

A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION
AMONG CERTAIN GROUPS OF IMMIGRANTS
IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

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MAJOR PARS TRAHIT AD SE MINOREM

P R E F A C E

The process of acculturation has always presented a challenge for the students of anthropology. It has been studied and discussed in its multiple aspects by many a scholar. They all sought to understand the factors contributing to this process and how this process as a whole works. The present work, too, is an attempt in this direction.

This paper deals with Canadian immigrants, but it is not a study of immigration in general, nor is it a study of any particular community of immigrants in the province of Manitoba. Further, this work is not concerned with the problems created by the prejudices and racial conflicts between the majority group and any minority groups. If this problem is touched at all, it is only tangentially touched in order to clarify some aspects of our subject.

The aim and scope of this work is a comparative study of two groups of people - Hutterites and Romanians - * who immigrated to Manitoba prior to 1930 from the agricultural areas of their place of origin. It is an endeavour to set forth the course of acculturation underwent by these

*The author chose this spelling out of the three existent spellings - Romanian, Rumanian, Roumanian.

immigrants in Manitoba, and, more specifically, to explain why these two groups differed dramatically in their adjustment to Canadian society. It is hoped, also that this work represents a significant addition to the explication of the process of acculturation of immigrants in general. But the primary intention of the author was to restrict his description and analysis to certain specified immigrant groups in their encounter with the new society, and to identify the variables which seem to have determined the accomplished, differential mode of response of these two groups of immigrants in the acculturation process.

The author chose three variables which he found most helpful to his purpose, for they not only can be used to serve as criteria for classifying various immigrant peoples into distinct types, but, further, and in conjunction with a fourth variable, viz., the structure and value system of the 'new', or, receiving society, they are crucial, as we see it, to a clearer understanding of the entire process of acculturation of the specific immigrant groups in question.

The introduction of this work sets forth the theoretical framework that shall be used as a frame of reference in our investigation of the two selected groups of immigrants - Hutterites and Romanians.

Following the introduction there are two chapters, each of which is divided into sections indicated by appropriate headings according to the content of the section. Chapter One is concerned with the acculturation of the Hutterites, and Chapter Two is concerned with the acculturation of the Romanian immigrants.

The study of Hutterite society in Manitoba was facilitated by the literature available in this field. This literature consists of a variety of works written on the sociological, anthropological, geographical and historical aspects of this group of immigrants. This rich and varied written material did not, however, by itself, fulfill the requirements demanded by such a task as this, i.e., to analyze the process of acculturation of the Hutterite group. Therefore, field work, i.e., first-hand observation of persons and their institutions in their natural setting, was deemed both necessary and desirable. A series of visits to the Hutterite colonies in the vicinity of Winnipeg helped the author to become acquainted first-hand with the people he proposed to study and their mode of existence. However, the written material was the primary source used for describing and analyzing the Hutterite group.

The study of the Romanian immigrants in Manitoba presented a more difficult problem than did the study of the

Hutterite group. There is very little literature available in this field. After an intensive search made by personal contact, and letters, research at different libraries both private and public in Canada and the United States, only a small number of publications was gathered. Field work, therefore, played a major role in the study of the Romanian group. The author chose the five largest groups of Romanians in Manitoba, i.e., those found in Winnipeg, Inglis, Roblin, Lenard, and Shell Valley, and he spent about six months among them. He started his regular visits on February 1st, 1962 and finished them on July 27th, 1962. The visits made by the author among the Romanians were not formal, nor "official" in any sense of the word, but were informal. The author visited them as a friend, and was thus able to enter into the intimacy of their attitudes and behaviour.

It has been the author's purpose to select sufficiently significant data to depict the personal aspect of the acculturation situation among the Romanians. Intimate personal documents, such as letters, diaries, autobiographies, and life histories - though somewhat limited in quantity - have been used as extensively as possible. It is also true that such sources have serious limitations in quality as well. For example, immigrant diaries were usually written by

sensitive, self-conscious individuals who are not necessarily random samples of their group. Nevertheless, such documents are closer to the actual life experience of persons than elaborate statistical tables prepared by those who treat immigrants as statistical units, and not as persons. Diaries which are not meant for publication tend to be closer to reality than published autobiographies of literary persons. Personal letters are one of the better, if not the best, sources of material on the immigrant.

Many letters have been seen, written by persons who may hardly be called literate. Nevertheless, they reveal much.

Life histories, which were secured through personal interviews, are restricted to the typical members of the group and are thus representative of the group in question.

Most Romanians were quite eager to co-operate, i.e., to tell their life history, their past and present orientations, their satisfactions and dissatisfactions, their hopes and disappointments.

The eagerness of their co-operation may be explained by the fact that the author himself is a Romanian immigrant. Thus, they felt that they were telling their life history to another Romanian immigrant like themselves.

The results of these investigations in the field brought to light new information which caused the author

to change his initial hypothesis of the process of acculturation among Romanian people.

Following these two chapters on the acculturation of the Hutterites and Romanians, there is a final conclusion of the whole work.

The author's interest in this study has not been motivated by scientific interest alone. His interest has been motivated also by a personal interest in the Romanian immigrants. It has been his purpose to understand the factors which determine the speed and effectiveness of the process of acculturation which varies from group to group. He wanted to understand, in particular, the stages of transition underwent by the Romanian people in Manitoba, and compare them with his own experiences. Thus, the interest of the author in this study was motivated at once by scientific curiosity, and a personal curiosity created by his own contact with both the Canadian culture and the Romanian immigrant in Manitoba.

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

This work, like any other, is a cultural product to which many minds have contributed. The author's awareness of numerous specific influences on his thinking are indicated by the footnote and bibliographical acknowledgments. But such do not indicate all the contributions to the present work. Much, of course, is due to my former professors, Dr. R. W. Dunning of the University of British Columbia, and the late D. Matthews of the University of Manitoba, who have given me the necessary training for such an undertaking as this. I acquired lasting obligations to Professor M. Stancliff of the University of Manitoba, under whose supervision this work has been done, and Dr. W. Morrison of United College for his minute reading of this work and his valuable criticism.

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A special word of appreciation goes to the staff of the University of Manitoba Library who have helped me locate the necessary reading material. I also wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. N. Constantinesco who has helped me to express my ideas adequately in English and who has thus given me indispensable assistance.

I am also grateful to Reverend Martinian Ivanovici,
and all the Romanian Canadians whom I have interviewed,
for their patience, co-operation, and hospitality.

variables provide a broad classification of immigrants into three types or categories, which are as follows:

1. Specialized category.
2. Compact.
3. Isolated.

This classification together with a fourth variable, which is the structure of the receiving society, enables one to understand the process of acculturation underwent by the respective groups of immigrants. Each category or type of immigrants behaves in a manner peculiar to itself in the new milieu, and reacts in a particular way to the process of acculturation. Thus the behaviour of a group of immigrants in a new milieu and its reaction to the process of acculturation are much more readily understood if the category to which the group belongs is known.

The process of acculturation underwent by the Hutterite and Romanian peasants who immigrated to Manitoba prior to 1930 is the subject of this study. These particular groups of immigrants have been chosen because they are clear-cut examples of two of our theoretical immigrant types. The Hutterites represent the "specialized category" type, and the Romanians represent the 'isolated' immigrant type.

The theoretical framework developed in the introduction is used as the frame of reference in the comparative study of our selected groups, and in the analysis of the process of acculturation underwent by them. The changes that occurred and their mode of occurrence, are shown in each case.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	iii
Acknowledgments	ix
Abstract	xi
<u>Introduction - The Theoretical Framework</u>	<u>1</u>
Part I - The Scope of Social Anthropology	
Part II - The Method of Investigation	
Part III - Criteria of Classification - Types of Immigrants (Differential Mode of Reaction to the Process of Acculturation	
Part IV - Canadian Society	
<u>The Hutterites and the Romanians</u>	<u>42</u>
CHAPTER I - THE HUTTERITES	
Historical Background - Formation of the Group	
The Hutterites in Canada	
Factors Contributing to Group Unity and Continuity	
Type of Society	
Cultural and Social Character	
Religion	
Economic and Socio-Political Organization	
Family and Education	
Life in the Colony	
Value-Orientation and Other Characteristics	
The Process of Acculturation	

CHAPTER II - THE ROMANIANS

The Romanian Immigrant
His Original Environment

Conditions in the New Milieu

Number of Romanian Immigrants in Canada

The Process of Regrouping Among Romanian
Immigrants

The Cultural and Social Character of the
Romanian Peasant Before Migration

Religion and Superstition

Economic Life

Social Position

Family and Marriage

Recreation

The Process of Acculturation

Transition and Conflicts

The Romanian Immigrant and Conformity

Language

Religion and the Church

Family and Marriage

Past and Present

Conclusion	170
Appendix	174
Bibliography	187

I N T R O D U C T I O N
THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

PART I - THE SCOPE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

For more than two decades now, anthropological science has sought continuously to enlarge its sphere of research, directing its attention beyond the so-called classical domain, i.e., the study of nonliterate societies, and the analysis of all aspects and activities specific to human physical creation, to the study of contemporary cultures.¹

The scientific curiosity of anthropologists has been growing continuously and still is growing today so as to embrace the diverse aspects of complex societies. Present day anthropologists seek to understand the conditions that develop when two different cultures come into contact and act, reciprocally, one on the other.

¹A. L. Kroeber says . . . "The subject of anthropology is limited only by men. It is not restricted by time - it goes back into geology as far as man can be traced. It is not restricted by region but is world-wide in scope. It has specialized on the primitive because no other science would deal seriously with them, but it has never renounced its intent to understand the high civilizations also." A. L. Kroeber (ed.), Anthropology Today (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. xiii.

They endeavour to understand the structural forms and the cultural characteristics of these social groups.²

Moreover, a certain number of modern anthropologists have directed their attention toward a series of problems linked to specific situations regarding contact amongst different groups, e.g., minority groups, their conflicts within and without, and their mode of adjustment to the changing social environment.³

This extension of the anthropological field of research need not be interpreted as a creed of scientific omnipotence, rather it should be understood as a normal impulse of a discipline on its way of development - a discipline which ceaselessly enlarges its field and method

²J. W. Bennet and K. H. Wolff showed that, "Anthropologists, like sociologists, have been caught up in the scientific movement of the twentieth century. With the rigorous classificatory emphasis of Boas, the evolution of the idea of culture in the 1920's to a 'scientific' concept and the insistence of theorists like Radcliffe-Brown on a 'systematic science' of anthropology (borrowed from Durkheim), the discipline has sought to clothe its findings in the language of scientific method; this more consistently perhaps than in the case of modern sociology, because anthropology has been concerned with many societies - has meant a renewed emphasis upon general statements or laws, upon concepts applicable to human phenomena everywhere." W. L. Thomas (ed.), Current Anthropology; A Supplement to Anthropology Today (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 331.

³See C. Wagley and M. Harris, Minorities in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). See also E. C. Hughes and H. M. Hughes, Where Peoples Meet (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 16.

of investigation or research, and which gives the researcher freedom in his work, i.e., freedom from those rules and regulations which create artificial barriers. Speaking of the general scope of anthropology, Kroeber says that -

"anthropology is certainly one of the most centrifugal of the sciences taking in an enormous territory. Sometimes we are amicably laughed at by people in fields with five or ten times as many members working at a much narrower range of problems . . . our disposition to become concerned with questions marginal to any sector of the immense and variegated study of man nevertheless makes anthropology the freest and most explorative of the sciences. I think that is a claim we can justly make."⁴

For quite a number of years now we have been witnessing a continuous expansion of anthropological science. New problems, new inquiries, new scientific horizons are embraced by this discipline. Perhaps some scientists are inclined to believe that the anthropologists are superseding their proper field of investigation. To a certain extent this criticism may be considered as valid. The extent of its validity, however, is insignificant when we consider the fact that anthropological science always had and still has an original mode of interpretation

⁴S. Tax, et al., An Appraisal of Anthropology Today (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 151.

and method of formulating its findings which is peculiar to itself.

In discussing the proper range of anthropological problems, R. Linton states that -

"Anthropology always has been as broad in conception as it is possible to be; in wandering correspondingly widely for its data and tools, it absorbs in the tradition of the discipline those new men with special ideas who accept the breadth of anthropology. Thus is provided the growth in resources to cope with the always deepening questions."⁵

S. Tax, being much more definite says that -

"Anthropology is always heterogenous and appears to have a problem of bringing disparate interests together until it is realized that anthropology exists only because it has already 'solved' this 'problem'."⁶

We did not make use of these quotations in order to defend this work, or to protect its subject from the criticism of its readers. We made use of the quotations because we want to express beforehand the mode or style in which we intend to treat our subject.

The anthropological methods of research and investigation vary somewhat according to the type of

⁵Thomas, op. cit., p. 319.

⁶Ibid., pp. 315-316.

subject or object under investigation. In the study of nonliterate societies, the anthropologist uses the method of participant-observation, supplementing it with information obtained from personal interviews, and otherwise, from the component members of the society under study. In the study of literate people and complex societies he uses not only observation and interviewing, but also detailed research and study of the pertinent written material. The information derived from this written material is just as valuable as the information derived from personal investigation or direct observation. Thus, by using these and other varied forms of research on literate societies, the anthropologist is able to venture into the analysis of problems which for a time belonged to the domain of Sociology alone.

There is an immense number of theories formulated and scores of treatises written in the field of immigration and the immigrant. Many groups of immigrants that have come to the New World have been closely analyzed by scholars seeking to find out what their characteristics are and how these groups have responded to the process of acculturation?⁷ -

⁷"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

To this definition a note is appended, which must

a process ultimately eventuating in their complete assimilation in the new environment.⁸ This subject has been a focus of study for many scholars of the New World who have consumed all their energy in a minute analysis of the subject in all its aspects, going as far as to seemingly exhaust the subject. This fact confronts the new researcher with the questions, "What more is there to say about this subject?", and, "What can there be added to the immense amount of information already existent?"

be regarded as an integral part of it:

Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation." M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation; The Study of Culture Contact (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), p. 10.

According to the above definition, the process of acculturation implies such aspects as; assimilation, adaptation and integration. The term integration, however, which is only one of several aspects of the acculturation process, can be applied only to those immigrants who have the ability to appreciate the meaning and implication of elements in the new culture which differ from those in their own, and who seek, consciously, to conform and to integrate with the new milieu. The peasant immigrants, however, who lack education, also lack the ability to make an adjustment in precisely this manner. Therefore, their model of conformity to a new culture takes the form of imitation. In time they internalize the new patterns of behaviour, assimilate the new culture, and consequently become absorbed by the new milieu.

⁸See Hughes and Hughes, op. cit., p. 17.

Fortunately, all our western education possessed and still possesses a scientific optimism, teaching and showing us that no field of investigation may be exhausted, that there is always room left for more research and speculation, and consequently for the growth and widening of our knowledge in every field, even when everything seems to indicate that there is no room left for further investigation.

PART II - THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

The methods of research or investigation used in anthropology with regard to the study of cultural change and the contacts between different cultures may well serve us in the study or analysis of immigrants and their adaptation to Canadian society. Such an analysis, from the anthropological point of view, implies necessarily the concentration of our attention on the process of acculturation as it takes place within the immigrant groups.

From empirical observations as well as from an analysis of writings which deal with the problems of adaptation of immigrants in the New World, it becomes clear that in general the immigrants in the New World adapt themselves more readily to the material aspect of Canadian culture than to the nonmaterial, e.g., aspects of social organization. Changes take place more rapidly where clothes, food, housing, and economic adjustment are concerned. Most of these changes take place almost involuntarily due to necessity (felt by the immigrants) which impel them to adapt to the conditions existent in the new environment. This, however, is not the case where social organizational patterns prevalent in the

New World are concerned. The reaction of immigrants to the new social conditions varies from group to group and is determined by a series of factors more or less peculiar to the group. Since they are of different nationalities, come from different regions of the world, and consequently have different cultures, they all have their own attitudes and manner of reaction in their contact with the new social environment. Due to the existence and acknowledgment of this fact, we come to ask ourselves, what are the similarities and differences which may help to classify all the many different groups into representative types in connection with their adaptation within the receiving society? Obviously, it is impossible for me to undertake such a task in my present work, but I shall attempt, however, to outline in a general fashion a classification which shall serve as a point of departure and orientation in the comparative analysis of the two immigrant groups which we propose to study.

One fact is generally accepted - this is that a comparative study of different groups may be satisfactory only after a classification⁹ of the several groups under

⁹ See on this C. A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, part of the series published by A. W. MacKintosh and W. L. G. Joerg (eds.), "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement", (Toronto, 1936) III.

study has been made. In doing this, it gives us the possibility of studying groups which are similar or different, like and unlike, and at the same time, it defines the cultural characteristics and social systems which are peculiar to each group.

The value of such a study is quite important, for it enables us to see almost simultaneously the similarities and differences existent between or among two or more separate groups of immigrants. By studying one culture at a time, each in its own special terms, we acquire knowledge of each culture independently of one another. But, by comparing different cultures, systematically, we are able to make adequate generalizations which may well be applied to all immigrant groups.

Our larger duty, then, is to find the things common to all cultures, and the differences existent among the cultures studied. In other words, a common denominator for all cultures and the differences between them can be found only by a comparative study of the different groups.

E. K. Francis, "Variables in the Formation of So-called 'Minority Groups'," The American Journal of Sociology, LX (July, 1954-May, 1955), pp. 6-14; G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities; An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953); W. L. Warner and L. Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), III, Yankee City Series.

In a comparative study¹⁰ of different groups of immigrants, one must include a study of the way in which the social organization¹¹ of each group is interrelated with its culture, in the sense of value orientations. Indeed, this idea is not new - it is a well accepted fact that the organization of a social group is interdependent with its value system. But it is especially important to be cognizant of this fact when a group of immigrants is organizing itself in a new society where new factors come into play and act as potential threats to the continued nexus of specific elements in the immigrant's socio-cultural system.

¹⁰ On this, Radcliffe-Brown shows ". . . that if there is to be a natural science of human societies, its method will be the method of comparing. In other words, if we think that all social systems are analogous, just as all ovals are analogous and wish to find out what that analogy is - what it is that all social systems have in common - we can do so only by comparing different social systems and then making our generalizations." A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, A Natural Science of Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948), p. 38.

¹¹ "Social organization implies some degree of unification, a putting together of diverse elements into common relation." R. Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: Watts and Co., 1956), p. 40;

PART III

CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION - TYPES OF IMMIGRANTS

(Differential Mode of Reaction
to the Process of Acculturation)

The organization and preservation - or disorganization and breakdown - of socio-cultural unity of the groups of immigrants within the receiving society have to be studied in relation to certain variables which influence the relation between the value orientations of a group of immigrants and its social organization in the new milieu. These variables are important, for their application provides us with a classification of immigrants; and furthermore this classification enables us to understand the process of acculturation underwent by the respective groups.

These variables are as follows:

1. The mode of transplantation or immigration, i.e., group or individual migration.
2. The mode of existence in the original milieu, i.e., the mode of association with the larger society prior to migration.
3. Cultural and social characteristics.

The mode or manner in which the immigrant or group of immigrants migrated from the old geographic location to the new one is very important. For example, there are cases in which the social structure¹² of the immigrant group has not been disturbed at all by the act of immigration. In such cases we have a complete transplantation of an immigrant community with its culture and all its customs, associations, habits, likes, and ways of living from its place of origin to another, new, environment.

This type of immigrants is termed in our classificatory system a "specialized category",¹³ possessing characteristics similar to that of an "integral community".¹⁴

¹²According to Firth, social structure ". . . is those social relations which seem to be of critical importance for the behaviour of members of the society, so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form", Firth, op. cit., p. 31.

¹³"Specialized category" is a concentric social organization in which the whole dominates the parts and in which all aspects of life are dominated by one institution - the church. The term "specialized category" is borrowed from Minorities in the New World by C. Wagley and M. Harris. The meaning of the term, however, is not as extensive as in the original work (above). Its meaning here is restricted to those groups which are dominated by the church.

¹⁴"The integral small community, . . . is structurally self-contained." Firth, op. cit., p. 49, second paragraph.

Members of this type - "the specialized category" immigrant group - functioned independently and in isolation from the larger social arrangement of the respective society (or country) in which they originally lived. In the province of Manitoba such groups are exemplified by the following: Hutterites, Mennonites, and the whole range of the so-called religion-dominated Utopian groups.

