun, Reynold Smyk, Isaac Ottaman). By 1800, Ukrainian Kozaks had journeyed eastward across Siberia and eventually explored Alaska and parts of Oregon and California. In 1809, Fort Ross was established by the Tsarist government near present-day San Francisco, California. Ukrainian Kozaks were among its early inhabitants. The 1830's brought a new influx of "Polanders" in to America as a result of the abortive Polish Revolution of 1830-1831. At least two Ukrainians (the Petrushevich brothers, Adolf and Francis), who had fought alongside Poles, Byelorussians, and Lithuanians against the Tsarist troops, emigrated to Texas. The Petrusheviches were killed during battle in the Lone Star State while bearing arms in defense of the cause of Texan independence from Mexico.

Ukrainian names appear among the ranks of both officers and enlisted men who fought in the American Civil War (e.g., Ivan Mara. Michael Waluch; Andreas Podolsky, Michael Tsarahrada). The most famous among this group, General Basil Turchin, served as a Northern Brigade Commander at the Battle of Chickamauga. He came to be known as the "Terrible Cossack" because of his boldness and daring in battle. During this same period, the first well-documented Ukrainian immigrant established his residence in the United States a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, Father Ahapius Onufrievych Honcharenko [1832-1916]. His linguistic abilities brought him fame as the publisher of the first Russian English newspaper in America the Alaska Herald. Honcharenko was subsidized for this project by the United States government, Secretary of State, W. H. Seward wanted this Ukrainian priest to acquaint the population of Alaska (a territory purchased by the United States from Russia in 1867) with the essential responsibilities and rights of American citizenship. Father Honcharenko helped to bridge the cultural gap between the Slavic people of Alaska and their newly acquired American government.

### Three Main Waves of Ukrainian Mass Immigration: 1875-1976

The past one hundred years of Ukrainian mass emigration to the shores of the United States can be divided into three periods: 1) 1875—1914; 2) 1920—1939; 3) 1947—1955. Each of these major waves of immigrants faced a unique set of problems while attempting to adapt to the rhythm of American life. To some extent these problems

were the result of the normal pattern of socio-cultural adjustment which must take place when any person adopts a foreign land as his home. The aspect of adjustment unique to these Ukrainian newcomers was their struggle to clearly define their Old World national and cultural identity in their new surroundings — a natural right which had been suppressed by foreign powers in their native Ukraine. The Ukrainian drive to create a rich and diversified community life in the New World reflects not only their desire to freely excercise political power as a national group, but especially their determination to preserve the intricately embroidered patterns of a national and cultural heritage which extend back at least 1100 years to the Medieval East European kingdom of Kievan Rus'.

## The First Wave (1875-1914): the Miners

Large numbers of Ukrainian peasants began arriving in the anthacite coal counties of northeastern Pennsylvania during the late 1870's and early 1880's. Unfamiliar with both the English language and the struggles of the growing labor movement in this region, these Ruthenians\* were often employed as strikebreakers. Friction between these newcomers and the older groups of English speaking immigrants caused the "accidental" underground death of more than a few Ruthenian miners. These violent episodes did not stem the rising tide of Eastern Galician and Carpatho-Ukrainian peasants who left behind the extreme poverty, lack of economic and educational opportunity and social and religious discrimination which existed under Austro-Hungarian rule. Many planned to stay in the United States just long enough to earn sufficient money to pay off old debts or to buy a piece of land back home. Only a handful ever returned for good. Despite Austro-Hungarian attempts to discourage the outflow of large numbers of its populace, it has been estimated that the number of Ukrainians in the United States between 1877 and 1899 reached the level of 200,000-500,000. Not included in this number are those Ukrainians who were often classified as Russians, Poles, Austrians, Slovaks, Magyars, or Croats, rather than by the official, contemporary U.S. government tern, "Ruthenian."

<sup>\*</sup>Having emigrated from Carpatho-Ukraine and Eastern Galicia, the majority of Ukrainians in America at this time called themselves "Rusyny" (Ruthenians).

