THE HUNGARIAN ETHNIC GROUP:
A FOCUS ON AN
ONTARIO COMMUNITY

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COMMUNITY

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to study the Hungarians of Kolonia as a viable ethnic group. With participant observation the method of data collection, a social historical analysis of the Hungarian community is presented. Developed within the thesis are the following themes (A) an analysis of the waves of immigration coupled with the distribution of Hungarians in Canada, (B) a description of the research site and its attributes with regard to its accommodation of Hungarian immigrants (C) a discussion of the social historical development of the Hungarian "kingpins" and their role in the informal community, (D) an outline of the rise of the formal ethnic institutions and their inter-relationships, (E) a study of the effects varying outside contacts have on ethnic identity and (F) an examination of the ingroup system of social stratification and upward mobility. The general conclusions drawn from the study may be summarized in this manner. There are apparent in Canadian society viable ethnic groups worthy of sociological research. Such minority groups display a keen sense of community both in their structural and cultural makeup and these without question prove to be rich areas for further research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THERE IS THE APPEARANCE OF SAMENESS,
because we dress the same and look and walk
the same. Standing in front of a crowded
lecture hall, a speaker can scarcely single
out ethnic differences. Such differences as
we have, apart from race, are mainly internal.
And not so much in our ideas or even in our
words, but in our affections and imaginations
and historical experiences: in those concrete
networks in which ideas and words are given
concrete reverberation, rootage, and meaning.
The word "quota" has a different history among
Jews, Blacks, and Poles. Attitudes of soul
like "rebellion", "obedience", "morality",
"loyalty", have a different shape in different
cultural traditions.
    (Michael Novak, 1973:XV)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: ETHNICITY IN CANADA

Canadian society has been sociologically referred to as the "Vertical Mosaic" (Porter, 1965:xii) and candidly nicknamed the "salad bowl" (Worthington, 1972:61). Regardless of the semantic sophistication of the label, the initial message intended is virtually the same; basically speaking, Canadian society is a heterogeneous aggregate of ethnic groups. For those with a keen interest in the research of minority groups, this general pluralistic perspective needs redefinition. Any careful analysis of Canadian society reveals the subtle discrepancies existing amongst the different ethnic groups be they religious, racial, economic, occupational, educational or political. Consequently, depending upon the observer's perspective and purpose, a spectrum of varying definitions of Canadian heterogenity evolves.

From the "salad bowl" concept (Worthington, 1972:61), we are given a panoramic stereotype of Canadian society which depicts the social setting as one in which:

> people from many lands are tossed about in
> the same bowl but are never expected to
> completely blend together just add flavours
> to the whole. (Worthington, 1972:61)

Although this somewhat romantic description may suggest some truth, it is only a superficial observation of a more complex social situation. Ignoring the more salient distinctions which

are directly responsible for "ethnic segregation" (Porter, 1965: 73) in the society, those satisfied with the "salad bowl" interpretation (Worthington, 1972:61) would appear to be those who simply revel in the reported nostalgia associated with voluntary belonging to an ethnic group.

On the other hand, those who are seriously investigating the social issue, attempt to qualify as well as to clarify the society's multicultural profile. Ethnicity when considered with multiculturalism as a frame of reference, is conceptually not as complex as ethnicity when considered as a feature of minority groups. With the concept of "minority group" a variety of other cultural and structural differences are associated with ethnic differences. For example the minority group, as Louis Wirth defined it is:

> a group of people who because of their
> physical (racial minority) or cultural
> (ethnic minority) characteristics, are
> singled out from the others in the society
> in which they live for differential and
> unequal treatment and who therefore,
> regard themselves as objects of collective
> discrimination. The existence of a minority
> in a society implies the existence of a
> corresponding dominant group enjoying higher
> social status and greater privileges.
> Minority status carries with it the exclusion
> from full participation in the life of the
> society. Though not necessarily an alien
> group the minority is treated and regards
> itself as a people apart (Wirth, 1964:245).