The second type in our theoretical scheme is the 'compact' type of immigrant. This category of immigrants, although having one factor in common with the "specialized category" type, differs in many other respects. In Manitoba, this type includes the Ukrainian immigrants who, though they immigrated as an organized group (like the "specialized" groups), neither formed self-contained social groups, nor did they constitute a separate community in their land of origin, but were rather tightly integrated with the whole while in their homeland.¹⁵

The third category is the 'isolated immigrant' who left his homeland by himself - on his own - or with his family, or with friends.

This typological differentiation based upon the mode of migration, constitutes an important tool for the analysis of the process of adaptation of the immigrant to the new medium. The application of this typological tool

¹⁵See V. Iysenko, Men in Sheepskin (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 34.

may be demonstrated by considering the following research problems:

1. To what degree does the individual seek satisfaction and gratification of his needs in terms of the new society;
2. To what extent are the respective groups of immigrants prepared to accept the new values and roles; and,
3. To what extent do the respective groups seek to integrate in the social structure of the receiving society.

The first type, the "specialized category", has a manner of behaviour peculiar to itself. Due to the fact that the individual immigrant of this type makes contact with the new cultural and social milieu within his independent and "specialized" group, his orientation is toward his own group only. The individual continues to be attached and closely linked to his group - and to it alone. The geographical change does not affect in the least the initial orientation of the individual; he continues to exist or live in the same socio-cultural environment according to pre-established patterns and positions. This fact is of decisive importance in the attempt to understand the attitudes, values, and life orientation of the individual immigrant in the new setting. Due to the security offered by the group to the individual members in the social and economic domain, together with their indoctrination, the group maintains its

essential unity and homogeneity and is able in time to resist the pressure to change generated by the outside socio-cultural forces. These groups form compact and closed colonies which retain the social structure previously held, and in time develop new colonies which are similar to the initiating mother colony, i.e., the colony that first migrated. (This problem shall be further discussed in the chapters to come.)

As for the immigrants that have come in a compact group, like the one above, but have never functioned independently of the larger society, the process of adaptation follows a typical cycle. During the first period of contact with the new milieu, there is a tendency to form ethnic communities, through ecological segregation, endogamy and mutual assistance. They also build up religious communities with a national character. From the moment the process of acculturation begins, however, the unity of the group is altered, and tension is created between the generations, the old and the young. The tendency is toward a complete integration with the social life of the receiving society, yet retaining certain cultural characteristics which differentiate them from the rest of the receiving society.

Then we have the immigrants who crossed the ocean "individually", on their own. For these, contact with

the new society created a long chain of problems which had to be confronted without the help of institutional forms and social patterns which previously guided them in their actions. In contrast to the 'compact' type immigrants, members of this category of immigrants had to solve their problems by themselves and in their own way. Regardless of their cultural background, regardless of their nationality (German, Dutch, Romanian, Greek, etcetera), their participation in the new society always involved the desire of being able, in time, to identify themselves with members of the receiving society. The orientation of these immigrants was always outside themselves, toward the receiving society, and they continuously sought to overcome the isolation in which they found themselves when they arrived in the new surroundings.

O. Handlin considers such immigrants as -

"uprooted, dislocated from their place of origin who, once they proceed in their road to migration, become foreigners and victims of the new forces, when they are compelled to abandon their old orientation and to create new relations, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances."¹⁶

¹⁶O. Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952), p. 5.

Further, Handlin shows that -

"emigration took these people out of traditional accustomed environment and replanted them in strange ground among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behaviour were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different."¹⁷

Handlin's description is applicable to immigrants of the last two categories only, and cannot be universally applied. His definition is not applicable to the immigrants of the first category. Definitely, it does not apply to those "specialized" groups which have functioned independently of the larger society in their old environment. Here we have a community with a social system fully functionable which is scarcely affected by contact with the new environment.

Handlin's description is particularly true of the third category of immigrants - the 'isolated' immigrants. The individual or isolated immigrant is indeed greatly affected by his migration. For him, migration results in "uprooting" him from his social structure in which he existed, leaving him temporarily outside of social control until he is gradually absorbed within the new social structure. It is this period that we may truly call the period of crisis due to the act of "uprooting".

¹⁷ Ibid.

In order to understand the process of change which took place within all groups of immigrants previously mentioned, we must consider one more variable besides the two already discussed, i.e., the mode of transplantation, and the mode of existence in the original milieu. This is -

1. The cultural and social character of the groups.

This variable - cultural and social character of the group - must be considered, for it will show us why certain changes took place, why certain groups were refractory, and why other groups attempted to accelerate the process of change. R. Redfield shows that -

"a culture is an organization or integration of conventional understandings. It is as well the acts and the objects, in-so-far as they represent the type characteristics of that society, which express and maintain these understandings."¹⁸

If we are to accept Redfield's definition of culture for our present purpose - a comparative, anthropological study of the proposed groups of immigrants - then we shall have to inquire into the type of culture and society represented by the groups of immigrants under

¹⁸R. Redfield, "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology, LII (January, 1947), p. 298.

study, and into the type of culture of the receiving society.

In his book Modern Nationalities, F. Znaniecki¹⁹ distinguishes four types of society, or four types of cultures which are classified in two categories. The first category is called "traditional" or "nonliterate" and comprises two types, "tribal" and "folk", and the second category is called "literary" and is also comprised of two types, "religious" and "national". This distinction is made in accordance with the fundamental values which maintain the solidarity of the respective groups, and with the mode in which the values are transmitted from one generation to another. For him, "tribal societies" are independent, closed, and self-sufficient social systems. These social systems are in contrast with "folk societies" which are under the control of literary societies, being partly included in them. As for the literary societies themselves, they are divided according to their 'value-orientations'; in one, this orientation is based on "sacred books", in the other, it is based on "secular literature".

¹⁹F. Znaniecki, Modern Nationalities (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 9, see also p. 21.

Therefore, regarding the cultural character of the immigrants, an immediate distinction must be made on the basis of the nature of the larger society from which the immigrants have come. This will help us to understand the specific nature of their social system previous to their migration. At the same time we will be able to know to what degree their previous social system is compatible with the new medium, and if the values and aspirations of the immigrants are compatible with the values and cultural patterns existent within the receiving society.

Although all the groups under study came from agricultural societies, we should not limit our inquiry to that society alone to which they directly belonged. This is because not all groups of peasants assumed or appropriated the same cultural values. Their orientation must be looked at in connection with the cultural values of the larger society in which they were embraced, and not only in connection with those of the immediate, agricultural, society.²⁰

This fact suggests a more generalized analysis of these immigrant groups of peasants. However, a distinction

²⁰ See R. Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture; An Anthropological Approach to Civilization (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

should be made between the two categories of agricultural immigrants under study. First there are the immigrants who up to the time of migration had functioned in their respective society as small isolated groups, largely independent, and having an autonomous social system distinct from the larger society which embraced them. Due to this fact, their norms, regulations, and value orientations have been left intact, while their material culture has been largely shaped by that of the embracing society.

On the other hand, there is the bulk of agricultural immigrants who were integrated in the larger society of their place of origin, thus absorbing the cultural character of that society. Obviously, therefore, this cultural superstructure must be taken into consideration, also, when we analyze the cultural and social character of peasants who immigrated here. Consequently, we must not consider in our analysis the universal values, only, which are characteristic of this "cultural type". Indeed, the significant differences between groups of immigrants from agricultural areas are due to cultural differences which exist in different regions of Europe which, in the course of history, assimilated a variety of experiences, orientations, and attachments, in spite of the fact that the peasants in

general have certain attitudes and customs which are, more or less, common to all. We may say, therefore, that peasants, in general, form (or belong to) the same cultural type, but, strictly speaking, their behaviour is patterned by various cultures which profoundly influenced their orientation. Looking at the subject from this point of view, we shall be able to understand the similarities and differences in the attitudes of immigrants from different agricultural areas in the process of adaptation to Canadian society.

With technical developments in different fields - transport, communication, industry, etcetera - significant changes began to take place in the conditions of peasants from different regions of Europe. Some of the rural communities of Europe did not hold to their old aspects of relative economic and social isolation; they began to depend more and more on the larger society. In time, such rural communities became more closely tied up with urban life, industry, and commerce, which were greatly affected by the new technical developments. This change in the rural communities produced a whole series of transformations in their character, affecting deeply their social patterns, norms, and values. So it is that in the course of time these rural communities have become an integral part of the whole social system. This,

according to F. Tönnies, means a change from a "Gemeinschaft" type of society to a "Gesellschaft" type of society. From this it follows that although the peasant may be identified with a certain 'cultural type', the transformations that took place in his homeland orientated him toward new values and desires which became incompatible with the older, traditional patterns.

This fact suggests the formulation of a theory of a wider scope regarding the adaptation of the agricultural immigrants to the new milieu. First of all, there is a series of similarities in the attitude of the peasant immigrant from Europe when he comes in contact with the new environment which may serve us as a basis for the formulation of our hypothesis. While the peasant immigrants represent a variety of nationalities, speak different languages, belong to different religious communities, etcetera, they react in similar fashion when the contact with the new society is made. This similar attitude is concretized in general by his desire for regrouping,²¹ and the formation of different associations with an ethnic character.

²¹ The process of regrouping must be understood as a reaction of immigrants, when they come in contact with the new milieu, in which the insecurity which the immigrant feels when he is faced with the new conditions, tends to make him seek support, from members of his own ethnic group.

Coming from the village in which he was born, in which he has lived, and which constituted the whole universe of his existence, the 'peasant immigrant' is thrown in the whirl of the new environment. For him, his village was something more than just a simple place where he happened to be born and in which he lived his life - it stood for the whole network of relations between him and the rest of society, it was his whole world in which he had his deep roots of his whole social position. Handlin, himself, says that -

"always, the start was the village. 'I was born in such a village in such a parish' - so the peasant invariably began the account of himself. Thereby he indicated the importance of the village in his being; this was the fixed point by which he knew his position in the world and his relationship with all humanity." ²²

In the new society he feels as a ship abandoned to the fury of the sea, a ship which struggles to keep itself afloat. This is indeed the dramatic period of the immigrant when he seeks to reformulate his personal image, when he is ready to accept new values and roles. This is the period of his initiation in the patterns of behaviour existent in the new society. The old image of his village begins to be veiled by the clouds of oblivion, and the new conditions are not weighted any

²²Handlin, op. cit., p. 8.

longer according to his traditional patterns. This period of crisis, of insecurity, of complete disorientation, is parried by the process of regrouping. This regrouping must be understood as a normal reaction of the natural law of survival, of the "struggle for existence", within which the individual feels safe or secure when he is faced with the new conditions.

This strain of insecurity gradually diminishes as the immigrant enters the period of re-socialization.²³ The process of re-socialization is the basic factor in the adaptation of the immigrant to the new milieu.

S. N. Eisenstadt seems to think that way too when he says that -

"this process of learning and re-formation of concepts is in some ways not unlike the basic process of an individual's socialization in any society."²⁴

This period of re-socialization of the immigrant must be looked upon in relation to the action of regrouping. Not identified with the new society yet, the immigrant is seeking a support, a support which is concretized through

²³ Due to the process of re-socialization, the immigrant begins to assimilate the new values and to reformulate his behaviour in accordance with the norms imposed by the new society.

²⁴ S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants; A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 7.

his approach to his ethnic group. This fact must not be interpreted as an action of resistance on the part of the immigrant to the new medium, but as a factor of transition, "a stepping stone" which helps the immigrant to understand gradually the social and cultural implications of the new milieu, and eventually to take a bigger step in his social integration within the receiving society.

While this tendency of regrouping is true of a large number of immigrants from the agricultural areas, it is not true of all. Other immigrants from the same "cultural type" react in a different manner, i.e., instead of regrouping themselves, they seek to integrate themselves directly with the receiving society. This attitude and manner of reaction are due to the changes suffered in their place of origin where they were quite dependent on the urban life, thus becoming closely associated with manners and ways of the "modern society".²⁵

In order to understand the process of acculturation of the immigrant to the receiving society, i.e., Canadian society, we have to analyze presently the social structure of Canadian society itself. This is very important because the institutionalization of the immigrant's

²⁵See A. Boskoff, "Structure, Function and Folk Society," The American Sociological Review, XIV (February, 1949), p. 753. See also Znaniecki, op. cit.

behaviour must take place within the structure of the receiving society. There are certain expectations and demands which develop in the receiving society pertaining to the immigrant. Thus, the process of acculturation of the immigrant to the new society must be studied and understood from two different aspects -

1. The degree of change desired by the immigrant.
2. To what extent these changes are limited by the social structure of the Canadian society.

Relevant to this point of view is Eisenstadt's theory where he says -

"that the immigrants want to change in certain ways so as to attain certain goals within the new society is not enough; the problem is always how far within the new society these aspirations are capable of being realized. By this we mean: (a) whether the roles opened up to the immigrants and the facilities offered to them for realizing these roles will be of a special kind (e.g., whether there will be a tendency to any deliberate segregation, monopolizing of power-positions by the old inhabitants, etc.); and, (b) whether the absorbing social structure will be content merely with those changes to which the immigrants aspire; e.g., whether pressure will be put upon them to change some of the cultural habits they wish to retain."²⁶

²⁶Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 10.

Furthermore, he says -

"only in very rare instances . . . are the immigrants' expectations and demands of the absorbing social structure fully compatible from the beginning."²⁷

On the other hand, we may affirm that irregardless of the attitude of members of the receiving society, the immigrants from the second and third category²⁸ seek to adapt themselves to the new environment. This, however, does not imply that the process of adaptation in itself always takes place in complete harmony, i.e., without certain conflicts. The process of adaptation is produced through a permanent interaction between the culture brought over by the immigrants and the new milieu. This is true mainly because the old cultural patterns are not any longer useful or satisfactory to the immigrant, while the new cultural patterns are desirable. The changes which occur modify the dominant cultural values of the immigrant, producing within him a new outlook, a new mental attitude, a new orientation. Even when the immigrants regroup themselves, seeking to preserve their cultural traits, they in fact break away to a great extent with their traditional

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ See previous classification in this work.

culture, with their old "cake of custom", thus opening the way toward further assimilation of the new culture. Certainly this process does not take place in a smooth manner. There is a struggle within the immigrant, a struggle for predominance between the old cultural traits which up to his migration regulated all his actions; and the new patterns of behaviour existent in the new milieu. This struggle is closely related to a process of infiltration which occurs almost simultaneously. The old culture gradually recedes until in time it is superseded by the new.

Up to now we have discussed the three variables which are related to the process of acculturation of an immigrant in a new environment. These variables we found to be the following three:

1. How the immigrant lived in his original environment, i.e., his association with the rest of society prior to migration.
2. The mode of transplantation, i.e., group or individual migration.
3. The influence that his previous or original cultural traits have in his behaviour and reaction to the new milieu.

The three variables discussed up to now helped us to differentiate between the various groups of immigrants, thus classifying them into three broad categories. These variables also play an influential part in the mode of

reaction of the immigrants toward the process of acculturation and their final integration with Canadian society.

Now it remains to look into another variable which is just as influential in the process of acculturation as the other three already discussed. This fourth variable consists of the conditions to which the immigrants had or have to adapt themselves. In other words, we shall discuss in the next section the social structure and culture of Canadian society and the part it plays in the process of acculturation.

PART IV - CANADIAN SOCIETY

In this part or section we shall seek to point out the characteristics of Canadian society and to select and discuss only those which are directly related to the process of adaptation of the immigrants to the new environment. In this task the presentation by K. D. Naegele, in his Canadian Society; Some Reflections, is utilized as a basic guide. He makes -

" . . . some speculations about the ways in which a society like Canada combines inner differentiation with a transcending sense of coherence, and a sense of coherence with a pattern of relations to other nations."²⁹

He accomplished this objective against the background of a discussion of M. Weber's sociological description of the bureaucratic state. He arrived at the conclusion that at the outset Canada is seen as a social system with unique patterns of morality and legitimacy, differentiation, recruitment, conditions of membership and coherence.

In order to understand the present better we must search into the past and find the factors and circumstances

²⁹K. D. Naegele, Canadian Society; Sociological Perspectives, ed. B. R. Blishen et al., (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 47.

of history which contributed to the development of the present Canadian society. Due to the fact that Canada followed and continues to follow a special course of development in her history, her characteristics are in many ways unlike those of European nations. On the whole, the European nations are unified. Their populations belong more or less to a single ethnic group having a common tongue and culture. This homogeneity existent within the old nations, however, is not always a result of chance. Its unity is at times achieved by means of legislation and mass indoctrination by the powerful political institution existent within that nation.

With regard to Canada's own position, therefore, one cannot say that she conforms to the above type of nations. First of all, Canada is officially declared a bilingual country; secondly, roughly thirty percent of the total population is made up of people of French descent who have a culture distinct from that of English-speaking Canadians. What helped the French Canadians to preserve their cultural traits is the fact that they were not immigrants come to an already established society, but were the first colonists and colonizers of these lands. By the time the English conquered them in 1763, the French had been firmly established here for over two centuries. This fact had a profound influence on the

development of Canadian society where the two major groups - French and English - had to find a workable way for an harmonious coexistence.

The relation between the old inhabitants and the new immigrants of the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century has been mainly instrumental, i.e., to assure the necessary labour force for development in agriculture and industry. Moreover, the attitude of the British toward the aborigines had been of an imperial nature, rather than national, i.e., territorial annexation, and reservation confinement of the natives, rather than integration.

To these conditions specific to Canada, we must add the fact that Canada has been developed by the great waves of immigrants who entered these lands. It is of no importance, here, why these immigrants have come here; what is important is their influence on the social structure of this society which has been changed. The whole process of change took place gradually, at a slow rate; and this fact has contributed greatly to the preservation of cultural traits possessed by each group of immigrants. It is important to stress the time element in this process of change which took place in Canada, for it has a direct bearing on the process of development which brought about new institutional structures at the same time with

the complete integration of the newly arrived.

As a consequence of these historical conditions of development, a social structure of a somewhat pluralistic nature has been produced. In other words, a network of sub-cultures appeared, i.e., different groups of immigrants have preserved certain cultural characteristics, thus retaining a certain degree of identity. In his book The Absorption of Immigrants, Eisenstadt seems to think along the same line when he says that -

"... out of the absorption of a large-scale immigration there usually develops a 'pluralistic' structure or network of sub-cultures, i.e., a society composed to some extent of different sub-systems allocated to different immigrant ('ethnic') groups - groups maintaining some degree of separate identity."³⁰

At this particular juncture, an explanation seems to be necessary in respect to the new term introduced above, i.e., pluralistic society. For the sake of clarity and simplicity, we shall use a modified version of R. Linton's³¹ nomenclature and mode of analysis. In many cultures we may distinguish cultural values which may be classified in three categories; universals, specialities, and

³⁰ Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 15.

³¹ R. Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936), pp. 272-279.

alternatives.

Universals are those cultural values which are embraced by all members of a society.

Specialities are those cultural values which are held by a certain category of members only.

Alternatives are those cultural values which are optional to all members of a society.

The existence and preservation of this pluralistic structure implies per force the idea that the immigrant comes to accept the universals of Canadian society; specialities are preserved; and alternatives are extended.

The clearest understanding of Canadian universal values is best derived from a historical appreciation of British rule in Canada. The effects of this is a pronounced acceptance of inequality. This feeling does not, however, necessarily lead to unfair use of force by the elite, and the result is an attitude of relative indifference by the British elite toward the immigrants' behaviour. This indifference is sufficiently diffused throughout the nation so that most groups do not feel any pressure to assimilate into the dominant British community.

This fact allows the great majority of immigrants to maintain certain cultural characteristics which

distinguish them from the rest of society.

A change in the immigrant's attitude occurs simultaneously with the process of acculturation, when the customs, pattern of behaviour, and the values previously held by the immigrant cease to exercise the same function; instead of being universals, they become specialities or alternatives. In this process of change, the immigrant comes to accept the prevalent universal values, integrating himself with the institutional forms and behavioural patterns typical of Canadian society.³² In this process of change, the sub-cultures have adapted to each other, and each of them have adapted themselves to the Canadian social structure in such way that there is no need for further modification of behaviour, and, according to Linton's theory and nomenclature, these several customs and patterns of behaviours remain, then, as specialities.³³ In the course of time these specialities, too, may change their classification and become alternatives, i.e., optional to all members of the society, as well as to the particular group which once held these values dearly.³⁴

³²This, of course, is not the case with our first type or category of immigrants - "specialized category".

³³This is true as long as there are no clashes.

³⁴R. Linton seems to be in full agreement with this concept when he says that "the first effect of this merging is that the distinctive features of the sub-cultures cease to be specialities and become alternatives, i.e., are thrown open to individual choice." Linton, op. cit., p. 272.