## The Birth of Ukrainian American Community Life

Ukrainian organized community life in America was born among these coal-mining, Pennsylvania Ruthenians in the 1880's. Father Ivan Volansky, a Ukrainian Catholic priest from Galicia, was a pioneer both in constructing a framework for the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church in the United States and in breaking the ground for the foundation of a Ukrainian American community. Arriving in Shenandoah, Pa. in 1884, Father Volansky began the work of organizing Uniate parishes in such early centers of Ukrainian immigrant life as Olyphant and Philadelphia, Pa. (1887), and Jersey City, N.J. (1888). He founded the first Ukrainian language newspaper in the New World (Amerika - 1886), and was instrumental in setting up a Ukrainian reading room, instruction classes for illiterates, a choir, and a Ukrainian cooperative store. In addition to his religious and community activity, Fr. Volansky played an active part as a union organizer in the labor movement in Pennsylvania during its infancy and was the head of an assemby sponsored by the Knights of Labor. In 1889, he was recalled to Lviv (Galicia) as the result of the pressures applied on Rome by certain Roman Catholic officials who refused to accept the presence of a married Catholic priest in America.

# Industrial Workers

Although approximately half of all Ukrainians reaching America between 1877 and 1930 gave their final destination as Pennsylvania, many eventually made their way to such major industrial centers as: Boston, Hartford, New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in the East; Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, St. Louis and Minneapolis in the Middle West: San Francisco and Los Angeles on the Pacific Coast. These newcomers found employment in such industries as iron and steel, and in glass, rubber, shoe, furniture, automobile and rail factories, meat packing and sugar refining plants, and flour mills. Among the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants, the majority were illiterate because of economic, social and political conditions under the Austro-Hungarian regime. Lacking the necessary capital to pursue an agricultural life, most Ukrainians debarking in America between 1875 and 1914 abandoned their traditional occupation as farmers. The more densely populated areas to which they came provided few available acres of homestead land. By the sweat of their brow, the late 19th century Ukrainian immigrants

helped to fuel the American industrial boom of that era. There were some exceptions to this tendency of first wave Ukrainian arrivals to seek economic betterment in industry and related fields.

# Ukrainian Farmers in America

One of the first known Ukrainian agricultural communities in America was founded near Yale, Virginia in 1892. A group of Kievan Protestants ("Shtundysty") who were seeking religious freedom managed to secure some arable land in this southern state. Individual Ukrainian farmers had worked their land in the United States since the Civil War, and perhaps even earlier. During the 1890's, Ukrainians wanting to farm usually headed West. The abundance of cheap land in North Dakota attracted many Ukrainian families to this state between 1897 and 1899. They came by way of Canada, and from Texas and Virginia. During their first year on the prairie, these pioneer families often lived in houses made from sod. In order to build up a supply of capital, the men usually hired themselves out as workers to their German neighbors or the railroad. The women and children tended to the sowing and other farm chores. Life was extremely difficult under such circumstances, but many families survived these physical hardships to become prosperous wheat farmers and cattle raisers. Whenever they lived in compact settlements, their traditional folk arts, customs and Ukrainian language flourished. By 1914, Ukrainian farmers also tilled the soil in noticeable numbers in Georgia, Texas, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. However, the greatest concentration of Ukrainian American agricultural communities still remained in North Dakota.

# Ukrainians in the Fiftieth State

The flow of Ukrainian emigrants to the United States reached its peak between 1900 and 1914. Steamship agents tried to persuade as many as possible to emigrate from their native Galicia or Ruthenia to a country in the Americas. Some Ukrainians became unwitting victims of unscrupulous agents. In 1898 at the urging of two representatives of the North German Lloyd Company, 365 Galician men, women and children were tricked into signing a contract which practically bound them into slavery on the sugar plantations of the Hawaiian Islands. Their appeal for help to secure their own release was answered through the efforts of the editor of the Ukrainian newspaper <u>Svoboda</u> (founded in 1893). At the insistence of some Congressmen whom the editor contacted, the United States threatened to intervene in the matter. This action effected the release of the Galicians. Some then acquired homestead land in Hawaii, while many migrated to the mainland near San Francisco, California.

Dr. Sudzilovsky-Rusel (1850-1931), a Ukrainian revolutionary doctor born in Kiev, was instrumental in passing a homestead law in the Hawaiian Senate which aided, among others, those Galicians who remained on the Islands. The Doctor had first migrated from Ukraine to San Francisco in the 1880's and in the 1895 moved to Hawaii. Besides organizing the Hawaiian Medical Society, Dr. Rusel was elected to the Hawaiian Senate in 1901, and subsequently became its first presiding officer. After a brief term in the legislature, the Doctor returned to private medical practice. He later emigrated to the Far East, and died in Tientsin, China in 1931.