To discover minority groups in Canadian Society would require, given Wirth's definition, a measurement of differential distribution of participation and privilege. A simpler method for identifying Canadian minority groups is suggested by Jean

Leonard Elliot.   She explains:

> Whether an ethnic group is a minority group
> may vary from one region of the country to
> another over time and may reflect individual
> differences in sensitivity and experience.
> For these reasons in Canada it is impossible
> to specify with any accuracy all ethnic groups
> which are minority groups and all ethnic
> groups which are subsumed under the heading
> of the majority. The blatant exception to
> this statement is the British Ethnic group.
> The British as a charter group in Canada
> consistently have enjoyed high status in the
> larger Canadian Society than any other ethnic
> group. In some instances the French also a
> charter group have attained positions of
> privilege and power equal to those of the
> British. Nevertheless, it could be argued
> that all ethnic groups which have not
> completely assimilated the British model are
> potentially minority groups because the
> prevailing cultural, economic, and political
> winds tend to blow against them.
> (Elliot, 1971:3)

We observe that in her conception of Canadian minority groups,
there is the implicit hypothesis that cultural similarity to
the British is basis for assimilation and vice versa. The
less the cultural similarity to the British, the more likely
assimilation will not occur and therefore the existence of
minority groups will be encouraged.

In his analysis of Canadian social stratification, John
Porter has a similar focus on the role of the British in the
establishment and persistence of Canadian minority groups.
Porter claims that:

> In Canada, ethnic segregation and intense
> ethnic loyalties had their origin in French,
> Scottish and Irish separateness from the
> English. In time they became the pattern for
> all cultural groups. (Porter, 1965:71)

In attempting to account for the development of this "ethnic mosaic" (Porter, 1965:xii) in Canada, Porter offers the following explanation. First of all, he is of the opinion that the failure of the Canadian people to associate more closely with the American population in the assimilationists ideology of the melting pot, helped preserve and perpetuate the Canadian practice of maintenance of a social distance amongst ethnic groups. As he sees it:

> the melting pot with its radical breakdown
> of national ties and old forms of stratification
> would have endangered the conservative tradition
> in Canadian life, a tradition which gives
> ideological support to the continued high status
> of the British Charter group and continued
> entrance status of the later arrivals.
> (Porter, 1965:71)

Secondly, in consequence there then evolved over time an ever more definite "hierachial relationship between Canada's many cultural groups" (Porter, 1965:xiii).

The development of this vertical rather than horizontal distribution of the minorities was dependent in part upon such varying determinants as time of arrival, level of education, achievement of profession or skill, and job opportunity (Porter, 1965:60-103). Moreover there was that one ominous variable of top priority which sustained and controlled all; the decision making power of the superimposed charter group. Porter claims that the British group exercised its many ascribed "privileges and perogatives" in "the selecting and sorting out of migrants of different backgrounds into various occupations and so into the class system" which to a greater extent predetermined an

overall relative status amongst minority groups (Porter, 1965:
60). As Porter reports:

> Segregation in the social structure to which
> the concept of the mosaic or multiculturalism
> must ultimately lead, can become an important
> aspect of social control of the charter group.
> (Porter, 1965:71-72)

Finally, on the issue of pluralism in Canada, Porter adds
yet another interesting note; namely, his speculation as to the
future of Canada's "vertical mosaic" (Porter, 1965:xii). In
an attempt to hypothetically trace out the potential path
Canadian minorities might take, with respect to modifying their
present station in the hierarchy, Porter introduces a semi-
altered blueprint of the American experience as the prospective
pattern for Canadian ethnics. Acknowledging the American
tendency "to reject the melting pot theory as both inaccurate
and undesirable", Porter initially condones the benefits of
maintaining "ethnic idenity and continued participation in
ethnic communities" (Porter, 1965:72). He regards the ethnic
groups as functional buffers to the alienation confronting man
in Western society and as re-adoptable havens for the marginal
men who for some reason, have failed to cross the ethnic line
dividing the majority and minority groups (Porter, 1965:72).
With specific reference to the Canadian situation, it seems
almost imperative that an ethnic cushion exist for minority
group members to fall back on, for as Porter notes, "structural
assimilation" appears to occur in the majority of cases only
when "ethnic origin is not a relevant attribute in the allocation

of people to positions in the social system or in the distri-
bution of rights" (Porter, 1965:72).