The main element which compels them to change and adapt is not intrinsic but extrinsic. This is the strong incentive presented to them by the local society which creates within them a strong desire for the betterment of their material condition. The improvement of living standards is an overriding sentiment in Canada, and is based largely on the Protestant ideals of thrift and industry.

In order to improve his condition, the immigrant has to be accepted by the receiving society, and in order to accept him, the receiving society demands certain changes of him. First, their activity must be geared to the impersonal demands of big city industry and commerce typified by Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Secondly, the immigrants must integrate with the patterns representative of the local social organization.

The efficient and practical immigrant responds effectively and begins to pursue eagerly the process of adaptation, accepting gradually the local values which are offered to him through the media of education, language, and social conditions.³⁵ The acceptance of these values, however, does not necessarily involve a

³⁵This reaction occurs only among the immigrants of the second and third categories, according to our previous classification.

process of thorough assimilation, for the immigrant may still retain values which he brought with him, but these values are seldom exercised in the new environment where everything is measured with the local values which the immigrant now has to adopt if he is to fit into the social patterns of which he becomes a part. Thus, the process of acculturation is not wholly unilateral - it is an interaction between the already existent and the newly arrived cultures, in which the old and the new immigrant contribute their share respectively to the development of one final culture - the Canadian culture.

The final result therefore is a blending of traits and characteristics, old and new, which combine to form a distinct entity to which we refer now as - Canadian culture.

Today, Canadian society shares with other western, national, industrial states an attitude of "active master of the world",³⁶ based, at least partially, on the "general enhancement of the standards of life".³⁷ The minimum content of Canadian consensus entails at least the belief that uniform literacy and advanced technological training are essential to the pursuit of both labour and leisure.

³⁶Naegele, op. cit., p. 7.

³⁷Ibid.

Accordingly,

"the very existence of science and technology within Canadian society assures, if not a host of definite social patterns, a series of issues that must somehow be solved."³⁸

From all that has been said up to now about the adaptation and integration of the immigrant to the new social environment, it follows that the indicators of these processes are as follows:

1. The extent to which the immigrant accepts the "universal" values prevalent within the Canadian society.
2. The degree to which the "universals" originally held by the immigrant become "alternatives".
3. The extent to which the "specialities" of the various groups are in contradiction with the norms accepted by the Canadian society.

From here on we shall concern ourselves with the analysis of two particular groups of immigrants from agricultural areas. The first of these groups is that category of immigrants that lived in separate groups in their original place apart from the rest of society, and immigrated in compact groups here to the New World where

³⁸Ibid., p. 10.

they continued to live separately from the larger society. The second of these groups is that category of immigrants that were integrated in the larger society in their place of origin, and immigrated individually into the New World where they sought to assimilate the Canadian values and in time became integrated.



THE HUTTERITES AND THE ROMANIANS

These two case studies, i.e., the Hutterites and the Romanians, which shall be presented in the following chapters of this work, present the same general racial origin and, since their physical features are a constant, it makes it easier for us to do a comparative study with regards to the process of acculturation in Canadian society. Moreover, these two groups are of the same general racial stock as the great majority of the Canadian population.

The analysis of these groups as they are involved in the process of immigrant-adaptation to Canadian surroundings is less encumbered than would be an acculturation study of a group of Indians or of a group of colored immigrants.

From the very beginning it should be remembered that there are certain differences between the two groups under study, and between the two groups of immigrants and the larger Canadian society. These differences are based mainly on religion, language, national origin, as well as on cultural backgrounds in general. Since there are differences in cultural background between the two

groups of immigrants, it is only logical to expect a different reaction from each group when in contact with the same, new environment. Each group was confronted with special problems of a different nature in its contact with the new society; and the manner in which each solved these problems was different also, for their attitude and methods were different, i.e., they were group-specific.

The two groups of immigrants selected as the object of study for this work are, as we have seen, the peasant Hutterites and Romanians, both of which are established in the province of Manitoba. The selection of these two groups was made in accordance with certain criteria, which are as follows:

1. Both groups represent a strong rural and agrarian tradition.
2. Both have suffered persecutions in their historic past; the Hutterites have suffered religious persecution, and the Romanians have suffered national persecution, i.e., foreign occupation of their land.
3. Both have a quasi-similar material and educational standard.
4. Both groups belong to the newer immigrants. Both Hutterites and Romanians immigrated at the opening of the twentieth century.
5. Both groups have been placed upon the same level in the social scale of Canadian society (in comparison with the colored immigrants, these two groups have obtained a more favourable position).

CHAPTER I

THE HUTTERITES

Historical Background - Formation of the Group

The study of the contact of a "specialized" group of immigrants with the Canadian society in connection with the factors and variables introduced in the first part of this work will help us to discover uniformities in attitudes, behaviour, and orientations which are characteristic of the respective groups. These findings in turn may be applied, in general, in the study of other "specialized" groups which are closely related to the first. The social and cultural processes which take place following the contact with the Canadian society and the mode or manner in which these "specialized" groups seek to maintain their identity and unity - and all these aspects - offer abundant material for study of cultural change and acculturation.

In general, these "specialized" groups are commonly known in the sociological and anthropological field as religious sects.

Due to certain special historical conditions, including certain social and economic changes, combined

with the circumstances created by the "folkmind" and leaders of the time, these groups made their appearance.³⁹ From the very beginning of their existence, these groups possessed a strong religious orientation.

The question that now arises is, why did these groups organize themselves as a religious sect and not under a different form which was much more common in history? The answer to this question can be found only if we search into the period of sectarian movements which occurred during the period of the Protestant Reformation in Western Europe. The Hutterites are only an expression of a larger cultural and social movement, which has its roots in the decline of the feudal system which caused a series of disturbances among the European peasantry. The mediaeval structure, isolation, and primary group control, gradually began to disappear due to the pressure exercised by the development of commerce, and the widening of contact among different nations and cultures.⁴⁰

V. H. H. Green gives an interesting characterization of this period in his book Renaissance and Reformation.

³⁹ On this see G. E. Chaffee, "The Isolated Religious Sect as an Object for Social Research," The American Journal of Sociology, XXXV (July, 1929-May, 1930), p. 619.

⁴⁰ See W. K. Ferguson, and G. Bruun, A Survey of European Civilization (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947).

In it he says that -

"taken all in all what happened between 1450 and 1660 was a broadening of man's horizons. The enclosed Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages was extended to embody vast new territories in America and Asia which were brought within the scope of European civilization. The spread of man's mind was equally wide, the period which began with the schoolmen ended with the idea of Descartes. There had been an astonishing change and to some extent an impressive advance in every sphere of human activity. But a problem remained which the modern world has never solved satisfactorily. The Reformation and the Renaissance had between them shattered the mediaeval synthesis. In the dissolution of the synthesis . . . the Renaissance distilled the classic elements out of the synthesis and the Reformation sought to free the Biblical from the classical."⁴¹

A little further on he adds -

"Neither religion nor culture provided the new society with a true focal point."⁴²

Humanism and heresy replaced scholasticism which was the basic philosophy of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, a national economy replaced the old economic structure based on production by small regional communities.

⁴¹V. H. H. Green, Renaissance and Reformation; A Survey of European History Between 1450-1660 (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1958), p. 29.

⁴²Ibid.

The ecclesiastical changes, therefore, were not the only changes of the period, rather they represented only a facet of the whole process of transformations. Nevertheless, the religious movements of the period had a great influence upon the thinking of the peasantry.

As a result of this complex of changes, a series of "Peasants' Revolts" ensued; W. Tyler led a revolt in England, J. Hus led one in Bohemia; while in Germany the peasants organized themselves in a revolutionary group called "Bundschuh", the members of which, after fifty years of insurrection, adhered to the Anabaptist movement.

The Hutterites may be considered as a somewhat delayed expression of the social, political, economic, and religious changes of the mediaeval period. The congregation was formed in 1528.

Generally speaking, the course taken by Humanism in Germany may be considered as one of the important factors which contributed to the formation of this religious sect. Humanism in Germany assumes a religious orientation instead of assuming an esthetic character as it did in other parts of Europe.⁴³

In Italy, Humanism was invigorated by the classical spirit and took a more rational character based on the

⁴³ On this see Chaffee, op. cit., p. 620.

pagan but classical civilization of Greece and Rome, while in Germany it was characterized by the return to the simple or primitive form of Christianity. Thus, in Germany, Humanism did not succeed in replacing the feudal vestiges but effected rather a compromise between the old and the new. M. Luther, the most prominent advocate of the religious reforms combined in his philosophical orientation the two currents of thought existent at the time - Scholasticism and Humanism. He is the characteristic figure of the time which demonstrates this curious philosophical duality. Even in his attitude toward peasants, he displays this philosophical compromise. In the first period of social upheaval, Luther pays particular attention to the problems of the peasantry, but when he realized that the peasants' revolts jeopardized the success of the religious revolution, he supported the acts of suppression taken by the princes of the time against the peasantry. It follows, therefore, that the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century did not attain its goal of bringing about a radical change, but preserved a balance between the two institutions - the old and the new. The compromise reached by the religious leaders created a 'status quo' in which the old traits of feudal organization continued to exist in spite of the new spiritual orientation.

The formation of these sectarian groups was

partially a protest against this compromise. Their return to "primitive Christianity" and to common habitation, and their refusal to integrate with the larger society which was controlled by the state, shows their attitude toward the social order of the time - they were seeking escape from that arrangement of a dualistic nature.

To these cultural and social aspects we shall add another which also contributed to the formation of this sectarian group - this was the romantic orientation of the time (Romanticism). Often, in periods of cultural and social crisis, man develops a special mental attitude which manifests itself in an exaggerated emotional expression. Developing extremist tendencies,⁴⁴ man seeks to embrace or accept only certain aspects of an existent situation, denying all others. This emotional and sentimental attitude may be seen in connection with their mystical orientation and the formation of separate groups in which they are able to maintain the condition of religious exaltation. The separation of these groups from the rest of society may be considered as a new cultural orientation sprung from the crisis of the period which

⁴⁴See W. I. Thomas, and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1958), Vol. I.

denies the existent values. The Anabaptists, the Moravians, the Labadists, the Quakers, the Dunkers, the Pietists, the Wesleyites, and the Hutterites are groups that belong to this movement of romantic orientation. They have separated from the rest of society with the intention of adopting new values for themselves.

Thus, the Hutterites are one of the various groups which bears the symbol of that historical period of social disturbance when the circumstances forced them to break away from the rest of society and organize themselves as a religious sect. Once these groups came into existence, they went through periods of crisis and internal conflicts, a fact which in time forced them to formulate a doctrine of beliefs, and a new manner of living, both being necessary for a proper functioning of their congregations.

The history of the Hutterites⁴⁵ fully demonstrates this thesis. The Hutterites are a branch of the Anabaptist movement which had its spiritual roots in the "Swiss Brethren" movement. The latter practiced adult baptism, and was opposed to violence. The Hutterites organized themselves as a separate group - as a Brotherhood -

⁴⁵ See V. J. Peters, "The Hutteriens of Manitoba," Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958. Pp. 1-34.

seeking to differentiate themselves from the original group and all others by adopting the practice of the first "Bruderhof". They were refugees from a "Swiss Brethren" group from southern Germany and Tyrol, and fled to Moravia where they constituted a colony. Here -

"each and everyone laid down upon a cloak spread upon the ground all his earthly possessions unconstrained and with willing mind according to the teaching of the prophets and apostles."⁴⁶

Once this group was formed, certain members assumed the role of leaders and the responsibility of preserving the unity of the group so as to assure its continuity.⁴⁷

One of these leaders, who possessed superior intellectual, oratorical, and organizational qualities, one J. Hutter, in 1533 took over the leadership of the Hutterite community. In a very short period of time this man cemented the unity of the group and gave it a definite form of brotherhood, supplementing their needs by a strong ideology.

⁴⁶G. D. Booth, "Bruderhof Comes to Ontario," The Saturday Night, LV (August 31, 1940), p. 25.

⁴⁷On this see H. H. Gerth, and C. W. Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 245-248.

"When Hutter became leader of the group in 1533 it was held together by little else than the external pressure of persecution. Within the year he persuaded his followers that to prevent discord and achieve ideal brotherhood they must adopt full communism. Some of the cohesive loyalty which they gave to him was able to transfer to his communal ideology. It is significant for Hutterites' survival that Hutter, unlike many subsequent Utopian community leaders, did not leave the group organized around the precarious stability of a personality. It is also significant that within three years he was able to fashion an institutional system which worked."⁴⁸

Following the process of ideological crystallization, which came in response to the desire for preservation of unity and integrity of the group, their tendency of isolation grew stronger. As they began to live in isolation, the society within which they lived began to persecute them, and this forced them to migrate from place to place. As a result of this isolation they were able to preserve their "culturally prescribed" ways of life, and in time isolation became a tenet of the group.

Persecution scattered the Hutterite communities to different parts of Europe. Some of them found refuge in lands under Turkish suzerainty, from where they moved

⁴⁸ L. E. Deets, The Hutterites; A Study of Social Cohesion (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1939), p. 4.

to Russia in 1770. Here they remained for over a century, and then emigrated to the United States where they remained for about fifty years prior to moving on to Canada.

The Hutterites in Canada

The vast territorial extension of Canada with a scattered population and many undeveloped areas attracted the Hutterites. Thus, even before the end of World War I the Hutterites contacted the Canadian government asking permission to migrate here. For a time the Canadian government did not answer, for they were keenly interested in the course of the war. With the war over, the Canadian government, aware of the nation's shortage of manpower favoured the immigration of a group of productive agriculturists and granted them the permission asked for three years before. The Hutterites arrived in Canada in 1918 and settled in Manitoba and Alberta.

The Hutterite immigration into Canada was nothing more than a territorial change or a change of geographical location. The following quotation demonstrates quite clearly this fact about the Hutterite mode of migration:

"On coming to Canada the Hutterites set up colonies in their traditional manner. The leaders arrived first to negotiate the purchase of land and when possible to acquire temporary shelter for the large advance party that soon followed. The advance party usually built four or five large, plain,

wooden structures; communal dwellings; a dining hall, which also housed the kitchen, laundry and bakery; a barn; and machine sheds and work sheds as required. When the work has progressed sufficiently, the rear guard would follow, having wound up the affairs of the old colony in the meantime. In a very short time the new colony was functioning as a new unit; it would prosper and grow in population until in about fifteen years or so it would split up and found another colony."⁴⁹

⁴⁹ A. M. Willms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIV (February, 1958-November, 1958), p. 394.

Factors Contributing to Group Unity and Continuity

From this it follows, therefore, that their mode of migration is a central element in the preservation of their group unity. It is also obvious that the process of fission prevents a Hutterite colony from growing beyond the size consistent with ecological and social feasibility. When a colony grows beyond the desired size, it divides, and by so doing it is able to maintain social and economic equilibrium in the environment in which it happens to be.

C. M. Arensberg says that -

"in biology, students of paleontological evolution, as well as geneticists, have had to invent the concept of the gene-pool. In nature, the gene-pool may be a territorially delineable breeding unit of the members of the animal species who in using a terrain, can find one another for mate selection and continuance of the species on a wider than merely familial basis. Now gene-pools are not communities; the biological point is that some minimal population supports a species." 50

⁵⁰C. M. Arensberg, "The Community as Object and as Sample," American Anthropologist, LXIII, No. 2 (April, 1961), p. 249.

Applying the idea contained in the foregoing quotation to our case, we may say that the preservation and perpetuation of a social system is possible only when there is a sufficient number of people available to occupy all of the vital, traditional roles. It is this element, i.e., a sufficient number of people, which insures continuity of the social system of a group. The continuity of a social system is possible, for in man reproduction is not only biological but also cultural. Man transmits his culture, i.e., learned patterns of behaviour, as well as genes, to his successors.

Analyzing the Hutterite mode of migration, we notice that they have, by observing this factor of preserving a sufficient number of people, assured the perpetuation of their social species. Moreover, their colony includes a special organizational system in which the constituent members coexist in a certain prescribed manner which further assures the continuity of this social system.

Type of Society

The kind of society established by the Hutterites has to be considered from the social aspect in which the individual is caught in the organization-web expressed through the patterns of social relations established by the group in conformity to their cultural orientation. Their colony points up the whole drama of life in which the group coexist in conformity with their traditional culture. It expresses the distinctive way of life which was transmitted from generation to generation. Authoritarian organization is characteristic to a religious sect, and usually it develops to extremes. In order to preserve such a system unadulterated -

"all the forces of the community are to be directed against deviations, which might threaten the venerated central cluster of beliefs and practices."⁵¹

The community, therefore, is everything, the individual is considered good as long as he is an integral part of the community. Their system of unity is such that all parts are dependent upon the whole. Moreover, since the

⁵¹ Deets, op. cit., p. 7.

Hutterite community has a religious character, every social aspect is dependent upon, and has to give priority to this religious orientation. The church community includes the economic system, the school, the political organization, and it affects every aspect of life of the community. According to Deets, their -

"economic activity is a function of community government. Those who have governing authority also, by virtue of their authoritative position, administer economic affairs. There is no economic system which may be thought of as separate from government. It is a system only in the limited sense of being an organization of means of making a living in a communal community where economic activity and governing activity are merged. Education as directed by the Hutterites is almost wholly an institution of the community government. It consists of indoctrination and habituation directed toward disciplining the individual so that he will conform. Moreover, all sectioned activity within the community is regarded as religious . . . there is no distinction within the community between sacred and secular. The concept of the secular applies only to society outside."⁵²

It is plain, therefore, that the Hutterites have developed a concentric social organization⁵³ in

⁵²Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁵³This is type one of our group classification. See page twelve of this work.

which the whole dominates the parts, and in which all aspects of life are dominated by a single institution - the church. In such an organization there is no room for interstitial relationships or activities, there is little individual freedom of choice. The individual is completely integrated and his personality is determined by the whole social and cultural core. He is subjected to the moral and ethical codes of the group, and the group itself is directed by the rules and laws established by the whole community or colony. Put in E. Durkheim's words, a form of "mechanistic solidarity"⁵⁴ prevails, in which there exists a minute regulation of the details of action. The manner or mode in which the Hutterites preserve their unity and cultural characteristics depends largely on the fact that they have successfully reduced contact with the larger society to a minimum. This in turn was possible only because the colony dictates the wishes, aims and goals of its members to such an extent that the members do not seek gratification and satisfaction of their needs outside the colony.

⁵⁴ See P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), pp. 467-471.

Cultural and Social Character

It remains now to discuss in detail the major elements which help constitute the cultural characteristics of the Hutterite group. These elements are as follows: family ties, rate of reproduction, language, education, and faith. These elements shall be discussed according to their importance, this is, the more important ones shall be treated in more detail, while the less important shall be discussed only briefly.

Religion

Religion constitutes one of the fundamental elements contributing to the preservation of the unity of this group. It is very important for the colony to keep in its members a permanent feeling of identification with its religious life, and to perpetuate this holy state which is expressed in its religious meetings through different rituals which keep the religious sentiment alive and sober. Writing in another context - but applicable here - Radcliffe-Brown states that -

" . . . the social function of the rites is obvious; by giving solemn and collective expression to them, the rites reaffirm, renew and strengthen those sentiments on which the social solidarity depends."⁵⁵

Religion with them is a way of life and therefore is incorporated in their daily activities.

"Religious services are held daily as well as twice on Sunday and are quite stereotyped. They consist of singing, praying and a sermon. The latter consists of reading from a

⁵⁵A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (London: Cohen and West Ltd., 1959), p. 164.

book of sermons compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Prayers are made each day at meals and before bedtime."⁵⁶

The religious values such as brotherliness, self-renunciation, passivity in the face of aggression, etcetera, are fundamental elements in their ethical attitude, and is expressed in their acceptance of human salvation through sufference. It is not quite clear yet whether or not sufference is necessary to salvation, this idea has not been expressed as such. Looking back in their history, however, there seems to be a connection between the two elements - sufference and salvation. Several times in their historic past they have been persecuted by the larger societies within which they existed as a unit, and each time they have emphasized salvation; the higher the degree of persecution was, and its consequent sufference, the stronger they emphasized salvation. This religious orientation found expression in their social and economic organization; it strengthened their unity and gave them the feeling of differentiation from the rest of society.

"The Hutterites consider themselves to be a people chosen by God to live the only true form of Christianity, one which entails communal sharing of property and co-operative production and distribution of goods."⁵⁷

⁵⁶B. Kaplan, and T. F. A. Plant, Personality in a Communal Society; An Analysis of the Mental Health of the Hutterites (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Publications, 1956), p. 12.