# Preparing the Groundwork for Ukrainian American Community Life

The foundation of the Ukrainian American community was set in place in the 1890's and early 1900's. Quite naturally, the Church became an early center of community activity. The majority (over 90%) of Ukrainians who entered America between 1875 and 1914 came from western Ukrainian lands where the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church predominated. Through the efforts of Father Volansky and his successors, these hard-working newcomers became better aware of their national and cultural, as well as religious heritage. In 1885, Fr. Volansky helped to organize the first Ukrainian American mutual aid society, the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas. In 1894, after the demise of the Brotherhood, four Ukrainian clergymen founded the Ukrainian National Association (known as the "Rus'kyi Narodnyi Soyuz" or Ruthenian National Association until 1915) at Shamokin, Pa. Its headquarters was subsequently moved to Jersey City, N. J., where the executive offices of this largest non-sectarian Ukrainian organization in the United States are located today. There presently exist three other active fraternal associations which trace their beginnings to the 1900's: The Ukrainian Workingmen's Assn. (1910); The Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics (1912); and the Ukrainian National Aid Assn. (1915). In addition to providing death benefits and loans to their members and families, all four of these fraternal insurance associations have borne the financial burden connected with preserving the Ukrainian heritage in America.

Making its first appearence in 1893 (later to be sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association), the daily sponsored Svoboda (Liberty) helped the Ukrainian immigrant adjust to his new homeland. Besides acquainting Ukrainians with the essentials of American history and their own rights under the Constitution, Svoboda actively supported the Ukrainian miners in their struggle to organize a strong labor movement at the end of the 19th century. As already mentioned, Svoboda was also instrumental in securing the release of the Galicians conned into servitude on the sugar plantations of Hawaii.

By 1914, the majority of Ukrainians in America were concentrated in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. Ohio, Illinois, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Michigan also contained sizable Ukrainian populations. Approximately 90% were industrial workers or miners. Only a handful (less than 1%) of these immigrants were professionals (including the clergy). The outbreak of World War I temporarily interrupted the physical flow of newcomers from Ukrainian lands. Although the Ukrainian American community did not again receive periodic transfusion of new blood from the Old World until after 1920, regular written injections of the culture of Ukrainian national consciousness germinating in both the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires continued to stimulate Ukrainian political and cultural activity in the United States.

# Efforts of Ukrainian Americans to Secure United States Diplomatic Recognition of the Ukrainian Republic (1917-1920)

A wave of vigilant hope surged through the Ukrainian American community in March 1917 when the Tsarist Empire collapsed. The Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 did not destroy this cautious optimism. The establishment of a Ukrainian Republic on November 20, 1917 and the proclamation of full independence on January 22, 1918 sparked Ukrainian Americans into believing that their native land would at last be able to freely determine the course of its national life. Through the Ukrainian National Committee (founded in 1916), Ukrainian Americans attempted to convince the U. S. government to diplomatically recognize the government of the Ukrainian Republic. Originally organized for the purpose of assisting the victims of the World War in Ukraine, the Committee had been instrumental in arranging an official Ukrainian Day (April 21, 1917) for raising funds to facilitate the task of Ukrainian relief. With the aid of Congressman James Hamill (a Democrat from Jersey City, N. J.) and the President's personal secretary, James P. Tumulty (also from Jersey City), the Committee also succeeded in meeting briefly with President Wilson himself in 1917.

Under the leadership of the Rev. P. Poniatyshyn (a Uniate priest from St. George's parish located in New York's Lower East side), the Ukrainian National Committee in November 1918 initiated a broad effort with the expressed support of the Ukrainian American community to secure American diplomatic recognition and support for Ukraine. Representatives of the Committee discussed the Ukrainian problem with members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, as well as with the Secretary of State, Robert Lansing. In December 1918, American support for Ukraine was openly advocated in the Senate by Henry Cabot Lodge (Republican — Mass., and Senate majority leader after November 1918) and in the House of Representatives by Congressman James Hamill. The Ukrainian National Committee sent its representatives to the deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference in the spring of 1919.