The tentative conclusion to be drawn then is that there
is this obvious paradox in being a member of a minority group.
Apparently, while ethnicity helps one adjust to the "difficulties
in becoming accepted as" an Anglo Conformist, it simultaneously
hinders the hope of achieving full "status equality with the
Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority" (Porter, 1965:72). Moreover,
the study of cultural pluralism in Canada will include then not
only the dysfunctional inequality amongst minority groups but
also the consoling security to be found within particular ethnic
groups.

An obvious conclusion from such studies is "that structural
assimilation is incompatible with continued ethnic pluralism,
desirable as that may be as a pre-requisite for mental health"
(Porter, 1965:72-73). Furthermore, Porter strongly suggests
that in light of such a social contradiction "a democratic
society may require a breaking down of the ethnic impediment
to equality, particularly the equality of opportunity" (Porter,
1965:73). Speculatively this would alleviate the entire problem.
In his estimation once the superior-inferior ethnic based lines
of determinism were erased, and a less prejudiced line of social
demarcation substituted, the less discriminatory the process of
ranking individuals along the hierarchy would be. What Porter
seems to be proposing here is an achievement of status based
upon some social characteristics other than ethnicity. He argues

that there is really "no intrinsic reason that these groupings should be on ethnic lines" (Porter, 1965:73) at all but also admits "little is known about these (alternate) processes in Canadian society" (Porter, 1965:73).

It would appear that the fabrication of Porter's ideal surrogate criterion for hierarchial placement is highly unlikely. In spite of what Porter would like to have happen in our society, with regard to ethnic lines, note must be made of what, in fact, others have documented as having actually occurred and what is likely to occur.

At present, the most revealing work which may best describe and analyze the actual social situation with regard to ethnic pluralism is that put forth by Glazer and Moynihan in their book Beyond the Melting Pot. Although their perceptive inquiry is devoted to American minority groups, it offers a valid comparison as well as contrast to Porter's speculation as to what did, could and should, happen to ethnicity in Canadian society. In brief, Glazer and Moynihan expect the perpetuation of ethnic groups. According to them, due to the insoluable ethnic inequalities, minorities have developed a brainteasing means of self maintenance and a progressive process of redefinition. They claim that ethnicity "remains important" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xii) regardless of the direct attempts in America to dispirit it and the "point about the melting pot is that it did not happen" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:290).

Glazer and Moynihan argue that there were dominant and recessive moments of ethnic pervasiveness in the United States;

they explain,for example,that "religion in the nineteen fifties covered for ethnicity" but in the sixties, overt maintenance of "ethnic primary groups" became more "reputable" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xxxviii). It was in tapping this peak of ethnicity in the sixties, that Glazer and Moynihan tried to understand more fully the disposition of minority groups in contemporary U.S.A.

They claim that as a result of their research effort they "have examples of immigrant groups who have become conscious of themselves as distinct entities in America and on the basis of their experience in America" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xx). To explain how the minority group developed this personal view of themselves as "distinct entities" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xx)   Glazer and Moynihan state:

> that ethnic groups owing to their culture
> and skills, the time of their arrival and
> the economic situation they met, developed
> distinctive political and cultural patterns.
> As the old culture fell away—and it did
> rapidly enough —a new one,shaped by distinctive
> experiences of life in America was formed and
> a new identity was created. Italian Americans
> might share precious little with Italians in
> Italy, but in America they were a dinstinctive
> group that maintained itself, was identifiable
> and gave something to those who were identified
> with it just as it gave burdens that those in
> the group had to bear.
> (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xxxiii).

In spite of the aborted attempts of the host society in America to integrate the minority groups, Glazer and Moynihan observe that:

> the longer expected and predicted decline of
> ethnicity, the fuller acculturation of the
> white ethnic groups seems once again delayed
> as it was by World War I and the cold war.
> (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xxxiii).

Furthermore, they prophetically conclude:

> that by now one suspects if something
> expected keeps on failing to happen,
> that there may be more reasons than
> accident that explain why ethnicity and
> ethnic identity continue to persist.
> (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:xxxiii).