⁵⁷Ibid.

Their attitude toward this idea of differentiation, i.e., being different from the rest of society, being better, is further evidenced by the following quotation:

"Everything should be arranged for the good of the saints of God in the Church of the Lord according to time, place, property, and opportunity, for one cannot set up a specific instruction for everything. The hearts which are free, willing, unhampered, patient, ready to serve all the children of God, to have everything in common with them, yea, to preserve loyally and constantly in their service, shall remain always in the Lord. Where such hearts of grace exist, everything is soon ordered in the Lord."⁵⁸

The Hutterites have established a sort of theocratic democracy in which equality of the members is recognized, together with their complete subordination to the religious life imposed by the group.

It is not easy to make the distinction between community and congregation in a Hutterite society, for they themselves seem to identify one with the other. Each aspect of life has a religious orientation, and the whole community is integrated within one institution - their church.

⁵⁸U. Stadler, Cherished Instruction on Sin, Excommunication, and the Community of Goods, ca. 1537. Reprinted in V. J. Peters, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

"Complete dedication in the work for the aims and objects of the Church is expected from all members thereof. The capital and surplus produce and surplus funds of each individual congregation or community of the Church is to be used by such community for social work to which the Church is constantly dedicated, healing poor, weak and sickly persons who need, ask for and accept this help, especially children, and for the purchase of lands, stock and equipment for the use of such congregation or community in order that the members thereof may maintain themselves and acquire funds for the purpose of carrying out the aims of the Church." 59

Economic and Socio-Political Organization

The economic system of the Hutterites is based mainly on a production of self-sufficiency in which a balance can be fairly well maintained by reducing consumption to a minimum and increasing production to a maximum. Any difference between production and consumption is sold to the larger society at the established price. Land, machinery, buildings, the produce of the fields, and all other articles or goods produced by the members of the community belong to the colony. The income from the sale of products goes into the common fund of the colony, which is used or spent for the good of all members of the community, for the development and improvement of the colony as a whole, and for the establishment of new colonies which result from the division of an older and fully grown colony.

In the political sphere they do not extend unqualified equality to all members alike. The whole administration of the colony is in the hands of the adult male members who received baptism. The colony is governed by a council whose members are elected by popular vote for life terms. The Minister, the colony manager, and the

farm foreman, are traditionally members of the council. The most respected person in the colony is the Minister. He is the spiritual and temporal head of the community, and his status is exceptional. His advice is sought on many occasions, and he seeks to provide leadership as well as he can. He works hard at the same level with the rest, and lives an exemplary life which he believes brings forth good disciples. The next important member in the colony is the "colony manager" who shares responsibility with the Minister. He is elected by the colony's adult male congregation by ballot. The colony managers, too, must lead exemplary lives, and must show no favouritism. They keep the colony's financial records, and check the work in various departments. The third in rank in the administrative field is the farm foreman. This man, too, is elected by the adult manhood of the colony. He is in charge of agriculture and the colony's manpower. He acts as a connecting link between the manager and the various departments in the colony.

There is no financial compensation for the labour done by the members of the colony. However, the colony takes care of all their basic needs, material and spiritual. Moreover, from time to time the members receive small amounts of money from the manager on certain occasions, especially when they are allowed to

leave the colony for a short visit in the neighbouring towns.

This special kind of socio-political and economic organization is well illustrated in one of the old Hutterite writings in which their social order is described.

"No one among them is idle - just as in a colony of bees in the common hive, one part prepares the honey, another the wax, another furnishes mates and another does something else so that the precious sweet honey may finally be produced and that in an amount not just sufficient for their own needs but enough that man may also be supplied, so is it among them. It is by thorough organization alone that a good work may be established and maintained, especially in the House of God who Himself is a God of order and Master Workman." 60

⁶⁰ Reprinted in "Bruderhof Comes to Ontario," by G. D. Booth, The Saturday Night, LV (August 31, 1940), p. 26.

Family and Education

In the domain of family relations, we find certain arrangements which are peculiar to Hutterite communities. Each and every family occupies a separate apartment which belongs to one common building.⁶¹ Family structure is based on a strong patriarchal character. Procreation is very much encouraged among the Hutterites, and as a result each family has a large number of children - there is an average of ten to twelve children per family. They have "the highest rate of increase of any known population".⁶² The attitude of the parents toward their children is characterized by the two elements of "permissiveness and rigorous discipline".⁶³ The children are well trained and indoctrinated from an early age, and "self-will must be broken to the narrow path early and forcefully, but in love, not in anger".⁶⁴ Regarding formal education, the

⁶¹If a colony is small there is one common building only; if the colony is large, then there may be two or more common buildings.

⁶²J. W. Eaton, and A. J. Mayer, Man's Capacity to Reproduction (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), p. 25.

⁶³Kaplan, and Plant, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶⁴Ibid.

Hutterites enjoyed full liberty for a while, until the Canadian government negotiated an agreement with the colony pertaining to primary and elementary instruction. Finally, the Department of Education of the province of Manitoba set up schools in each colony. The schools are administered by the trustees elected from the colony and no outside children attend these schools, but they have to conform to the program of study of the province of Manitoba. The teacher instructing the children who attend the primary and elementary grades in the colony school must receive proper training in an institution recognized by the Department of Education. The Hutterite children receive instruction in the German language and religion. These two subjects are taught before or after the regular school hours by teachers provided by the colony. The children are strictly supervised by the adult members of the colony who feel responsible for the education of their children and the preservation of discipline. Generally speaking, their education is limited. Hutterite children go to school only till they have reached the age required by the "School Act".

"After children reach fifteen years of age, when it is no longer mandatory to attend school, they go to work in communal farms."⁶⁵

⁶⁵The Winnipeg Free Press, Monday, May 21, 1962.

Hutterites are against higher education, for they believe that it corrupts the morals and attitudes of the members toward communal life. Here, as in every other field, the whole apparatus of check and control is directed toward one aim - to indoctrinate the children in such a way so as to preserve intact the orthodox Hutterite way of life.

Life in the Colony

Value - Orientation and Other Characteristics

Religion, tradition, customs and education are thus the primary mechanisms which regulates the whole of Hutterite social life. Clothes, the beard (which indicates baptism), the mode of life of the family, marriage, common meals, the strict education of the children, all these demonstrate a determination to follow the specific way of life established by their ancestors and passed unaltered from generation to generation. The life in a colony is systematized in such a way that the individual is no longer able to distinguish between his personal will and desire, and the will and desire of the community. Personal attitudes in a Hutterite colony are no more than reflections of the cultural core of the group. The entire life of the individual is controlled and directed to the smallest detail by religious precepts and other traditional customs. This, together with the ceremonies practiced at the time of baptism are quite comparable with the ways of life and rituals practiced or observed by primitive tribes in which each individual observes all customs, and manifests or expresses on specific days, his attachment or loyalty to

the group and his devotion to the ideals of the tribe.

Due to the existence of these sacred values and their application to the entire social system, the Hutterites feel no need for, and have no ambition or desire to excel at individual distinction. Individualism as a value or as a mode of action is unknown to them. They have no desire of obtaining distinctive social positions, or of amassing personal material wealth. All these things show clearly that religion may become a formidable force when it appropriates an economic system based on a collective method of production and distribution in an agricultural society.

In conclusion, the most important cultural and social characteristics of the Hutterites may be summarized as follows:⁶⁶

1. The Hutterites have a value-system completely integrated with a powerful religious orientation.

⁶⁶On this see Kaplan, and Plant, op. cit.;
 J. W. Eaton, "Controlled Acculturation: A Survival Technique of the Hutterites," American Sociological Review, XVII (February, 1952), p. 331; E. L. Pitt, "The Hutterian Brethren in Alberta," Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Alberta, 1949; B. W. Clark, "The Hutterian Communities," Journal of Political Economy, XXXII (June, 1924), pp. 357-374, (August, 1924), pp. 468-486; R. Friedmann, "Hutterite Studies," Essays by Robert Friedmann, collected and published in honor of his seventieth anniversary. Ed. H. S. Bender (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1961), p. 338.

2. A rigid mechanism of social control which functions extremely well, and all members accept the existent social values of the group.
3. A completely communal life, based on communal property, production and distribution.
4. A lack of class differentiation, i.e., social stratification.
5. All social relations take place within the primary group.
6. No tendency toward individualistic orientation.
7. The Hutterite family has a patriarchal character, a high degree of procreation, and a strict control over offspring.
8. The group offers a distinctive social and economic security to members, from birth till death.
9. They have inherited an authoritarian culture based on Anabaptist principles. No deviation from the code of rules is allowed. The members are strongly indoctrinated in one direction - obedience and perpetuation of the traditional faith and social system.
10. A complete subordination of the individual to the needs and interests of the group.

The Process of Acculturation

In all important aspects, their traditional culture and social system have been preserved by the Hutterites in their essential totality for over four hundred years, during which time the pressures from outside influences have not been able to alter the fundamental character of the Hutterite culture.

The problem which confronts us now is to see to what extent the process of acculturation has forced certain changes to take place within the culture; and to see whether or not these changes are significant for the future orientation of this immigrant group. Is it possible that in time these immigrants may become an integral part of Canadian society?

What has been said up to now it demonstrates that the changes that have taken place in Hutterite groups has not severely altered their basic cultural and value orientations. The historical factors which operated to cause the initial Hutterite group to break away from the larger society still exist today. Thus, it does not seem likely that the Hutterite groups of today will have reason to abandon their self-imposed isolation and join the larger society in full membership.

The process of adaptation to the new milieu, and the eventual assimilation of the universal values of Canadian society will involve necessarily not only a rational understanding of the Canadian system of living, but also a break with or a departure from the old cultural practices and values. However, the Hutterite groups have not followed this course, i.e., they have not abandoned their traditional ways of living in the past and are not doing so at present. They continue to be bound by their traditional cultural values. Their adaptation to the new milieu usually occurs only in the area of material culture, where the existent conditions force or entice these immigrants to accept the material benefits of the host society. In order to be able to survive in a society with a high technical development in agriculture, they must be advanced in their agricultural technology. This is to say that they have to make use of the tools and mechanical devices possessed by Canadian society in order to improve their economic condition and thus bring prosperity to the colony. They cannot prosper unless they are able to compete with the market existent outside their colony. The Canadians use modern methods and thus increase their production. Increase of production at a low cost means lower prices of the produce. Thus, the Hutterites have to meet this competition in the market or else suffer the

consequences of inefficiency which brings economic disaster. It is plain, therefore, that while the Hutterites seek to maintain the old policy of cultural isolation as much as possible, they are forced by economic circumstances to make certain adjustments to the larger society. Indeed, they believe themselves to be the chosen people of God, "Gottes Kleine Herde" (God's Little Flock), and they strive to follow to the letter the Christian precepts expressed in the Bible. It is for this, religious, reason that they have chosen to remain isolated, for contact with the larger society to them means contamination, i.e., corruption of their pure, Christian principles. Thus, isolation is strongly sought, yet they cannot afford to remain in complete isolation. As has been mentioned above, economically speaking, at least, they cannot afford isolation which would bring them poverty.

In their contact with the larger society they attempt to remain unaffected by it. It is part of their indoctrination, indeed, to learn how to come in contact with the outside culture and yet not be affected by it. They have sought, then, to prevent internal change from occurring in response to outside forces. The effect of continual contact, however, has been so strong that they have been forced, in spite of themselves, to give in to some changes. The recent attitude of the Manitoba Hutterites has now

changed. Since they could not fight any longer the necessary changes, they have adopted them in such a way as not to disrupt the traditional forms of living. This new orientation developed in response to developments in the field of communication and transportation within Manitoba. As the roads increased in number and improved in condition, and as electricity, radio, and telephone became available to all, the Hutterites found it more and more difficult to keep themselves in isolation. As contacts thus increased, the pressure of change became more and more unbearable.

Confronted with such conditions, the Hutterite groups could react in one or other of the following two ways:

1. To repress completely the tendency of deviation from the established norms, or,
2. To widen the scope of toleration, and to allow the individual some freedom of choice.⁶⁷

In either case, the result will be quasi-similar, for in both cases the attitude of the individual will tend toward deviation - deviation from the traditional system of life. In the first case, if the deviant attitude and

⁶⁷Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 44.

behaviour of the individual is severely sanctioned, discontent and even animosity may follow. In the second case, if freedom of choice is given to the individual, he will gradually depart from the traditional forms and will end by adopting the surrounding cultural values. Obviously, then, in either case, the result will be a gradual acculturation which will end in the integration of the individual into the larger society.

For quite some time now, the Hutterites in Manitoba have been facing such problems as those expounded above. The process of acculturation is slowly but continuously going on. The colonies are anxiously seeking for new ways of maintaining intact the unity of the group. In a close sociological study of the American Hutterites, Eaton found that -

"Hutterites, particularly those in the younger age groups are internalizing some of the values and expectations of their American neighbours. They want more individual initiative and choice and they consider things regarded as luxuries by their elders to be necessities."⁶⁸

Here is the confession of a young Hutterite who came in contact with certain devices presented by the outside society -

⁶⁸Eaton, op. cit., p. 333.

"I am overflowed with happiness when I can listen to a radio . . . last year the teacher had one, I came here every chance I got to learn old-time songs,"

and again,

"I had once a phonograph, just a liddle box it was with Golden Slibbers and Beautiful Brown Eyes and all damnize records, . . . I played it to myself in my room and one time I took it out in the fields and played it for a couple of girls but my mother told the prayer on me and he made me sell it." ⁶⁹

These, of course, are only two of many such cases occurring in Hutterite communities. Two cases, however, are enough for our purpose, i.e., to demonstrate that the Hutterites are faced with the problem of change originating from without. The question now is, how are they going to handle this problem? What are they going to do about it? To try to stop such outside influences has proven to be useless. Therefore, they have decided to take a different course of action, i.e., to accept the fact that change is bound to occur. But, by so doing, they have still not solved the problem, for the question now is, in what manner are they to accept change?

⁶⁹Reproduced from E. Stoebler, "The Lord Will Take Care of Us," MacLean's Magazine, LXV, pp. 14-15.
N.B.: The misspelled words in this quotation are not mine. This is an accurate reproduction of the quotation.

If the change is accepted freely and fully, then the unity of the group will be shattered, and the old tradition thrown aside by the younger generations. In order to explain the manner in which the Hutterite colonies are attempting to solve their problem of change and deviation, we shall make use again of Eaton's findings.

"The rules among the Schmiedenleut Hutterites are usually proposed at an inter-colony meeting of elected lay preachers, and are intended to combat a specific innovation in personal behaviour of some members which some of the preachers regard as a violation of the unwritten mores. The new practice must be more than an isolated deviation of the sort which is controlled effectively through the normal process of community discipline - punishment of the offender by admonition, standing up in Church, and temporary ritual excommunication. Only when a deviation becomes widespread in one or more colonies are the leaders likely to appeal for a formal statement of the unwritten community code When the pressure for change becomes strong enough among the members to threaten harmony and unity, the rule ceases to be enforced. In time a new rule will be passed to give formal recognition that a new practice is now authorized."⁷⁰

It is obvious that the Hutterites are struggling hard to maintain a proper balance between internal and external forces. The outside forces press hard against

⁷⁰ Eaton, op. cit., p. 334.

the shield of the group, seeking to come in, while the inside forces seek to keep them out. What is worse is the fact that there seem to exist antagonistic tendencies within the group, i.e., there are members who hold opinions which are at variance with those of the group as a whole. Young members, like the one quoted above, are quite willing to meet the outside forces half way. The conflicts from within, therefore, are between the two existing conditions, that of a desire for maintaining stability based on the old tradition, and that of change based on the new orientation which is conditioned by the contact with the larger society. Such being the case, the inevitable result - acculturation - will arrive some day. At present, however, the pressure for change, and its results, are still controlled to a large extent by the group, which is yet able to preserve a proper balance between the old and the new. This process of controlled change is called "controlled acculturation" by Eaton who defines it as follows:

"It is the process by which one culture accepts a practice from another culture, but integrates the new practice into its own existing value system. It does not surrender its autonomy or separate identity, although the change may involve a modification of the degree of autonomy."⁷¹

⁷¹Eaton, op. cit., p. 338.

The intense control from within creates a very uncomfortable situation for the individual Hutterite who is caught between two forces, the forces of change from the outside, and the rigorous control from the inside exercised by the group with the intention of maintaining the desired stability. This double process, i.e., on the one hand, the tendency toward acculturation; and on the other, the way in which the individual seeks to justify and rationalize his existence within the group, in which the individual is caught, opens an entire field of investigation for the students of psychology.

A close investigation into the attitudes of the individual Hutterite toward the forces of change from without will enable us to understand the effectiveness of the Hutterite culture which has been able to mould and shape the personality of the individual until it is brought to a level which is common to all. The personality of the Hutterite is so shaped that the individual is not prepared to live in another society, to face new environments, in spite of an inner desire, created by curiosity, to do so. Many a Hutterite has ventured to cross the border into the larger society, but has returned willingly to his colony due to his unpreparedness. The following passages illustrate this unpreparedness of the individual Hutterite, this barrier which he finds so difficult to

cross. One of them once said -

"I left the colony once as some fellows do when they're young and unquiet and want to know what it's like to be out in the world. I found out. I got around. I dressed in suits with padded shoulders, I talked to a lot of guys and women. I came back."⁷²

And another tells us his reasoning regarding life on the other side -

"I never was tempted yet to go away. If we leave the colony we got nothing but the clothes we walk out in and when I figger how it would be if I had to look for a job and maybe not get one, I'm scared already So far I got only three kits but if I was in the world and had more, the money I'd make would have to stretch thinner and thinner for all, on the colony each kit gets what it needs no matter how many we have."⁷³

From the above quotations, it follows that the Hutterite has discovered for himself his inability to cross the line of demarcation between his cultural values and those of the larger society. Until now, very few Hutterites have been able to successfully cross this line or barrier. Their inability to cross this barrier is conditioned by the culture developed within their colonies. As has been mentioned previously in this work, the Hutterite individual

⁷²Stoebler, op. cit., p. 42.

⁷³Ibid.

receives from an early age an education which prepares him for a Hutterite way of life. The individual is thus not prepared to face Canadian conditions, since he does not possess the educational background necessary for orientation in an independent economy. All these elements and forces hold the individual within the boundaries of the group in which he was born and reared. The Hutterite system creates a type of personality which can function well only within the social frame established by this social species - the Hutterite people. The Hutterite individual is a type formed by a society based on the principle of collectivity, a society in which the personality of the individual is subdued to such a degree that it cannot act independently. This explains their ability as a group to maintain unity and stability. The forces of change from outside, therefore, did not have such a great effect on the psychological state of the individual Hutterite.

These aspects of Hutterite society have been brought forth with one purpose in mind - to understand the complex of phenomena which is involved in the preservation of unity of a social group, and the nature of contact of this culture with another culture which differs from it in cultural values. In other words, we wished to see what enabled the Hutterites to preserve their system unaltered, what the nature of the contact with the Canadian culture was, and

what the final result of this contact will be. The socio-cultural elements discussed in the body of this chapter are as follows: origins, tendency towards isolation, social relations within the group, the position of the individual Hutterite in his society, organizational patterns, and religious orientation. All these elements of Hutterite culture are in their turn strongly influenced by a collectivistic economic structure which helps them to preserve their unity and isolation.

In comparison with this culture, Canadian society is very different and contact has resulted in cultural antagonism which kept them apart ever since they came in contact with one another. The barrier between the two cultures was created at the moment of first contact. As a matter of fact, contact between the two cultures has taken place along this barrier all the time, but very little crossing has been done by either side. Crossing has not taken place, due to the many conditions already discussed, which may be summarized as follows: the Hutterite crossed it on occasion but found that he was not prepared to live on the other side of the barrier; elements of Canadian culture have crossed the barrier several times but their influence was staved off. The two forces are continuously at play, the one force pushing from the outside, the other force pushing back to keep it out. The question that now

arises is, for how long will the inner force remain capable of resisting the outside force? To answer this question accurately, now, is not possible, only time will tell.

There is another aspect to this problem, however, which if properly understood may give us a clue to the desired answer. Looking back in history at the whole course of existence of Hutterite society, a certain pattern appears, which, if correctly interpreted, may tell us something. The pattern referred to here is an historical cycle followed by the Hutterites, from the time of their formation until today. In the sixteenth century they broke away from the larger society of which they were a part. After their separation, there followed a period of internal conflict and confusion. This period of confusion was followed by a sober period of social organization and crystallization of ideals. Once their internal structure had been established, they were and have been able to exist in isolation according to this established order. When the pressure of change from the outside became unbearable, they closed their ranks, and acted effectively by going to another area where the pressure was less. According to this cyclical theory, they attained a golden age at the turn of the present century. But where can they go from here? History shows us that every society is subject to change - therefore, their

society, too, is subject to change. Now, interaction of the factors or elements discussed up to now has created the already discussed situation which is directing a change in their society along the path of acculturation, and finally, integration. How long this will take is difficult to say. But it would appear that it will not take very long.