The summer of 1919 saw Ukrainians in the United States taking to the streets to protest the incorporation of Eastern Galicia into Poland (as sanctioned by the Major Powers at the Paris Peace Conference). In August, the Ukrainian National Committee dispatched a document to the U.S. Department of State which called for an investigation of the situation in Galicia. This paper was also presented in the Senate chambers by Mr. Joseph S. Frelinghuysen (N.J.) on August 7th. On September 9, 1919, Congressman Fiorello La Guardia (N.Y.) introduced a bill in the House to provide the appropriations for Embassies to Ukraine and the Baltic nations. He was acting in response to the demands of the "League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America" (founded in May 1919) which favored American recognition of Ukrainian, Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian independence. The League had secured a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on August 29th. During the fall of 1919, Ukrainians in the United States also participated in other conventions which dispatched statements to Washington urging

<sup>\*</sup>Other members of the UNC included: (Secretary of Records for the UNA) Semen Yadlovsky — deputy chairman; Mykola Pydhoretsky — treasurer; Volodymyr Lototsky (editor of Svoboda — secretary; and, Milton Rait — a paid, American secretary who edited official communiques and issued press releases.

recognition of Ukrainian independence and an investigation of the Galician situation.

Throughout 1920, Congressman James Hamill continued to actively assist the Ukrainian American community. Other American patrons of the Ukrainian cause included Senator David I. Walsh (Mass.) and Senator William H. King (Utah). On June 4th, Mr. Walsh presented a Ukrainian American petition in the Senate requesting the appointment of a special committee to investigate the conditions in Eastern Galicia for the purpose of initiating relief operations. In the spring of 1920, Senator King (a staunch anti-Bolshevik who favored the presence of American troops in the former Russian Empire) introduced a bill in the Senate recommending the provisional *de facto* recognition of the Baltic nations and Ukraine. He also proposed that these governments should be "maintained" in their struggle against the Bolsheviks.

Despite the labors of both Ukrainians in America and representatives of the Ukrainian Republic, the United States never diplomatically recognized Ukraine. With the termination of hostilities between Poland and Soviet Russia in the fall of 1920, the demise of the Ukrainian National Republic soon followed. The Ukrainian National Republic was gradually transformed into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Ukrainians in the United States were forced to adjust to this fait accompli.

# The Second Wave (1920-1939)

Restrictive legislation enacted by Congress in 1921 (and revised in 1924) carefully regulated the number of newcomers entering America between 1920 and 1939. In part, this was an attempt to reduce the flow of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. According to the National Origin Act (1924), only 2% of the total number of a nationality included in the 1890 census would be admitted annually into the United States. Since Ukrainians were not recorded as such in the Census of 1890 and their country wasn't independent in 1924, they had no quota under the Act of 1924. It has been estimated that during this period (1920-1939) less than 40,000 Ukrainians came to America. As in the previous wave, few emigrated from the Eastern Ukrainian lands which by 1920 were under the control of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republican government.

During these years, many Ukrainians abandoned the original area

of settlement in the anthractite coal regions of eastern Pennsylvania. They moved to the large urban areas of the East and the Middle West. New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago became prominent centers of Ukrainian life. Estimates of the total number of Ukrainians living in the United States during 1935-1936 range between 700,000 and 800,000. The proportion of professional people in the Ukrainian American community in the 1930's still remained low. Greater numbers of Ukrainians found employment in a variety of American industries. Some learned a particular skill or trade and went to work as carpenters, plumbers, printers, masons, tailors, bakers, photographers, drivers and garage mechanics. Ukrainian immigrant women often found night jobs cleaning offices. Some worked in restaurants, hotels and department stores. Others acquired professional skills such as stenography, nursing, designing, and teaching. A few Ukrainian women started their own business, mostly beauty parlors, dressmaking establishments and small stores. In 1936, a handful of Ukrainians were in the class of big business.

# Community Activity

The tempo of activity in the Ukrainian American community quickened during the 1920's and 1930's. In 1936, Ukrainian Americans were publishing some twenty newspapers. Two major political organizations were formed between the world Wars: The Hetman Assn. (Sich); and, the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, O.D.W.U. Both were national in scope and had as their purpose the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) was established in 1925. Its projects included fund-raising for schools and Ukrainian Churches, helping the needy and sponsoring cultural events. In the early 1920's the Ukrainian National Council (1915) was reorganized into the United Ukrainian Organizations (Obvednannya). Obvednannya spoke in behalf of all Ukrainian groups in the United States. On May 24, 1940, Obyednannya was transformed into a wider-based organization, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. UCCA continues to flourish today as an important representative of the Ukrainian American Community.