As a final conclusion, therefore, we are safe in believing that the Hutterites have already entered the road to change. And, as has been pointed out previously, this change is toward integration. Unless new elements are brought into the field, such as moving out of Manitoba, as it stands now, the Hutterite society shall gradually be assimilated by Canadian society. Time has brought changes within both societies. There are only two things, outside actually moving, that the Hutterites may do now - change with the time, or keep the time from changing. It is obvious that they cannot stop the time, therefore, there is one alternative left to them - to change with the time.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMANIANS

There is very little known about the Romanian immigrants in Canada, in particular about those who have established themselves in Manitoba. It is the aim of this work to contribute to the understanding of the process of acculturation and the resulting assimilation of the Romanian immigrants into Canadian society.

In a presentation related to the establishment of Romanian immigrants in Manitoba, the first step will be to present their cultural characteristics. This will enable us to understand more easily the process of acculturation underwent by these immigrants and their assimilation.

No doubt, it is quite obvious that the writer has sought to avoid throughout this work the problem of acceptance or non-acceptance of certain immigrants, and a discussion of "restrictions" as presented by certain biologists and nationalists who contend that certain

groups of immigrants are inferior by nature⁷⁴ and therefore cannot adapt to and assimilate a culture superior to their own. The writer chose to disregard such ideas, due to their invalidity, and followed the scientific approach offered by the anthropological discipline, giving priority to the cultural orientation of immigrants.

As has been pointed out previously, most immigrants who emigrant as "individuals" have similar responses in their contact with the new medium. This response is mainly manifested through the process of regrouping and through an orientation which is directed toward the larger society.

The Romanians, too, being transplanted individually from their homeland, possessed those characteristics which are common to this category of immigrants.⁷⁵

The problem which presently demands our attention is to see what those stages of adaptation were that the Romanian peasant went through; to what extent these immigrants in the process of acculturation have lost their cultural traits; and how the Romanians from Manitoba may be considered as a group which has integrated completely into Canadian culture.

⁷⁴See C. Wittke, We Who Built America; The Saga of the Immigrant (New York: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1939), p. 407.

⁷⁵See the classification of immigrants made in the Introduction of this work, pp. 12-14.

The Romanian Immigrant
His Original Environment

In order to delineate the local cultural differences which characterize the different groups of Romanian peasants who migrated to the New World - and thereby to avoid confusion - we shall first describe those immigrants who came from different provinces, and who have different cultural characteristics.

The Romanians who migrated to the New World may be divided into three groups according to their place of origin from within Romania. This classification is important because the immigrants have regrouped here according to the cultural ties which existed in their place of origin. These three groups are as follows:

1. Romanians from the Old Kingdom.⁷⁶
(Vechiul Regat.)
2. Romanians from Transylvania.⁷⁷
(Transilvania.)
3. Romanians from Bucovina.⁷⁷

⁷⁶This was a separate and independent Kingdom.

⁷⁷These two provinces were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

It is very difficult to understand the effect of the new milieu upon the Romanian immigrant, and his attitude toward identification with the new culture, unless we compare the two environments, i.e., the environment in his homeland, and the Canadian environment. It is necessary to know and understand the conditions in which he previously lived if we want to understand the nature of his reaction to the new environment.

Generally speaking, the two most important elements which caused the Romanian peasant to migrate to the New World were the following:

1. The hardships and dissatisfaction which he encountered at every step in his homeland.
2. The attractive image of economic prosperity in the New World.

V. P. Fairchild, in his study on movements of migration, considers migrations as an essentially economic phenomenon.

"The European peasant comes to America because he can - or believes he can - secure a greater return in material welfare for the amount of labor expended in this country than in his homeland."⁷⁸

⁷⁸V. P. Fairchild, Immigration; A World Movement and its American Significance (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1913), p. 145.

Moreover, Fairchild considers the fluctuation of prosperity between the Old and the New Worlds as the most important factor which regulated the process of migration.

"A period of good times in this country attracts large numbers of immigrants by promising large rewards for labor; an industrial depression checks the incoming current, and sends away many of those who are here."⁷⁹

In the case of the Romanian immigrants, however, this particular point of view does not apply, for there were some other factors existent in their homeland which caused them to abandon their place of origin.

Although there were certain fundamental cultural elements present in all parts of Romania, each of the three provinces had its own peculiar local conditions which differentiated it from all others. According to our previous classification, there were three broad categories of Romanians, each of which differed from the other two according to social, economic, and political factors which naturally affected the lives of the local inhabitants.

From every point of view, the condition of the peasant in the Old Kingdom was more favourable than the

⁷⁹Ibid.

conditions present in the other two provinces which were constantly under foreign control and influence.

Since the Romanian immigrants established in Manitoba come mostly from these two foreign-controlled Romanian provinces, i.e., Bucovina and Transylvania, we shall investigate the conditions which existed there. These two provinces were under direct control of the Austrian Empire which was highly centralized: all orders came from the central government in Vienna.⁸⁰ The Austrian Empire, however, was not unitary; rather, it was highly heterogenous, composed of lands inhabited by peoples of different backgrounds and culture. All these different cultural groups therefore existed side by side in the same empire and were controlled from one capital. But each unit or group retained a certain degree of cultural autonomy, in terms of language, customs, and national aspirations. The central government from Vienna tolerated some of those localisms because of the large number of people that held them (Hungarians and Bohemians), but were unwilling to put up with the rest of them who were held or practiced by a relatively small number of people

⁸⁰C. Daicoviciu et al., Din Istoria Transilvaniei (From Transylvanian History), Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1961, 2 vols.; N. Iorga, Histoire de Romains (Bucharest: L'Academie Roumaine, 1937), 3 vols.; K. Horedt, Contributii la Istoria Transilvaniei (Contribution to the History of Transylvania), Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1958.

(Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovenes, etcetera).

The Austrians strove for conformity within the boundaries of their empire and passed harsh rules for the oppression of those minorities whose national aspirations they considered dangerous to the unity of the empire as a whole. On the other hand, the minorities resisted with all their might this process of forced integration, organizing themselves from time to time in local underground movements. It is this continuous physical and emotional struggle that gave the final touch to their distinctive attitudes and orientation. The heart of the Romanians was always over the boundary of the Austrian Empire with the other Romanians who were not dominated by the same stern master, while physically they remained part of the Austrian Empire which continually sought their assimilation. Following 1867, the condition of the Romanians in Transylvania was even worse than before, for now they had two masters. In that year the Austrians gave to Hungary a status of autonomy and entrusted that country with the direct control of certain minorities along the eastern border of the Empire. Often the orders sent from Vienna were modified in Budapest to serve Hungarian interests. The Hungarians were a cruel lot, haughty and intolerant. As a result of this change, Romanian discontent often grew to the point of national uprising only to be each time cruelly suppressed

by the Magyars.⁸¹

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Romanian lot became unbearable. Sixty-one percent⁸² of the total Romanian population had very little land - only enough for a meagre existence, and as for the rest, they were virtually landless. As their means of existence began to lessen, the Romanians began to abandon their homes, seeking a new beginning.

The Romanian peasant is closely tied to his culture - he did not seek to emigrate to foreign lands, primarily, but to his brethren outside the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus, in 1870 from a number of 16,458 passports issued by the local authorities, only 591 were for foreign lands, the rest were all for the Old Kingdom.⁸³

The social position of the Romanian peasant in the occupied provinces may be likened to a system of caste, i.e., all rights were reserved to a small minority and social mobility was forbidden. The Romanian peasant was kept at the lowest social level and no promotion to higher

⁸¹The great majority of the populations in these two provinces were Romanians; only the ruling class were of Magyar or German stock.

⁸²Daicoviciu et al., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 207.

⁸³J. Hintz, Das Wandernde Siebenburgen (Kronstadt, 1876), p. 32.

offices was allowed to him.

And politically speaking, they were no better off either. The governments were formed by Magyar or German personnel. All appointments to the various departments of state were made following a careful selection of desired people. In Bucovina the official language was German, in Transylvania it was the Magyar language. Thus, the Romanians could not enter the governing caste. Moreover, the great majority of the peasants could not even understand the language of their rulers.

All these factors - social, economic, and political - created conditions unbearable for the Romanian peasant, many of whom decided to take the road of migration. Between 1883 and 1892 over fifty thousand peasants emigrated to the Old Kingdom.⁸⁴ Following these dates, however, two new elements came into play which developed new conditions. News came from across the border - from the Old Kingdom - that it could not successfully accommodate any additional large number of immigrants and at about the same time posters were sent from the Laurier Government in Canada to the Empire, showing the economic opportunities there. As a result of these two developments, many Romanians decided to start a new life in the "land of opportunity". Thus, between 1899

⁸⁴ Daicoviciu et al., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 217.

and 1900, over fifteen thousand⁸⁵ peasants migrated to the New World, i.e., to the United States of America and Canada. From this group of immigrants, about six families reached the district of Assiniboine, which, in 1905, was incorporated in the province of Saskatchewan. A few years later they moved from Saskatchewan to Manitoba. These were the first Romanian immigrants to reach this province.

The pathetic conditions which caused the migration of the Romanian peasants, and their feelings about those conditions, are very well expressed by some Romanians who returned home after World War I.⁸⁶ The following interview of a returned Romanian immigrant was made by D. J. Hall, who travelled in those provinces under foreign occupation, and talked to the inhabitants.

"You English have always been free, you don't know what is to have some one trampling on you. . . . Suppose you were a Rumanian, and loved your country every inch of it. And then you were told it wasn't yours and never had been, that the children of your own body were Magyars, that to teach them their own tongue was a crime. Suppose you were told all the time that you

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 218.

⁸⁶The Romanians who made these statements immigrated to the United States at the turn of the present century and remained there until the great war. After World War I, their provinces were given to Romania by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, and quite a few of them returned home.

were a foreign scum, when your people had been in the country before Magyar ever came to Europe. Do anything about it? of course we tried to. But what we could do against an army? We were watched all the time; one sign of life and we were crushed. Why even if one of the few Rumanian newspapers asked for the smallest thing the editor was thrown in jail. It was hopeless. Do you think a man could live in a country like that, even if it was his own?"⁸⁷

⁸⁷D. J. Hall, Rumanian Furrow (London: Methnen and Co. Ltd., 1933), p. 139.

Conditions in the New Milieu

The conditions the Romanians found in Canada were not by any means easy, but they satisfied their strong desire for holding property. They were given homesteads in the northern part of Manitoba - in Lenard and Shell Valley. There they cut down the bush, built cottages for themselves, and cleared the land for agriculture. All this was not easy when one has to start with nothing, i.e., without financial assistance or implements.

They struggled hard against many odds and were able to build a shelter and clear small areas of land necessary for crops. Thus they began subsistence farming in their new land. The hard pioneering conditions here made them think often of their homeland where the land was better, but unobtainable due to lack of cash. Many sought to accumulate some money and return home, and after a while, the motto was "to make a thousand and the fare, and then return".⁸⁸ A few returned home successfully, but the great majority remained, and kept on hoping until they realized that it was impossible. When the "returning home" idea

⁸⁸J. Kosa in his study of the Hungarian immigrants noted this attitude of the Romanian immigrants. J. Kosa, Land of Choice (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 19.

could no longer be entertained, they decided to call over here the other members of their families, or other relatives, so that they might be together under the new sky. Following the first decade of the twentieth century a World War seemed inevitable and the Romanians began to change their outlook on life. They began to accept the idea of permanently staying on in Canada. They did not like war, and to return home meant to partake in it.⁸⁹ As a matter of fact, it was in this period, just before World War I, that they called over to Canada most of their young male relatives. The reason was plain: to prevent them from going to battle.

The young people who arrived here, too, for a while, entertained thoughts of returning; but with the war over and prosperity returned to Canada, they began to look for a future here.

In time, they all married and raised children, and the idea of "returning home" remained only a bedtime story for the young ones.

To better understand the process of adaptation of the Romanian peasant to the new milieu, we shall refer

⁸⁹For them to return home would have meant to be drafted in the Austro-Hungarian army and fight the enemy of the Empire, even if it meant fighting against their own brethren from the Old Kingdom. It is for this reason that they were so reluctant to return home just before the war started.

back, as often as necessary, to the conditions in his homeland. In other words, his response here has to be studied in relation to the orientation he held at home.

Being dispossessed, in the historical past, of the privilege of owning land, he blamed all his hardships and misery on that fact, for he was convinced that "with the earth there is no hunger". All he wished for, therefore, was to have a piece of land of his own, and to enjoy the freedom to work it and to enjoy its produce. Moreover, due to the circumstances present in Romania, he had had a very low standard of living. This fact made him very thrifty and able to subsist on little. These orientations were brought here with him. Thus, after a time of hard work and frugal existence, the immigrant was able to save rather large amounts of money with which he bought more land. It is plain, therefore, that Canada offered him something which he had been denied at home. The new economic element was not the only thing he found here. He found here, also, the freedom to work the land and to enjoy its produce, and more. In other words, he came in contact with the values of democracy which stresses individual freedom. As a matter of fact, he found in this democracy more than he had expected to find. He found that democracy -

"stresses the conditions for
putting within the reach of the

ordinary man the opportunities of education and the making of a living, regardless of his confessional faith, his ethnic group, and his social level."⁹⁰

These democratic values constituted the fundamental factors in the process of acculturation of these Romanian immigrants. Due to the close parallels between the aspirations held by the Romanian immigrants and the values prevalent in Canadian society, there existed great possibilities for the individual immigrant to find gratification and satisfaction in the new milieu.

⁹⁰M. Lerner, America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States Today (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), pp. 362-363.

Number of Romanian Immigrants in Canada

The exact number of immigrants of Romanian descent and their descendants is not precisely known. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Ottawa classifies immigrants according to their countries of origin. This is disadvantageous to the Romanians because, as we mentioned earlier, parts of Romania belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, and since most Romanians migrated here before World War I they were classified as members of that Empire without mention of their true nationality. On the other hand, many people of German, Hungarian, and Jewish origin immigrated from these occupied Romanian provinces, and, on their arrival here, declared themselves Romanians.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics began to record the Romanian figures in 1901. Following is a table of those records up to 1951:

TABLE I

POPULATION OF ROMANIAN ORIGIN AT EACH CENSUS
FROM 1901 TO 1951

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1901	354 *
1911	5,883 *
1921	13,470
1931	29,056
1941	24,684
1951	23,601

* The Canadian census of 1901 and 1911 enumerated the Romanians together with Bulgarians, and the latter group cannot be extracted now. Accurate data on the number of Romanians is available only from 1921 on.

Out of the total of 23,601 Romanians in Canada, only 1,326 are found in Manitoba.

TABLE 2

ROMANIAN POPULATION BY SEX
FOR THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA 1951

Total	Male	Female
1,326	696	630

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF THE LARGEST ROMANIAN CENTERS
IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>
Shell Valley	115
Lenard	88
Inglis	25
Roblin	32
Winnipeg	328

The Process of Regrouping Among Romanian Immigrants

The most important role in the process of regrouping was played by certain socio-cultural forces. These forces brought them together in small informal groups in order to be able to speak their language, sing their songs, pray in their own fashion, and share many other experiences with regional character.⁹¹

In the first period of regrouping, group life was characterized by reciprocal visits, sporadic meetings, "different chores bee",⁹² and the joint observance or celebration of different religious festivities. In all these visits or meetings they sang, played games, told stories, or informed each other about the news received from their homeland. Together they discussed their plans, their successes and failures, and shared their longing for their homeland. During the first decade, they did

⁹¹Almost all Romanian immigrants in Manitoba came from that region of Romania that was occupied by the Austro-Hungarians. Thus, all their patterns of behaviour were the same. It was a pleasant experience, almost a necessity, for them, therefore, to act, speak, and pray in their habitual manner.

⁹²"Different chores bee" is a custom in Romania which is known as "claca". It consists in voluntary collective work among the peasants, usually accompanied by games, sing-song, etcetera.

not develop any formal organization. This was due to the fact that for the first ten years they had no intention of permanent settlement. Their thoughts were always in the old country. Moreover, in the beginning they were quite poor, and the number quite small. Although their religious orientation was quite strong, they were not able to build a church during the first years. In an interview taken by the writer on one of his visits in Shell Valley, Manitoba, one of the peasants made the following statement:

"In the first few years, we used to hold religious services in private homes every Sunday. We had no priest and the service used to be made by one of our older people, as he knew best. After the service we used to gather in one place, have a common meal, and talk in sweet words about the things learned from our ancestors. This is how we used to spend our Sundays and Holy Days of the year."

When it came to baptism, marriage, and burial, a priest was necessary, for according to the Orthodox faith no layman can perform such duties. When there was no Romanian priest available, they appealed to the Ukrainian priest for such services, for the Ukrainians in that district had the same religion as themselves, i.e., Orthodox Christianity.

As the first and most difficult years passed, and as the clouds of war were gathering over the European sky, the Romanians in Manitoba began to change their attitudes.

They realized that to return home would be most inconvenient for them; first, because they had accomplished something here; and secondly, because returning home would have meant taking part in war. Then, too, as the time passed their numbers grew, and their condition improved. In other words, they began to like it here. With this change of attitude came the necessity to solve a series of problems which followed their decision to make their settlement permanent in Manitoba. These simple peasants, endowed with exceptional ability, sought to organize themselves effectively so as to meet the new conditions created by their decision to remain here permanently. Around 1906 they formed their first formal organization, of a distinctive cultural character, in which they were able to express themselves in their traditional way, as well as to help each other whenever necessary. They drafted a charter and established membership criteria. There were regular meetings during which they discussed common interests and decided on the various common activities which they found desirable.

"In those meetings we had the chance to get together, talk to each other. We used to organize different artistical programmes; we were able to find out if anyone from among us needed a helping hand; we were discussing the grain and the cattle prices. We

discussed what there could be done to improve our production, and we were helping with money anyone from our group that needed such a help."⁹³

Economically speaking, this approach was quite effective, for only in this way could a small group of peasants improve their material conditions. Socially, too, this was an effective means of bringing these immigrants together in an organized whole which could exercise social control over the component individuals. Due to this social control over the group, the Romanian immigrants of that remote region were protected against developing any types of anti-social behaviour.⁹⁴ Thrown into the midst of a strange milieu, not knowing the legal system present in this society, the customs of land ownership, or language, the Romanian immigrant might well have become an individual outside the control of the social mechanisms of coercion (to conformity).⁹⁵

⁹³From an interview taken by the writer in one of his visits to Shell Valley, Manitoba.

⁹⁴From an investigation made by the writer into the criminal records of the province, he found that there are no criminal offenses committed by the Romanian immigrants of this particular region. There were only a few of them, who were fined for the illegal making of distilled alcohol.

⁹⁵See M. B. Trendley, "Formal Organization and the Americanization Process; With Special Reference to the Greeks of Boston," The American Sociological Review, XIV (February, 1949), p. 47.

This situation, however, was avoided due to the regrouping process. Through this process of regrouping, the group was able to exercise social control over the individual, thus keeping him in line. This social control exercised by the Romanian group over individual members constituted an important factor in the orientation of individuals and the process of resocialization within the new milieu. The effect that group sanctions of the behaviour of the individual member may have is plainly described by Radcliffe-Brown in one of his studies on illiterate societies.

"They are effective; first, through the desire of the individual to obtain the approbation of his fellows, to win such rewards or to avoid such punishments as the community offers or threatens; and secondly, through the fact that the individual learns to react to particular modes of behaviour with judgements of approval and disapproval in the same way as do his fellows, and therefore measures his own behaviour both in anticipation and in retrospect by standards which conform more or less to those prevalent in the community to which he belongs."⁹⁶

Along with their cultural and economic organization

96

Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 205.

came the organization of their church - the Romanian Orthodox Church.⁹⁷ Gathering their resources together, the Manitoba Romanians were able, by 1908, to build their first church in Lenard.⁹⁸ This was St. Elias Romanian Orthodox Church. Later, churches were built in other communities where Romanians resided - many of them in the province of Saskatchewan close to the Manitoban border. Since most Romanians in Canada live in the rural areas, their churches are neither elaborate nor large. They are small country churches, usually built by the faithful themselves.⁹⁹

⁹⁷The first Romanian church in Canada was built in 1902. They organized a parish in Regina, Saskatchewan, and in 1902 petitioned Metropolitan Partenie of Moldova to send them a priest. Following their request, the Metropolitan sent Archimandrite Evghenie Ungureanu from Neamt (pronounced Namtz) Monastery. He returned to Moldova for a visit in 1905, and on his return here brought along with him another monk, Father Silvestru Ionescu, who later formed an independent parish.

⁹⁸Lenard is only five miles south of Shell Valley. Lenard was the initial settlement of the Romanian immigrants, and most of them remain in this village. Only later have they divided due to land sectioning. In the beginning, some of them had farms in Shell Valley and residence in Lenard. Later they moved on their new lands, but still belonged to the parish and cultural organization in Lenard. Later still, in 1920, those from Shell Valley have built their own church.

⁹⁹There always has been a shortage of Romanian priests in Canada. Because of this shortage, one priest usually administers more than one parish. The congregation goes to that church where the priest is serving on that particular Sunday. Sometimes they go to as many as four different churches in a month, all with the same priest officiating.

It must be clearly understood from the beginning that these Romanian churches were independent, i.e., there was no central organization anywhere in North America which regulated their functions.¹⁰⁰ Due to this fact, many difficulties arose between the parishioners and the parish priest. The priest usually came from Romania and attempted to conduct the affairs of the church according to the rules and regulations existent in Romania. The people here, on the other hand, felt that they alone were entitled to decide how things should be done, for the church was theirs, and the priest their employee. This fact shows that the Romanians in Manitoba had already abandoned some of their traditional religious values, while moving toward a Canadian orientation of local control,¹⁰¹ i.e., each congregation or group has the right to decide for itself its mode of action in religious matters.

This new orientation brought dissension among the members of the group from time to time, or discord between two factions. One faction would side with the priest, the

¹⁰⁰From the organizational point of view, the Romanian church in Canada was unlike that of Romania. In Romania, each province had its own Episcopate, and all the Episcopates belonged to the central core of the Romanian Patriarchy. The rules and regulations for the good government of the church were passed by the Holy Synod, in Bucharest, which consisted of a number of high clergymen presided over by the Patriarch himself.

¹⁰¹This new orientation of the Romanian immigrants is discussed at length in the chapters to come.

other against him. This sort of disagreement was sometimes weak, other times very strong. In one such case, a disagreement kept the group split for the lifetime of a priest, on whose account the discord started.¹⁰²

All the Romanian churches in Manitoba have established Sunday Schools with the intention of preserving and passing to posterity the traditional culture of Romanian society and their language. The quality and number of qualified instructors, however, is very limited and the objective of such schools is not always successfully attained. The priest is the only person qualified for such a task and he does not have the necessary time, for a priest has, usually, two or three parishes at some distance from each other. Very few young people are skilled and willing to help in this field. Moreover, the children do not seem to be eager to attend Sunday School, and often only a small percentage shows up. Recently, the greatest difficulty in getting children interested in Sunday School is linguistic. Very few Romanian children today speak Romanian. To get them interested, priests have introduced the English

¹⁰²This atmosphere of tension did not end in Manitoba until 1932 when an Episcopate was established in the United States under whose jurisdiction fell all the Romanian churches in Canada. This peace was broken again in 1952 when two Bishops were appointed in America. From 1952 to this day, some Romanian Canadian parishes recognize one Bishop and others recognize the other.

language as the language of instruction. The result is not more fruitful than before, for by introducing English, the priest has defeated the initial purpose of the school. That is to say, the initial motive which brought about the creation of Sunday School was lost, and with this, the group lost its interest. This fact - an important element in the process of acculturation - shall be discussed in the appropriate place.

The Cultural and Social Character
of the Romanian Peasant Before Migration

This section will concern itself with the study of the principal elements which characterized the culture and social relations of the Romanian peasants in Romania. By so doing, we shall be able to understand more readily the changes in cultural values the Romanian immigrant underwent in Canada.

A comparison between the culture possessed by the Romanian immigrants and Canadian culture may be made only in a broad sense, i.e., in the sense that both cultures spring from one broad source - the cultural tradition of Europe. It was much easier for the Romanian immigrant to adapt to Canadian culture than it was for the Hutterite immigrant. This was due to very good reasons, for the Hutterites withdrew themselves centuries ago in isolation where they developed new cultural values, different, and, at times, opposed to the current values of the larger society. The Romanians, on the other hand, have always remained in the midst of a larger society which held certain universal values based on a "secular Literature"¹⁰³

¹⁰³ See Introduction, p. 20 - the classification of society according to Thomas and Znaniecki.

common to all societies of Europe. However, there is little point in discussing, here, the similarities of the two cultures. Our object at present is to stress the differences between them, and point out how these differences were reconciled. In other words, we want to see how the Romanian immigrant succeeded in substituting for his original values, Canadian values which were different from his own, and how he changed the direction of his original orientation, coming closer and closer to that new orientation present in Canada.

The dominant values held by the Romanian peasant in Romania are as follows:¹⁰⁴

1. A strong external religious orientation.
2. Domestic¹⁰⁵ orientation in family relations.
3. Employment and appreciation of nature.
4. Family prestige.
5. Hospitality and generosity.

¹⁰⁴ Some of these values were characteristic only of Romanian peasantry, and not of the whole Romanian society. Romanian peasantry belongs to that distinct cultural type which characterizes the peasantry of Europe.

¹⁰⁵ The term "domestic" here refers to C. C. Zimmerman's classification of family: trustee, domestic, and atomistic types. See C. C. Zimmerman, Family and Civilization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

6. Indifference to politics and obedience to law.
7. Indifference to social status.
8. Individual freedom and initiative.
9. Nationalism and patriotism.
10. Practicality and symbolism.
11. Superstition.
12. Thrift and desire for material security.
13. Work and leisure, i.e., group recreation.

These values will now be discussed in an order different from the one given above. They will be discussed according to their extensiveness and intensity. The more important ones will be discussed in detail, the less important shall be mentioned only briefly. Moreover, they will not be discussed under separate headings; one heading will cover several values.

Religion and Superstition

To the Romanian peasant, religion is "the law", and his attachment to it, and respect for it, is so strong that he seeks with all his might to live by, preserve, and transmit intact to his successors, the religion he inherited from his predecessors.

"He who does not know the
Christian 'law' and live by
it, is not a human being."¹⁰⁶

This is a well-known saying among the Romanian peasantry. This saying, no doubt, gives us a clue to their religious orientation.

In spite of his attachment to his religion, however, the Romanian peasant had no rational explanation for it. It would have been almost impossible for him to explain his religious conviction in theological terms. He was not concerned with the rational explanation of his faith - he was satisfied with his religion as it was handed down to him by his ancestors. In other words, he was not concerned with those specific theological principles which underlay

¹⁰⁶ Since Orthodox Christianity is the State religion in Romania, the so-called "Christian law" mentioned here refers to this particular religious denomination.

his religious behaviour. He was rather concerned with and attached to the external expressions of his inherited faith. He desired to observe the correct manner of crossing himself on various ceremonial occasions; to know how many days a year he had to keep Lent and how to keep it; to know the manner in which a priest should dress and act; to know what the external aspect of his church should be like, and the ways in which he might participate in the services held by the priest.

The religion held by the Romanian peasant, his faith, ethics and philosophy, must be viewed as a cultural product adapted to his daily needs, and only secondarily viewed as a theological doctrine stripped of its environmental elements. According to this view, Romanian clergymen¹⁰⁷ were not considered to constitute a separate caste above the masses.¹⁰⁸ The personality and character of the priest, however, played a very important part in his social relations with the faithful. Thus, some were more respected than others. In order to protect the social dignity of those priests who did not live according to what was expected

¹⁰⁷The Orthodox priests were allowed to marry if they wished. If they chose celibacy, they had to withdraw to a monastery. All parish priests had to be married.

¹⁰⁸The road to priesthood was open to anyone who possessed the desire and ability to receive the long and difficult training. When the training was completed, he was consecrated a priest by a bishop. From that moment on, a priest was expected to live an exemplary life.

of them, the saying was that "one has to do what the priest says, not what the priest does". This illustrates the secular view of the priesthood held by the peasants. Moreover, the Romanian peasant was not a so-called "church-goer", he contacted the priest on certain occasions only, such as birth, baptism, marriage, sickness, and death. As for the regular routine of going to church on Sundays and holidays, this task was left to the elders, and to those who desired special favours from the Divine Power.

The Romanian peasant considered God as omnipotent, the Creator of Man and of everything else visible and invisible. The Romanian peasant dared not to criticize the order of creation, for God made everything - the good and the bad - and man must accept everything that comes from God. For, according to the Bible:

"Naked came I out of my mother's womb,
and naked shall I return thither: the
Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken
away; blessed be the name of the Lord."
Job, 1, 21.

This particular attitude cannot be explained by the word of the Bible alone. Its explanation can be found in the historical past of the Romanian peasant, who sought to maintain a proper balance between the misfortunes which fell upon him, coupled with the faith as taught by his church.

The religion of the Romanian peasant was veiled

in superstition. He feared the power of the unclean or evil spirits which in his vivid imagination were represented by the devil. "Great is God, but clever is the devil", was a view shared by the majority. According to their superstition, the devil had behind him a whole army of evil spirits such as "strigoi", "vampiri", "pricolici", "varcolici", and witches.¹⁰⁹

Another important aspect of their religious orientation was the way the peasant family celebrated religious holidays. These holidays were met with preparations of all sorts. When the festive days arrived, the whole village joined in celebration, first in the church and later at home. Many villagers assembled in one house where there was feasting and dancing until late in the evening. Although drinking was an integral part of their celebrations, alcoholism was almost non-existent among the Romanian peasantry.

During the Christmas season, in particular, there was an atmosphere of joy, gladness and optimism expressed through different traditional customs such as food giving, feasting, caroling, etcetera.

¹⁰⁹ "Strigoi" and "vampiri" are ghosts who leave the tomb on particular nights. "Pricolici" are the werwolves. "Varcolici" are a kind of animal which ate up the moon and so caused the eclipses.

Most carols were of a religious character describing certain scenes from Christian history, or describing the greatness of Christmas. Here are a few lines from two of these carols:

"The star is shining bright in the sky,
Like a great mystery,
The star is shining,
Bringing us good tidings,
That Virgin Mary gives birth to Messiah."

And,

"This evening is a great evening,
The great evening of Christmas,
Get up, get up, great Lords,
For the carollers are coming to you
To bring you good tidings."

Practically all carols end with the following lines:

"For the next year, and many to come,
Health and happiness to you."

In general, the Orthodox church was gracefully and artistically decorated with icons and biblical scenes, some of which were framed in silver and gold which, together with the burning of candles and electric lights, gave an atmosphere of splendour. The priest, who was richly dressed in silvery and golden robes, added the final touch to the impressive atmosphere found in an Orthodox church. This atmosphere, further strengthened by the rituals of the service, made a strong impression on the minds of the faithful. All these rich adornments and rituals impressed the peasants. The mind of the peasant, however, was too simple to understand the symbolism involved. They

interpreted it all literally and were overcome by awe and reverence.

But these were not the only religious feelings that the Romanian peasant experienced. They retained many vestiges of the old pagan myths which still appealed to their imagination. These myths were more important to them than the highly theological concepts which underlay their Christian religion. For this reason, the Romanian peasant was able to combine his religious tenets with the current folk-pagan myths which he continued to preserve. The result was a very practical religion which gave him a high degree of freedom of action. All the myths which he retained in connection with the sun, rain, and the seasons of the year, and which were closely related to the fertility of his lands and, thus, his well-being, were rooted in his beliefs, and were full of significance. He believed in the duality of human nature - matter and spirit. Thus, he sought to keep the soul clean for the Creator, while, at the same time, felt free to gratify his physical desires. In other words, he sought the gratification of all his passions. The spiritual passions he satisfied in a spiritual or religious manner, and the physical passions in a physical or secular manner. Due to this orientation he was able to remain faithful to his church, while living his life to its full extent.

This orientation explains also how it was possible for the Orthodox church to have a firm grip on his mind, at the same being unable to change his view with respect to life in this world.

Economic Life

The economic conditions under which the Romanian peasant lived at home differed in many respects from those he had found in the New World.

We must consider first the standard of living possessed by the Romanian peasant at home. As previously noted, a large number of Romanian peasants were landless, and those who had land had only small plots which did not produce enough for the need of their family. Due to lack of land, they had to go to work for those who had land - the landlords - where they worked long hours, and were paid small wages. If a man could not bring enough money home to make ends meet, his wife went to work with him. In some cases, the whole family worked long hours for one and the same landlord, only to earn a meager existence. This low standard in which the Romanian peasant lived cannot be blamed on him. He was a victim of circumstances. He was a hard worker, possessed initiative, and developed a high domestic industry, but he could not control the social, economic, and political factors which were introduced by a foreign power against his will and desire.

The Romanian rural family produced all they needed

at home. They made their own clothes, shoes, tools, and all other domestic articles necessary to them. Father, mother and children all worked in and out of the house from morning until night. The work was usually divided between the members of the family. The boys worked together with their father on the field, and at home they made new tools, repaired old ones, cut wood, built wagons, put shoes on horses, and so on. The girls remained with their mother to work around the house when there was not immediate need of their help on the field. They were spinning and weaving the thread or yarn into cloths or linen and from it made their clothes, blankets, rugs, drapes, etcetera. They were also experts at needlework or embroidery, and their national costumes were richly embroidered with thread of specific colors.

Tilling the land was the main and most desirable occupation for the Romanian peasant. In his economic orientation land had supreme value, for the whole economy was based on agriculture. Agriculture, thus, was his mode of existence. Each household was almost, but not completely self-sufficient, for they produced all their basic requirements, buying at the local market what they did not produce in the home.

The Romanian peasant was very much attached to his land. Some families lived for generations on the same

property. Each generation, however, inherited less, for the custom was that each father should divide his land among his children in equal shares. For this reason, after two or three generations the inheritance became so small that it could not provide the means of existence for one whole family, unless the inheritor was able to add more land to his inherited plot. This custom of dividing the land among children in equal shares was the determining factor in their impoverishment.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ There were very few nations in Europe at the time who practiced this custom of property division. Almost all European nations practiced the custom of leaving the whole inheritance to the first-born or primogeniture.

Social Position

The social position held by the Romanian peasant was quite low. Romanian peasantry, together with other peasants, formed the lowest rank in the social hierarchy in the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Class mobility was very limited for them,¹¹¹ and they very seldom attempted to climb the social scale. They took pride in and gave status for hard work, honesty, and initiative. Their attitude toward social position is quite well illustrated in the favourite saying of the time -

"The pearl lies at the bottom of the sea;
While the corpse floats on the surface."

Although all Romanian peasants belong to the same social class, certain distinctions were made among themselves. The factors of differentiation¹¹² were few, such as family reputation, standard of living and education, but the most important was property (land).¹¹³ The distinction

¹¹¹ A change in their social status was possible only through long years of education, and some protection from a powerful family.

¹¹² Family reputation, standard of living, and education could have been attained even by a landless but ambitious, honest, hard-working family. Land could be obtained by few families only, and high status went with it regardless of their education or previous conditions of existence.

¹¹³ Property in general (house, cattle, horses, etcetera) was indeed an element of distinction, but land was the most valued.

among themselves was generally manifested only on certain occasions, such as baptisms, weddings, and other social events of this sort, when those better off had to contribute more. In other occasions, the better off had to lend money, seed, or farming equipment to the less fortunate from whom they received, in turn, their appreciation and respect.

The most important element of their social orientation consisted in their values pertinent to wealth. The orientation of the Romanian peasant was such that he did not attach any moral value to his success at wealth accumulation. In other words, he did not strive for wealth in order to appear successful. The saying was that "wealth does not make one a better man". They attached a greater value to personal qualities and integrity. They did not consider that "what is successful must be good", they rather thought that "what is good must eventually be successful".

Family and Marriage

A large¹¹⁴ family was a rule among the Romanian peasantry. This attitude toward large families was created by economic necessity, for they wanted to have many able-bodied children for labour. Added to this was also the attitude that "a child is a blessing in a man's house".

The family structure was more or less of the domestic¹¹⁵ type in which the father was the dominant figure. The authority of the father over his children was absolute until the time of their marriage. Once married, the children established an independent family, but still maintained close relations with their relatives on the paternal line.

The parents were very anxious for their children to grow up so that they might get some help from them. The children began to help on different occasions from an

¹¹⁴ A large family among the Romanian peasantry meant a family composed of five to seven members. They could not very well support a larger one.

¹¹⁵ The term "domestic" here refers to Zimmerman's classification of family: trustee, domestic, atomistic. See Zimmerman, op. cit.

early age - ten years old. Maturity was recognized in boys at the age of eighteen and in girls at the age of sixteen.¹¹⁶ Social recognition of their maturity was given from the moment he or she was allowed to partake in the communal dances of the village. This event, however, did not pass unnoticed - it was almost a social rite. The parents would bring the child to the dance and appoint someone older than the child to supervise and teach the child the right manner of behaving at a dance. This event was known as "scos la hora"¹¹⁷ (brought to the dance). Once the young people passed from one status to another, i.e., from adolescence to adulthood, they began to think of marriage.

Marriage was based on love, for love played a very important role in the life of the Romanian peasant. There were many songs which were sung by lovers to their loved ones. The following is a rough translation of one of these songs:

"He who has no love in the vale
Knows not when the moon rise,

¹¹⁶There were almost no cases when a boy would marry before eighteen. With the girl, however, was a different story. There were exceptions to this rule and some of them married at fifteen and even fourteen.

¹¹⁷"Hora" is a traditional Romanian dance. All the dancers hold hands in a circle and move gracefully from left to the right and back, according to the music.

Neither how long is the night.
He who did not love in the meadow
Does not know when the moon sets,
Nor how lengthy the night is."

Marriage was considered as the most important event in one's life, for they believed that marriage should last a lifetime. Because of its importance, there were many procedures one had to follow previous to the wedding. The young people had the right and liberty to choose their mate. After some time of courtship the youngsters would agree to marriage and went home to tell their respective parents so. Then it was the duty of the parents to meet among themselves and discuss the marriage-to-be. First of all, they had to make sure that they were not closely related by blood. Secondly, they discussed the dowry, and where and how the young couple were going to live. And thirdly, they discussed the wedding, how big it was to be and who was going to finance it.

Usually there was agreement, for most parents were willing to give handsome dowries to their children. This was so because a large dowry gave the donor some social recognition, for it symbolized goodwill and prestige.

With the contact concluded and all the preparations made, the wedding took place on the appointed date. The wedding had to follow certain cultural traditions. When the civil and religious ceremonies were over, the newlyweds went home where the celebrations went on in traditional

fashion for three to four days. As the enthusiasm wore out and the celebration ended, the newlyweds went to their new home, where they established the foundations of a new and independent household. In the new household, as in the old, the husband has full authority over the wife and children. The wife was consulted in major decisions, but the husband had the final word. In other words, the wife had the obligation to advise, but the husband was not obligated to follow her advice.

The popular attitude was that a husband should impose his authority on the wife by force if necessary. Because of this orientation, many husbands took advantage of authority.¹¹⁸ In general, however, they lived in harmony, for the wives were aware of their social status and were willing to play their part well with obedience and faithfulness. As a matter of fact, they accepted their role so well that they would not have anything to do with a man of weak character who would not be able to assume the role of the leader of the household.

The members of a Romanian family passed most of the time together - at work and play. The children spent, thus, most of the time together with their elders. This

¹¹⁸ There were cases when a husband would beat a disobedient wife.

social apprenticeship gave the children a sound orientation which helped them to internalize the cultural values at an early age.¹¹⁹ The dominant values of the family were freedom and individual initiative, but the total orientation was closely related to honour, integrity, and prestige of the family unit. The family was a unit in which the duty of the constituent members was to contribute all they could toward the well-being of the whole. Mutual help or close co-operation between the members of one family¹²⁰ was something that was understood, accepted, and expected by all. The orientation toward the unity and well-being of the extended family was so strong that it became almost a moral principle. Each nuclear family felt bound by this prescribed value and sought eagerly to preserve their unity and independence. They endeavoured to organize and conduct their household affairs effectively so as not to put his family to shame or even to lower the already acquired prestige ("sa nu-si faca neamul de ras").¹²¹ Due to this orientation, the stratification within the

¹¹⁹Juvenile delinquency was apparently totally absent among the Romanian peasantry.