### Significant Cultural Achievements

Lasting cultural contributions to both American and Ukrainian American life were made during this time. Noteworthy was the work of

Vasyl Avramenko, a talented instructor of traditional Ukrainian dance. He came to America in the 1920's. In 1931, some three hundred members of Avramenko's dancing school performed at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. His students have since carried the art of Ukrainian dance throughout the United States. In the field of music, the name of Alexander Koshetz stands out. The Ukrainian National Chorus directed by Mr. Koshetz toured Eutope and the United States during 1922-1923. With the advent of Soviet rule in Eastern Ukraine, both the chorus and its director elected to remain in America. Koshetz and his choir became very popular in their new home. By 1935, twenty Ukrainian songs arranged by Koshetz were translated into English and published by Witmark Educational Publications. A prominent Ukrainian in the art world was among the arrivals of the Second Wave. Alexander Archipenko, an eminent sculptor and painter, emigrated to the United States in 1923 and was naturalized in 1928. A pioneer in abstract sculpture, his entire career was a quest for new ideas, methods and materials. His works can still be found in major museums throughout the world. Archipenko was considered to be among the greatest "modern" sculptors of his time.

In 1933, the Ukrainian American community sponsored a "Ukraine Pavilion" at the Chicago World's Fair. Financed by small voluntary contributions of Ukrainian Americans, it housed the best contemporary exhibit of Ukrainian art in the United States. It featured Ukrainian folk art (contributed by Ukrainians living in Canada, Europe and South America, as well as in the U.S.), architecture, sculpture (Archipenko's work occupied an entire room) and history. Ukrainian dance ensembles and choirs performed on the open-air stage. A Ukrainian restaurant was also on the pavillion grounds. In 1940, the Ukrainian section of the Cultural Gardens located in Cleveland, Ohio was awarded first prize among a group of fifteen gardens. Planned and financed through the efforts of Ukrainians in Cleveland, this Garden includes a statue of Volodymyr the Great, and busts of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko. Alexander Archipenko was the creator of these sculptures.

# The Second World War

Ukrainians in America wholeheartedly supported the United States when it entered World War II. An expressed aim of the Ukrainian Congress Committee in 1944 was to "coordinate and intensify Ukrainian American participation in America's war effort." That same year in recognition of the success of UCCA's war bond drive, the U. S. Maritime Commission consented to name a Liberty Ship the "Andreas Honcharenko."

Nicholas Minue of Carteret, N.J. and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Kalakuka, the first Ukrainian graduate of West Point, both distinguished themselves in action during the War. Nicholas Minue executed a one-man attack on a German machine-gun installation in Tunisia. After completely destroying this German site, he continued forward to repulse enemy riflemen from their positions. Fatally wounded in this attempt, Minue posthumously received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Theodore Kalakuka was assigned to the Philippines. He personally rescued a wounded soldier during a Japanese air attack, and later risked his life, under similar circumstances, to save valuable medical supplies. Kalakuka also directed an assault on a Japanese landing party after the American company commander was wounded. The Lt. Colonel became a prisoner of war, and died of malaria in a Japanese prison camp. Kalakuka was posthumously awarded the Silver Star and two oak leaf clusters.

# The Third Wave (1947-1955)

After World War II, America welcomed a new wave of Ukrainian immigrants. Many of these newcomers had left Ukraine during the turmoil of the War. When it finally ended, they refused to return to their native land which was again firmly caught in the grip of Soviet rule. By 1948, there were almost 250,000 Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, some 85,000 of these political emigres were assisted in settling in the United States. Volunteer agencies sponsored many of them. The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (1944) brought in almost 33,000 displaced persons between 1948 and 1952. Others were sponsored by the National Catholic Walfare Conference, and also by friends and relatives living in the U.S. Another 8,000 Ukrainians, who had initially migrated to Poland, Yugoslavia, Western Europe, South America and Australia, came to America after 1955.