¹²⁰The term "family" here does not refer to the "nuclear family", but to the "extended family", i.e., a wide range of kinsmen related by blood and marriage.

¹²¹Not to put his people or relatives to shame.

family was such that it did not give rise to rivalries and disruptive conditions. If any one member of an extended family was able to climb the social scale, every other member of his family was proud of him. For this reason, quite often there were cases when one family put its resources together in order to send one member for higher education. The able and fortunate member who climbed the social ladder did not forget his family,¹²² respectfully paid his dues to them, and often attempted to help other members of his family to improve their conditions.

This strong orientation toward mutual help or close co-operation, based on the cultural value of family unity and prestige, constituted an important factor in the emigration of the Romanian peasant. When the conditions at home became so bad that they could no longer maintain a balanced economy within the family, and when they could no longer maintain the prestige in which they all took pride, they decided to emigrate. In emigration they saw a solution to their problem. By coming to the New World they sought to acquire land and material prosperity so that they might maintain the social status of the family at home. Indeed, most of the Romanian immigrants who came to Canada at the

¹²²There were a few cases when a social-climber forgot his obligation to the family. In such a case, for all practical purposes he was treated as a renegade by his family.

beginning of this century were young, most of them were single. They came here with one purpose: to work hard, acquire material prosperity, convert it into cash and return home where the family was anxiously waiting for them. Most of them attempted to do so,¹²³ but just before the beginning of World War I they changed their orientation. Why they changed their orientation and what happened to them here is discussed elsewhere in this work.¹²⁴

¹²³Many of the young Romanians sent money and parcels home to help those who were left there. They often wrote home saying that they would return home as soon as their aims here were reached. See Appendix for letters showing this.

¹²⁴See the Process of Regrouping in this work, p. 107.

Recreation

The manner in which the Romanian peasant spent his leisure time was quite different from that of the Canadian. Hunting, boating, fishing and hiking did not constitute a way of recreation for the Romanian peasant. His mode of recreation and amusement was basically of social character, i.e., group activities. No individuals or family would spend their leisure time in isolated places where they would be by themselves. On the contrary, this was the time when they could get together, exchange experiences or opinions, and sing, dance, drink, and eat together. They spent the Sundays and holidays throughout the year "la joc" (at a dance), i.e., it was a specially appointed place where young and old could mix. In the summer, the place for the "joc" was usually in the open - within the village or just outside of it. In the winter it would be in some hall or saloon, usually built by the storekeeper or the tavern owner of the village. There music was played and youngsters danced, while the elders sat around long tables consuming food and wine, discussing energetically among themselves, or just watch the youngsters dancing. There was a great variety of dances,

but the two most popular were the "hora" and "sarba". Both these dances were danced almost in the same fashion with only one difference - the "sarba" was faster in tempo and more vigorous in action than the "hora". All dances were open for everybody - young and old - and they all had fun. During the dance there was a variety of shouts and calls coming from the male members. Some of these calls¹²⁵ were instructions according to which the dancers moved, others were just well-known or popular expressions which produced laughter in the audience.

Singing was another important mode of recreation or amusement. There was a large variety of songs among the Romanian peasants. Their songs may be classified in three different types: the gay, the amusing, and the sad or melancholic. Each type of song produces its corresponding type of mood in the people who sing them. From the last type of songs the most important is the "Doina". This type of song may be analogically compared with the poetical "Elegy" - in it the peasant put all he had - poetical imagination, feelings or passions, and philosophy. In his "Doina" the peasant combined the whole drama of his existence - his wants and desires, his hardships and

¹²⁵These calls were similar to the ones used in Canada at a square dance party.

misfortunes, his loves and frustrations.

It is important here to emphasize the social significance of this mode of recreation, for indeed it constituted an important function in the social system of Romanian peasantry. This form of recreation acted as a social catharsis in which the individual could freely give vent to his bottled-up feelings and emotions. There he could talk, sing, shout, criticize, boast, laugh and cry without attracting public sanction or even disapproval. This collective or communal mode of recreation may analogically be compared with Roman Saturnalia during which the citizens were allowed to express themselves freely in any manner. They were allowed to use profane language and manners for the duration of the festival.

The Romanian mode of recreation, therefore, acted as a safety valve on the social boiler. It gave the individual the chance to move outside the coercive social mechanism from time to time. This is to say that the mechanism for social coercion ceased to function from time to time so that the individual might be free to release his inner tensions. This may be considered as a social device against inhibition or frustration which help the Romanian peasant to remain calm, mentally and emotionally balanced, despite the strain and misery he underwent.

The Process of Acculturation

What differentiated the Romanian immigrants from the Canadian people was not race but culture, i.e., language, religion, social habits and attitudes, institutions, and values. And since these traits are subject to human intervention and therefore, can be changed, there is no question as to their ultimate assimilability.

The topic of this chapter, therefore, is not to discuss whether or not the Romanians can be assimilated, but rather to point out how the Romanians are being assimilated. In other words, we shall follow closely the process of acculturation of the Romanian immigrants and indicate the steps taken by both the immigrants themselves and the receiving society.

The contact between the Romanian immigrants and the Canadians must not be imagined as a contact between two compact groups, each representing its own culture, for the Romanians have contacted the Canadian culture individually, not as a group. Realizing that his settlement in Canada was to be permanent, the Romanian immigrant began to approach the Canadian culture and adopt its

values one by one, while discarding his traditional values in the same proportion. One of the informants told the author -

"When I realized that I have to live in this part of the world, I thought it better to seek to live like the others around me", then pulling his watch out of his pocket continued, "When I came to Canada my watch was a few hours behind, then I set my watch by the local watch. From this I started thinking that so we are to do with everything else. I mean to change our ways after the ways they had here." 126

The Romanian immigrant was exposed to a continuous process of change, due to the strong influence the environment exercised on him. The local environment was the stage upon which the Romanian immigrant acted in response to the audience, i.e., local society. The relation between the immigrant and the receiving society was of different natures: such as individual to individual; individual to group, i.e., the relation between the Romanian immigrant with or within different organizations; and group to group, i.e., relations had by the Romanian community with different groups from the receiving society. This web of relations brought the Romanian immigrant into close contact with the Canadian culture, and with the whole system of Canadian life. This

126 This is the statement of an informant from Lenard, Manitoba, made on one of the author's visits there.

variety of continuing contacts constituted the fundamental factors in the process of acculturation of the Romanian immigrants.

Transition and Conflicts

The period of transition from one culture to another was not without difficulties. There were several conflicts within and without the individual concerning the old and the new cultures. In the first period of settlement in Manitoba, the Romanian immigrants began to feel the struggle within themselves, created by the encounter of a new culture. The Romanian immigrant was aware things were different here and felt the uncertainty of not being able to adjust to new order of things. Canada was not his home, the people here behaved differently, he could not see things in the same light he saw them in the old country. Everything here was new and foreign to him, he felt lonely and unwanted.

After some time of isolation, he realized that he could not stay outside the local culture for long. While clinging to his traditional culture, he reluctantly began to make contacts with the new culture. As time went on, he felt more at ease during his contacts with the Canadian culture and began to develop an interest in it. Gradually, he began to borrow new social attitudes and new manners of behaviour. As he began to change his orientation he felt more accepted by the Canadian society,

and as he felt more accepted, he felt more secure in his pursuit of life and happiness. With the new acceptance, he found employment, credit, and help more readily. The assimilation of the new values and institutions thus gave him a feeling of achievement and satisfaction, although from time to time, he still looked back and longed for his traditional culture. In the midst of his people, he discussed the present and the future. As more individual immigrants acted in this way, the process of conformation and acculturation took on a competitive aspect. Those who were able to conform more adequately and were accepted by the receiving society more readily were considered more able than the others who were travelling the road of acculturation slower. Soon they began to accept the Canadian culture as a matter of course, and kept in the background old-country traditions which did not fit in the new milieu.

The Romanian Immigrant and Conformity

In order to be more accepted, to be able to act more effectively and feel more comfortable in the new milieu, the Romanian immigrant felt the necessity of practicing a close external conformity to the Canadian patterns of behaviour. The first step taken in this direction was to change his costume or clothes. The national costume brought by the immigrants could no longer be worn, for it aroused the curiosity of the Canadians, who began to ridicule the Romanians. Moreover, wearing the national costume created a certain confusion, i.e., the Romanians were confused with some other ethnic groups which apparently did not enjoy much esteem among the Canadians. One of the informants related the following:

"The inhabitants of this country used to call us Galitians if we wore our national costumes, and this meant that we could not find jobs, or be received in their ranks. In vain we tried to explain to them that we were Romanians not Galitians. Wearing our national costume, we were branded as Galitians and therefore unacceptable."¹²⁷

¹²⁷From an interview with the Romanians of Shell Valley, Manitoba.

Their reason for discontinuing to wear their national costumes is obvious and therefore needs no further explanation. The costume characteristic of Romanian peasantry exists today only in the memory of the elders, i.e., the first generation here, who remember it with pride and sadness. As the time passed, however, the Canadian society became more lenient. They began to appreciate the national costumes of the different ethnic groups, who were allowed to wear them on certain occasions. M. J. Gibbon shows in his book, entitled Canadian Mosaic, that -

"at the New Canadian Folksong and Folkdance Festival organized by the Canadian Pacific Railway at Regina in 1929, nearly a hundred Romanian singers and dancers took part, with colorful costumes which added greatly to the charm of their performance."¹²⁸

In general, Canadian society demands of immigrants to conform at least externally to the established norms and regulations. An immigrant is not accepted by the Canadian society as one of its full member until he internalizes the values and social attitudes dominant in this society. When he conforms and internalizes the dominant values of the Canadian society, he is fully accepted and is entitled to all rights and privileges of this society. These become

¹²⁸ M. J. Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic; The Making of a Northern Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1938), p. 336.

goals for the immigrant and the means to attain these goals is conformity. In spite of the willingness to conform, however, the act of conformity is not always easy for a peasant immigrant. When a person says "I want to conform", the question that follows such a statement is "Conform to what?" The act of conformity, thus, implies the knowledge of the object to be conformed to. An educated person can analyze the society to which he wishes to conform. He discovers the elements characteristic of that society which differentiate it from his own and then conforms to them. A peasant, however, who lacks education, lacks the ability to make this analysis and consequently does not have the ability to conform readily to a new culture. The model for conformity desired by the Romanian immigrant in the beginning took the form of imitation. They sought to imitate the Canadian society as well as they were able. It was only later, beginning really with the second generation, that they began to understand the things they wished to conform to. Once they understood this, they conformed totally, accepting every element of the new culture, for their desire now was to be Canadian, i.e., not to be associated with their traditional culture which gave them the status of foreigners.

Language

The Romanian language belongs to the Latin family of language and has many similarities with all other languages belonging to this family. The modern English language, too, has more than thirty-five percent of its content derived from a Neo-Latin language or directly from Latin. Hence, a well-educated Romanian may easily read and write English.¹²⁹ The Romanians who came here were not well-educated and, therefore, their language did not help them. However, they had another advantage. Since they were originally from that Romanian province which was under Austrian occupation, they all had some knowledge of German. And since English and German have many similarities, the Romanian immigrants accepted English quite rapidly. Nevertheless, since language was one of the strongest elements in their culture, they could not easily replace it with English.

The opening of the First World War brought to the Canadian scene some factors which forced the Romanian

¹²⁹To speak English is more difficult, for although the words are spelled the same and convey the same meaning as in Romanian, they are pronounced differently.

immigrants to look more to English than to Romanian as their daily language. First, the Romanian congregations here lost contact with the old country and could not import well-trained priests from their homeland. This produced a vacuum in the religious and cultural life of the Romanians, for it meant no Sunday School for the children, and no cultural activities for the whole community. Secondly, public opinion in Canada was against public use of any foreign tongue. Moreover, the Canadian public was suspicious of German immigrants and any other immigrants who had affiliation with Germany. Since all the Romanians came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they too were suspected and closely watched. It was then that the Romanians sought to speak and act Canadian in order to clear themselves of the suspicion fallen upon them. It was quite early, therefore, that the Romanian felt the necessity of learning English. With the war over, the hostile conditions ceased to exist here, but the Romanians retained English as their second everyday language.

Later on, as most of them had daily business with the larger society, and as others went away from their community looking for work, English became their sole language of communication. Only when they returned to their community did they turn to Romanian. Gradually, however, their native language began to deteriorate, for

they had no Romanian schools or books, and, as they began to forget certain terms, they did not take the pain to look for them. For the sake of convenience, they utilized the corresponding English terms to express their thoughts. Thus, in time they formed a different Romanian from the one they brought from their European homeland. Today, their language which they speak among themselves is a mixture of English and Romanian.¹³⁰ Below are a few sentences of the current Romanian language spoken among the Romanian immigrants in Manitoba.¹³¹

"Dute la store si cumpara niste milk."
(Go to the store and buy some milk.)

"El este good man."
(He is a good man.)

"Mother unde este al meu sweater?"
(Mother, where is my sweater?)

Other times, they took English expressions and Latinized them by adding Romanian suffixes to them, i.e.,

"Nu pot s̄a te understanduesc."
(I cannot understand you.)

"Mergi mai slow c̄aci un pot s̄o te followesc."
(Walk slower because I cannot follow you.)

¹³⁰This process of language integration is quite common among all the immigrants in Canada, especially among the peasant immigrants.

¹³¹These sentences were recorded on my tape recorder in order to study them closely and see to what degree have they altered their own language.

"L'am fooluit pe al meu brother."
(I fooled my brother.)

This "integration" or mixing of language makes for an important field of study for students of philology or semantics. Anthropologically, it shows the changes in attitudes of the Romanian immigrant. He was not only accepting English, but also was finding it necessary for the expression of new thoughts or ideas which were different from those of the old world.

The second generation of Romanians in Canada have adopted English as their sole language. This can be easily understood when the circumstances under which they grew up are considered. At home, as children, they have learned corrupt Romanian. Later, when they went to school they learned English, and from then on they used English in all their relations within the society. Some of them refused to speak Romanian even with their parents, for they said that "it is half English anyway, so what is the use of using it."¹³² They could not, apparently, see any advantages in using their maternal language any longer.¹³³

¹³² From an interview with the Romanians in Inglis, Manitoba.

¹³³ Today there are many Romanian adults from the second generation who do not speak Romanian. Their children have no knowledge of Romanian whatsoever.

This gradual corruption of the Romanian language illustrates clearly the process of acculturation which penetrated all aspects of their life. This linguistic corruption is an important factor which must be considered closely if we are to understand the process of acculturation, for language and religion were the strongest elements in their culture.

There was a close interaction between these two cultural elements - language and religion. The prayers, the songs, the service, and all the rites of the Romanian Orthodox church were written in Romanian. On the other hand, only the Romanian language could adequately express the ceremonial invocations of the Orthodox rites. With the change in language, therefore, we should expect a change also in the religion, for a change in one element entails a change in the other. This is of course true at least in the case of the Romanians. We should not conceive this as a universal principle which could be applied to all cases under consideration.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ A change in language does not necessarily entail a change in religion. There are cases where the language has changed but the religion remained intact.

Religion and the Church

The Romanian church continued to perform unchanged its social function in Manitoba for a number of years after the arrival of immigrants here. But as the process of acculturation progressed, the church, too, was affected and changes began to occur within it. The religious values of the Romanian immigrants began to change, and as the values of the faithful changed, their attitude toward their church followed the same course.

The change in religious values, beliefs, and superstitions of these immigrants is due to the influence that Protestantism exercised on these immigrants.

Protestantism -

"... emphasized an active, not a contemplative or ritualistic attitude and contained a prominent element of rationality, both in its deep aversion to traditionalism (especially toward anything suggesting idolatry, magic, ritual or mysticism), and its attempt to make a rational system of ethics as a whole."¹³⁵

Changing his social and economic conditions which he had at home, the Romanian peasant in Canada began to

¹³⁵R. M. William, Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 312.

embrace new values which corresponded to the new economic and social conditions here. The old values and orientations could no longer serve them, for they did not fit the institutional forms of the Canadian society; thus a series of changes took place. The old superstitions and mythical beliefs, which in the old country presented some importance in their life, began to disappear, in their place arising a new orientation which justified a "worldly prosperity on religious grounds, encouraging an intensive economic activity."¹³⁶

Since the Romanian peasant at home was very faithful to his church, he continued to remain faithful to it in the new environment. But the new environment presented him with new conditions, and these new conditions compelled the immigrant to adopt new values and change his orientation. The new values and orientation demanded a new pattern of behaviour consistent with them. Some of these newly acquired habits were inconsistent with the Orthodox teaching. And when the church frowned at his actions, the Romanian peasant felt compelled to justify his actions. The most convenient way out was to introduce Protestant values in his own traditional religious orientation. Thus, the internalization of Protestant values gave him not only the freedom to act in accordance with the new conditions, but also

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 313.

provided a moral justification for these actions.

"Broadly speaking, ascetic Protestantism attempted to make every man God's agent (spiritually superior individual) and a labourer for the literal establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth - in short, an ascetic living in the world rather than in the cloister. The organized church tended to be a disciplinary agent rather than a sacramental order; the individual was thought to have direct access to God, and his ethical responsibility was total; he was saved or damned as a whole; there was no avenue for relaxation of discipline."¹³⁷

The Romanian peasant, who at home did not view religion¹³⁸ as a matter for daily concern, here began to direct his daily actions in accordance with the teachings of the Bible. Due to this Protestant influence which changed their religious orientation, Bible reading is now quite frequent among the Romanian descendants. It must be remembered that Bible reading is inconsistent with the general Orthodox attitude which assigned this task to the priests and theologians only. According to the Orthodox attitude, Bible reading by all may be dangerous, for not everyone has the ability to interpret correctly the

¹³⁷

Ibid., p. 312.

¹³⁸

The Romanian peasants at home did not read the Bible, and did not justify their actions by faith alone. For their religious orientation at home, see p. 119 of this work.

teachings of the Bible. The Protestant orientation, however, is that each individual should have access to the "Divine Truth" which is expressed in the Bible.

In one of his visits among the Romanians of Manitoba, the writer asked one woman why she reads the Bible. She answered -

"Here everybody reads the Bible, and is therefore natural that we should read it too. In our contact with the other members of society we often discuss the Bible, and how should we be able to discuss it if we would not read it."

For other Romanians, reading the Bible means keeping in line with the Orthodox faith.¹³⁹

"Reading the Bible, I know that I am following the true religion established by the Orthodox church. There are quite a few things done today by the Orthodox congregation which are not prescribed by the Orthodox church."¹⁴⁰

Interesting in this case is the fact that they are not aware of the change in their religious orientation. They are firmly convinced that their religious orientation has remained unchanged, yet many of their attitudes are

¹³⁹This shows how much the religious orientation changed among the Romanians. They do not know about the attitude of the Orthodox church which discourages Bible reading by the laity.

¹⁴⁰From an interview taken by the writer among the Romanians of Inglis, Manitoba.

Protestant in nature. As a matter of fact, the conflicts among the Romanians today are the result of this change in their religious orientation. Their present priest¹⁴¹ seeks to impose the norms and values held by the Orthodox church in Romania, and the Romanians of Manitoba, who no longer hold them, are reluctant to follow these values and norms. A group of Romanian Canadians approached the priest shortly after his arrival here and advised him to make certain changes in the traditional procedures. One of the demands was to replace the Romanian language with English, for the new generation, they contended, cannot follow the liturgy in Romanian. There is another group of Romanians which also demands changes, but the changes demanded by the latter group are different from those demanded by the first group. Moreover, the changes desired by one group are not consistent with those desired by the other. The priest, thus, is put in a very difficult position - to change or not to change, and if to change, what changes are to be made.

The fact that the priest is not able to impose the traditional norms of procedure on the parishioners illustrates that the priest has no longer authority over

¹⁴¹Their present priest left Romania shortly after the Second World War, and after some time spent with the Romanian congregation in Paris, France, came to Canada at the beginning of the past decade.

his parishioners. Here, once more, the process of acculturation is clearly visible, for according to the Orthodox teachings, the priest alone knows how the affairs of the church should be conducted. If the parishioners have any doubt about his conduct, then, they should contact another priest or preferably a bishop and discuss their doubt with him. But in no case should they directly interfere with the duties of a priest, for to do so is sacrilege.¹⁴² If they, therefore, no longer admit clerical authority, it means that they are prepared to deny ecclesiastical authority over them. This seems to indicate that the Romanians in Manitoba are travelling the road to religious independence, i.e., freedom to decide for themselves the mode of action in religious matters. Such a tendency would have been inconceivable for them while in their homeland. It was after a long contact with the Protestant tenets that they embraced such an attitude.

¹⁴²Priesthood is one of the seven sacraments recognized by the Orthodox church.

Family and Marriage

Due to the fact that the Romanian peasants immigrated individually, a great majority of them were single males, for no single girl would dare to venture on such a trip. The large families, too, could not leave everything behind and come to a new world of which they knew nothing about. They were not sufficiently well-off at home to have enough savings with them so that they all might have a good start. Thus, only the young men dared to venture into the unknown and strive to make a new life for themselves. They were ready to face hardships and work hard. In other words, they alone were willing to chance such an undertaking without any promises of help.

After an initial period of hard work, they usually had built a dwelling for themselves and cleared some land for crops. When all this was done, they began to think of marriage. Some of them brought over girls from home, but most of them began to look for girls here. And the only girls available here were outside their group. To mate outside their group, however, was not an easy matter, for the larger society expected certain things of them. In order to be accepted by the larger society at least two

things were demanded of them. First they had to improve their economic conditions; and secondly, they had to change their pattern of behaviour, and learn English. It was primarily because of their mating difficulties that the Romanian peasants accepted without much resistance the values of the new culture.

Once the marriage took place, certain adjustments had to be made. It usually resulted in some sort of compromise depending on the strength of character of both husband and wife. In general, the husband demanded that the wife should learn Romanian and adopt his religion. Most wives insisted on equality within the family, and a Canadian orientation in family life.

Even those who had the opportunity to marry within their own group had in time to change their orientation regarding family life because the majority of families within the Romanian groups were mixed marriages which held Canadian values. Since Canadian families are based on equality and individual freedom, this orientation became quite attractive to other Romanian families of unmixed marriage.¹⁴³ Moreover, since there was a constant contact between the two types of families, i.e., mixed and unmixed marriage, it was impossible for the family of unmixed

¹⁴³An unmixed marriage is one in which both husband and wife are Romanian.

marriage to follow the traditional values any longer. The Romanian wife made occasional visits to Canadian homes where she was impressed by their orientation. The Romanian wife did not necessarily consider, at the time, the Canadian orientation to be better, but it was a novelty to her. She began, thus, to change her traditional attitudes regarding family life. What she imitated in the beginning, she assimilated in the end. Once the new values were accepted and assimilated, she could no longer come back to her previous orientation, for she was not aware of the degree of change she underwent.

Asked why she had changed her traditional ways in the beginning, an elderly woman from Shell Valley, Manitoba, said -

"We had to change. We had to live like the other families around us, even though their ways might have been wrong."

When the writer asked her why she does not go back to her traditional way today, she answered -

"Now we like it this way. We would not know how to get back to the old country life. We came here young, and we have learned a new way. It is too late to change now. As for our children, they only know one way - the Canadian way."

As a result of this new orientation, the Romanian peasant did not have many difficulties with his children later on. The children of the Romanian family, unlike the

children of many other ethnic groups, grew up in a Canadian atmosphere. They were not brought up in the traditions of the Romanian culture. The Romanian children learned the Canadian values at home and later strengthened their orientation when they came in contact with the larger society. Thus, the Romanian child was not confronted with the conflict of two cultures. For this reason, the relationship among the members of a Romanian family is quite harmonious, for the child felt that his orientation is similar to those outside his group, and is therefore fully accepted by them.¹⁴⁴ In other words, the Romanian child did not have to discover that outside his group was another culture different from his own. From the very first time he went out, he was able to do things as Canadians do.

¹⁴⁴ This is not the case with the children of some other ethnic groups, such as Italians, Polish, Ukrainian, and Hungarians. Their children are brought up in their traditional culture, and the child, thus, is taught the values held by their parents who did not assimilate Canadian values. When these children go out of their group, they feel out of place, and began to wonder which values are more valuable. They are disoriented and confused and blame their parents for their condition. Conflict and discord is always present in such families. For this see L. I. Child, Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943); Warner, and Srole, op. cit.; H. R. Schermerhorn, These Our People; Minorities in American Culture (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1949). Thomas, and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, op. cit.

This does not mean, however, that there were no conflicts between the Romanian immigrants and their children. There were a few minor ones, of which the following two are noteworthy. The first was about education, and the second about religion. One of the old values of the Romanian peasant was to give his child, if conditions permitted it, an education superior to his own. This value he did not change in the course of acculturation, and now he wanted to put it into practice. He wanted to see his children climbing the social ladder, and he knew that this was possible only through education.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, his children were not too enthusiastic about education. In this respect they have absorbed the values prevalent in rural Manitoba, this is, to leave school, go to work and make money in as short a time as possible.

The second relates to religion, for again there was a difference in their attitudes. The Romanian peasant remained faithful to his church in spite of the changes he introduced in it.¹⁴⁶ He would have liked very much to

¹⁴⁵This was the same old orientation held in his homeland, where he sought to raise the prestige of his family through education, the only way open to him.

¹⁴⁶As has been mentioned earlier, the Romanian peasant in Manitoba is convinced that his religious orientation remained unchanged. He is not aware of the new religious values he has adopted or developed since he came here.

transmit this tenacious faithfulness attached to the Orthodox church to his children. Thus, when his children grew up he advised them to choose a mate who was Orthodox or who was willing to become one.¹⁴⁷

The children, on the other hand, felt as the Canadian do, that they should be free to marry anyone regardless of his or hers, as the case may be, religious beliefs.

This differentiation in their orientation brought about a tension which resulted in the breaking up of the unity of the family. The children were eager to leave their homes as soon as they were allowed to in order to avoid pressure exercised by the parents. They went away, most of them in large cities, where they found work, where they married whom they liked. In other words, they followed their own orientation. Due to this fact, there are only a few Romanians who acquired a University education. As for marriage, about eighty-six percent of the members of the second and third generation are married with members outside their group;¹⁴⁸ and the life they lead today is

¹⁴⁷They wanted their children to choose Orthodox mates, but not necessarily Romanian.

¹⁴⁸The percentage was calculated by the author according to samples taken from the five largest Romanian centres earlier mentioned. The author worked out a chart which established the above given percentage.

strictly Canadian. There are only a few unimportant vestiges of the Romanian culture in their lives.

Because of the process of acculturation which started quite early with the Romanian immigrants, their patriarchal form of family changed steadily until it reached the Canadian form of family which resembles the atomistic. Once the Romanian family lost its original structure and changed its values, it consequently changed also its function. Once it changed its function, the family could no longer be a factor in the preservation of unity of the Romanian group and its culture.¹⁴⁹

Thus, the Romanians from the province of Manitoba have become, in time, undifferentiated from the rest of the members of the Canadian society.

¹⁴⁹See M. L. Barron, American Minorities (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951). See also W. C. Smith, Americans in the Making; The National History of the Assimilation of Immigrants (New York: P. Appleton, Century Co., 1939).

Past and Present

From what has been presented in the body of this dissertation, one thing becomes evident, viz., that the changes which took place within the Romanian immigrant were not superficial, were not only an external conformation. He had internalized the values and norms present in the Canadian society, changing as a result his whole cultural orientation. He abandoned his costume, his social attitudes, his language, and in the end even changed the structure of his family. He did all this because he wanted not only to resemble the members of the larger society, but to be one himself. He absorbed the Canadian culture in all its details, and after a time he began to feel the obligations and privileges which belong to a Canadian.

In conclusion, to illustrate the changes underwent by the Romanian immigrant during his process of acculturation, a concise table would be quite helpful. In this way, we may have the past and present at once under our eyes, and thus be able to see what has changed into what.

The following is a table showing the changes which have occurred among the Romanian group of immigrants, following their contact with the Canadian culture.

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The following is a table showing the changes which have occurred among the Romanian group of immigrants, following their contact with the Canadian culture.

TABLE 4

The Old Culture Held by the Romanian Immigrants at Home	The Cultural Changes Occurred Within the First Generation of Immigrants	The Cultural Changes Occurred Within the Second Generation of Immigrants
Folk Peasant	Farmer of Canadian Type	Urban and Modern
<p>Unreserved preservation of traditional values.</p> <p>Faithful and obedient to the Orthodox church. Superstition and practicality.</p> <p>Indifference to social status.</p> <p>Agriculture regarded, or thought of as a way of life.</p> <p>Group solidarity based on culture and nationalism.</p> <p>Family of domestic nature.</p>	<p>Gradual change in the old values. Acceptance of new values.</p> <p>Gradual shift in religious orientation.</p> <p>Struggle for agricultural excellence - acquisition of land.</p> <p>Agriculture regarded as a means of existence - enterprise.</p> <p>Group solidarity based on common interest and promotion.</p> <p>Transition in the structure and function of family from a domestic to an atomistic nature.</p>	<p>Complete internalization of Canadian cultural values.</p> <p>Acceptance of Protestant values in their religious orientation.</p> <p>Strong tendency toward material prosperity in order to change his social status.</p> <p>Departure from agriculture toward trade, commerce, and industry - urbanistic attitudes.</p> <p>Lack of group solidarity - development of individuality.</p> <p>Attainment of atomistic family.</p>

TABLE 4 - Continued

<p>Rural orientation with respect to size of family. Six to seven children average due to lack of means of support.</p> <p>Family prestige very important. It was attached to the "extended family".</p> <p>Choice of mate based on love, but the actual contract of marriage was a concern of the whole family.</p> <p>Marriage acceptable only within their own culture and national group.</p> <p>Divorce not allowed.</p> <p>Unitary and stable rural family life. They worked and lived together. Little privacy.</p> <p>Group recreation.</p>	<p>Rural orientation with respect to size of family. Nine to ten children average - means of support favourable.</p> <p>Family prestige not too important. It was attached to the "nuclear family".</p> <p>Marriage based on love, and economic interests. It was no longer a concern of the whole family.</p> <p>Marriage acceptable outside their own group but on certain conditions.</p> <p>Divorce not desirable.</p> <p>Stable rural life. Privacy allowed to individual members.</p> <p>Family recreation.</p>	<p>Urbanistic orientation with respect to family size. Three to five children average.</p> <p>Family prestige unimportant. Acceptance of the idea that all families are important.</p> <p>Marriage based on personal choice and consent of the parties concerned.</p> <p>Marriage outside the group, and unconditioned.</p> <p>Divorce takes place.</p> <p>Urban orientation in family life. Individuality recognized to each member.</p> <p>Individual recreation.</p>
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Conclusion

The analysis of the process of acculturation underwent by the Hutterites and Romanians, made in relation to the variables introduced in our theoretical framework, gave us the possibility to understand why the process of change underwent by each group of immigrants developed differently. We have traced the changes, and their mode of occurrence, in each case. We know now why the Hutterites were, and continue to be, refractory with respect to change, and why the Romanians were so absorbant in their new environment.

Both groups - Hutterites and Romanians - belonged to the same general cultural type, i.e., European peasantry, yet each group reacted differently when it came in contact with Canadian culture. This is to say that the reaction of each group was of a different nature.

In order to understand this differential reaction, we had to become acquainted with a series of factors relevant to these groups, such as their historical background, their culture, the contact had with the larger society from within which they came, the mode in which they immigrated, and the culture and social structure of the

receiving society.

Both Hutterites and Romanians belonged historically to the typical social class of European peasantry which developed certain cultural characteristics peculiar to itself. Both these peasant groups were persecuted in history by the ruling cliques of the time with one difference; the Hutterites were persecuted for religious reasons, the Romanians were persecuted for political reasons.

The culture of the Hutterite group was based on sacred values, while the culture of the Romanian group was based on secular values.

The Hutterites lived in isolation from the larger society and this fact enabled them to develop a culture of their own different from that of the larger society, i.e., one based on a collectivistic-agrarian economy and sacred values.

The Romanians lived in the midst of the larger society of which they were a part and thus internalized many of the same cultural values of the larger society, as well as retaining certain cultural characteristics peculiar to European peasantry.

The Hutterites migrated in compact, organized groups and thus were able to preserve their social system and culture. The Romanians migrated individually and thus could not preserve their structure due to the lack of a

sufficient number of people necessary for filling all the various roles in their social system.

The social structure of the receiving society played a very important role in the process of acculturation of these two groups of immigrants. The Canadian structure is based on individualism, while the social structure of the Hutterites is based on collectivism. Thus, for among other reasons, the two social structures were incompatible with each other. The Romanian social structure, on the other hand, was based on individualism and therefore the Romanians could adapt more easily to the new milieu. Analyzing these factors, we were able to comprehend the whole vista of the process of acculturation, and the response of these immigrants to this process.

In spite of the fact that the Hutterites sought stubbornly to maintain their traditional cultural values, following their contact with Canadian culture, they had to accept some changes. This fact indicates that in time the integration of this group into the larger society is not only possible but also plausible.

A truism often accepted by those scholars who concerned themselves with the process of acculturation is that in spite of the resistance offered by a small group within a larger group, the smaller group cannot maintain itself indefinitely outside the larger group of society,

i.e., the smaller group cannot preserve the integrity of its traditional culture indefinitely. The preservation and perpetuation of culture in any group is based on its ability to transmit its culture from one generation to another. For when a smaller group is located within the influence of a larger group, the first cannot transmit its culture to the next generation completely unaltered, i.e., each time the culture of the smaller group is passed on to the next generation, it hands it down together with some changes produced by the influence of the larger society. Thus, each succeeding generation within the smaller group receives or inherits also the changes in their original culture assimilated by the previous generation. Gradually, therefore, the dominant values of the traditional culture, as "specialities" to one generation, become, later, "alternatives" to another. Once these values are considered "alternatives", they lose their original significance, while the members of the group feel free to choose other values which are prevalent in the larger society.

In closing, therefore, we may say that man is an adaptable being who is able not only to condition but also to be conditioned. "Human nature far from being fixed and predetermined is plastic, just as the cultures which mold human nature are elastic and adaptable."¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰A. F. Walter, Jr., Race and Culture Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952), p. 456.

A P P E N D I X

TABLE 5

POPULATION OF HUTTERITE COLONIES IN MANITOBA*
1941

Colony	Population
<u>Manitoba</u>	1,727
<u>Rhineland Municipality</u>	
Blumengart	104
<u>Cartier Municipality</u>	
Barrickman	190
Huron	132
Iberville	104
James Valley	151
Maxwell	123
Milltown	143
Poplar Point	107
Rosedale	155
Waldheim	94
<u>Portage la Prairie Municipality</u>	
Bon Homme	152
Elm River	110
<u>Rosser Municipality</u>	
Sturgeon Creek	83
<u>Lansdowne Municipality</u>	
Riverside	79

*Tables 5 through 9 are taken from the records of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

TABLE 6

HUTTERITE COLONIES, 1956 CENSUS

Division, Municipality and Colony	Population	
	1951	1956
Manitoba (27 colonies)	2,096	2,828
<u>Division No. 2</u>		
De Salaberry, Mun. Crystal Springs Colony	-	83
Montcalm, Mun. Oakbluff Colony	-	91
Rhineland, Mun Blumengart Colony	83	105
<u>Division No. 5</u>		
Lac du Bonnet, Mun. Maxwell Colony	-	8
Hutterite Colony	-	3
St. Clements, Mun. Greenwald Colony	-	84
Springfield, Mun. Springfield Colony	82	116
<u>Division No. 6</u>		
Cartier, Mun. Poplar Point Colony	101	134
Waldheim Colony	128	158
James Valley Colony	137	167
Iberville Colony	101	123
Lakeside Colony	114	119
Barickman Colony	152	112
Maxwell Colony	100	123
Rosedale Colony	140	190
Huron Colony	94	117
Milltown Colony	58	78
Dufferin, Mun. Hutterite Colony	-	15

TABLE 6 - Continued

Portage la Prairie, Mun.		
Bon Homme Colony	113	143
Sunnyside Colony	99	125
Elm River Colony	160	90
New Rose Dale Colony	93	162
<u>Division No. 9</u>		
Rosser, Mun.		
Sturgeon Creek Colony	126	97
Woodlands, Mun.		
Crosse Isle Colony	-	115
<u>Division No. 10</u>		
Lansdowne, Mun.		
Riverside Colony	112	77
Westbourne, Mun.		
Bloomfield Colony	-	60
Riverdale Colony	103	133

TABLE 7

ROMANIAN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO CANADA
 BETWEEN THE YEARS OF
 1906 AND 1925

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number</u>
1906	431
1907	949
1908	368
1909	307
1910	442
1911	761
1912	1,136
1913	1,530
1914	442
1915	5
1916	4
1917	--
1918	--
1919	10
1920	702
1921	952
1922	440
1923	--
1924	2,471
1925	338

TABLE 8

ROMANIAN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO CANADA
AND PROVINCE OF DESTINATION
BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 1926 AND 1935*

Province	Number
Prince Edward Island	--
Nova Scotia	1
New Brunswick	3
Quebec	184
Ontario	334
Manitoba	710
Saskatchewan	247
Alberta	80
British Columbia	15
Yukon and Northwest Territories	--

* For the period of 1926 to 1935, the distribution by year is not available.

TABLE 9

ROMANIAN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO CANADA
BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 1936 AND 1945

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1936	59
1937	82
1938	109
1939	23
1940	8
1941	2
1942	—
1943	2
1944	3
1945	3

Following are some letters written by the
Romanian peasants from Romania to Canada.

November 17, 1905.

Our dear Son,

It is so good you wrote to us. You should have
written sooner, we were quite worried about you. We
hope all goes well with you.

How much land have you received, and how much do
you have to pay for it? Forest land means virgin land,
when cleaned it is rich soil and yields good crops. Did
all of you receive land or just you alone? Are your
cousins able to help you? Your uncle John
needs some support, for his crops was poor last fall. See
what you can do about it. Mary said that she will
wait for you as long as necessary We are all
missing you around here. Tell us when to expect you home.
. Receive the best wishes for health and good
luck from us.

Your brothers, and the rest of the family.

Your loving parents.

May 1908.

Dear grandson,

We thought that old as we are, we should write to you personally and tell you how we are, and how things are around here. We hope that you are in good health and are doing well in that strange country.

The assessors came this year as usual and raised the tax on our property. Since we are old and cannot work as much as before, we thought that you would want to send us some money to pay the difference. You know that the land will be yours after our death. We could have sold some land and pay for the rest, but we know that you would not like this.

Write to us as soon as possible and tell us your decision.

Yours grandparents who
love you very much.

November 1912.

Dear son,

We write to you again to tell you that we are in good health and are doing well.

Things are getting to be quite bad around here. Many young and old from our village went into the army. They were taken into the army. Everybody is talking about a war. We are so glad that you are there, far, far, from here. We think that you should stay there for a while yet your cousin John thinks to go to Canada too, if they will take him.

We will write to you again and tell you about this horrible thing.*

Your parents who
love you very much.

*"Horrible thing" here means war.

The following letters have been taken from a memoir kept by one Romanian family in Manitoba. These are concepts which were copied and sent out. This particular family keeps records of all their correspondence.

August 12, 1905.

Dear Folks,

The time has come for me to write to you a few lines about my life or our* life here. I work hard the whole day, but I am healthy. We received some land but it is forest, so we have to cut down the trees and make room for a small house in which to take shelter, and to clear some land for little agriculture. If I cannot do much on this land, I will go to work to someone else and make some money. I do not know yet how things are going to work out, but do not worry about me.

How are you doing? Keep everything in order there until my return. Write to me as soon as possible and tell me about yourselves.

Tell Mary to wait for me, tell her that I will keep my promise.

I hope that this letter will find in the best of your health.

Your humble son.

*"our"-refers to all Romanians known to him in Manitoba.

January 25, 1907.

Dear parents,

I was not able to write any sooner, for I was very busy. There is a lot to do around here. I worked hard until just before Christmas and I was able to save a lot of money.

The people here do not celebrate Christmas as we used to do at home. We do not have a church here yet, but then if we did not built one up to now, I do not know if we should built one from now on.

I and cousin Ted have some money up to now and we hope that soon we should be able to return home.

Tell aunt Joanne not to worry about Mike. We here decided to support him in school as long as he wants to go.

Your son who longs for you.

December 1920.

Dear Parents,

From far away where I am now, I am writing to you, so that you may know that I am healthy and doing well.

I thank Almighty God to have saved you from the great battle that I heard that you had there

Many people went from here to that war, but we could not for the thought that we are Austrians

I want to tell you dear parents that I have decided to stay here now. I pray you to understand and not to mind it. In fact I am not alone who thinks so. I do not think that there are many who wants to return now. . . .

We may come to visit you sometime and maybe get some wives for ourselves. We do not know when, we will write you.

Love and kisses to all our
relatives,
Your loving son.

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