This third wave of Ukrainian immigrants was different from the preceeding two in several ways. These Ukrainians were fleeing Soviet rule rather than poverty. As a group, only the Ukrainian Protestants

who came to America in the 1890's had a similar motive. The level of education of post-World War II Ukrainian arrivals was much higher than that of earlier groups. Over 50% of the first wave emigrants (pre-1914) were illiterate, while those in the second wave rarely had more than five or six years of schooling. The majority of Ukrainians in the third mass immigration had at least an eighth grade education. Many were college graduates and professionals (i. e., doctors, nurses, dentists, lawyers, engineers and college professors). Most pre-World War II Ukrainian emigrants came from rural areas and had little contact with the cultural advantages of urban living. A large percentage of the third wave were acquainted with life in the city, had travelled a bit, and had some familiarity with people of other cultures. They tended to be more cosmopolitan in their outlook than their predecessors. Finally, the post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants were able to adjust more quickly to American life than previous groups of emigrants because they were welcomed into well-established Ukrainian American communities. These communities were willing to lend both moral and financial support to the arriving political emigres.

The majority of Ukrainians who came to America after 1948 settled in the large metropolitan areas of the East and the Middle West. As a result of this influx, the formerly small Ukrainian communities of Baltimore, Wash., D. D. and Buffalo grew considerably. In more recent times, Ukrainian American communities in the South (Miami, Houston), the Middle West (Denver, Omaha, Phoenix) and the West Coast (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle) have been developing. This greater mobility of Ukrainians in the United States is not only due to the third immigration. Second and third generation Ukrainian Americans have been leaving the more traditional areas of settlement for economic and social reasons. As of 1975, the total number of Ukrainians living in the U. S. has been estimated to be between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000.

# The Present Character of the Ukrainian American Community

The third mass immigration made a significant impact on the structure of the Ukrainian American community. Generally speaking, the Ukrainiar American community now possesses an adequate level of professional people in proportion to its numbers. Second and third generation Ukrainian Americans also continue to contribute an increasing number to this group of professionals.

As of 1965, the majority of Ukrainian Americans were born in the

United States. More than half of all those who consider themselves part of the Ukrainian American community are either first or second generation. However, recently the third and even the fourth generation has shown a tendency to take an active part in community life. In urban centers (where over 90% of Ukrainians in America eventually established their residence), Ukrainians are increasingly abandoning their traditional "ethnic ghetto" in low and middle class neighborhoods as their economic and social status improves. The American "flight to the suburbs" phenomenon has a tendency to weaken the cohesiveness of the Ukrainian ethnic group. In the coming years, Ukrainian Americans will have to develop new ways of maintaining their ethno-cultural heritage without the social benefits which living in compact, urban neighborhoods had once afforded.

Organizing Ukrainian American youth continued to be an important concern after World War II. The Ukrainian Youth Assn. of America (SUMA), the Ukrainian Scouting Organization (PLAST) and the Organization of Democratic Ukrainian Youth (ODUM) were all established between 1948 and 1950. These organizations offer their members a variety of cultural, social and athletic activities through the Ukrainian American community. In 1953, the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America (SUSTA) was organized by Ukrainian students attending American universities. On January 22, 1968, through the fund-raising efforts of this organization with the help of all Ukrainians in America, Harvard University formally agreed to establish a Center for Ukrainian Studies. In addition to these youth organizations, numerous Ukrainian professional societies have come into existence since the War. At the urging of members of the third immigration, American branches of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (both are active in the field of scholarly research) were organized during this period.

# The Future

Although the earliest days of the Ukrainian story in the New World still remain shrouded by the misty past, the child born during the struggles of the 19th and early 20th mass immigrations is very much in evidence today. Ukrainians continue to be one of the best organized ethnic groups in America. The question arises: what will the future bring? Despite the fact that the U. S. is experiencing an "ethnic revival" in the last decades of the 20th century, there has alway existed in American life the strong force of assimilation. It is too early to tell if America will follow its northern neighbor, Canada, down the mosaic road of multi-culturalism. In order to survive, the Ukrainian American community must carefully blend the best from its rich cultural traditions with the new ideas, forms and materials found in American life. Historically, European civilization was in its most dynamic state when it brought together the richness of the past with the innovations of the present. On June 27, 1964, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower unveiled in Washington, D. C. a statue of Ukrainian poet laureate, Taras Shevchenko. Ukrainians in America must continue to heed the motto left by this revered bard: "Absorb all cultures, but forget not your own."



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