Presented here by Glazer and Moynihan is their observation that

minority groups of the western world have, at least up until

present, accommodated themselves to a marginal position in

society.

For any student of minority groups, there are strong

research suggestions implicit in Glazer and Moynihans work.

They would advise investigations of ethnic cultures, presuming

that any minority group in our society will be caught between

two cultures; the old and the new, and will have taken those

available remnants of the former and those accessible

opportunities of the latter to compromise a rennovated way of

life. They would want us to examine ethnic identity; its

sources and its consequences, within the mutually incompatible

contexts of forces for assimilation and forces of discrimination.

Moreover, they want us to question the social sources for the

persistence of ethnicity.

In their opinion these are issues of importance but as

they note in general these have been areas of neglect in social

research. As they explain the situation:

> at the time we wrote, most of the major
> work in the ethnic history and sociology
> was already old, not much new was being
> done and many seemed to think there was
> not much more to say. We disagreed.
> (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:lxxvi)

Evaluating their own work in 1963 as only a "beginning book"

Glazer and Moynihan "hoped there would be more" (Glazer and

Moynihan, 1970:lxxvi). However "writing now at the beginning

of the 1970's" Glazer and Moynihan "find the literature of

ethnicity hardly more advanced than when we set forth the

beginning book" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:lxxvii, lxxvi).

It is my intention in this thesis to accept the challenge

of Glazer and Moynihan and to investigate a contemporary

Canadian population; ethnically identified as Hungarian. This

population of about three thousand people, living in an Ontario

city, is concentrated enough for the possibilities of maintenance

of ethnic culture, ethnic institutions and ethnic identity.

On the other hand, with the members of this ethnic group living

within this city, there is the possibility for educational,

economic, geographical and general social mobility into

assimilation.

From John Porter's argument, we should expect to document

either a viable ethnic community or an ethnic population losing

their ethnicity through some contemporary processes of

assimilation. However if we pursue the implication of Glazer

and Moynihans work then we would expect to find a seemingly

marginal ethnic group with one foot in the old culture and the

other in the new. If such was the case then no longer could

or would structural assimilation and ethnic pluralism be considered incompatible. It could very well be that the only way to eliminate ethnic impediments to "equality" (objective structural assimilation) is to achieve parity while overtly professing and identifying oneself as an ethnic group member.

In researching this area of minority groups then with special focus upon one group of Hungarians in particular, qualitative methods were employed to collect relevant data. To be more specific this meant the exercising of an open theoretical scheme and participant observation in order to record information from which definite theories could be generated and certain findings noted. It is this topic of the methods entertained in this piece of research which is introduced and discussed in the following chapter.

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....What interests us is the curiosity
that grips any sociologist in front of
a closed door behind which there are
human voices. If he is a good sociologist,
he will want to open that door, to under-
stand these voices. Behind each closed
door he will anticipate some new facet of
human life not yet perceived and understood.
The sociologist will occupy himself with
matters that others regard as too sacred
or as too distasteful for dispassionate
investigation. He will find rewarding the
company of priests or prostitutes.
    (Peter L. Berger, 1963:18-19)

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Convinced of the value of studying a contemporary
Canadian ethnic group with the intent purpose of showing the
fruitfulness of this type of study as I hoped to present details
of the inner workings of one such viable group, the Hungarian
community of Kolonia was selected as the research site. It
seemed a reasonable venture for a number of reasons. First of
all I had immediate accessibility to this population. Secondly
I was familiar with this group of Hungarians and consequently
this minimized my orientation time with regard to an understanding
of the research site and thus maximized the ease and efficiency
with which I could plan my initial entrance into the field as
a researcher. Thirdly, with a knowledge of the ethnic group's
mother tongue, I was able to include everyone within the
community as a potential respondent, including the older original
immigrants and younger members of the third generation. With
these points in my favor then, I decided to undertake the task
of researching this particular Hungarian ethnic community in
the following manner.

Theoretical Commitment

I decided that the approach I would like to employ in my

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[1]Kolonia is the fictitious name of the research site.

research would be that of an "open theoretical scheme" (Becker, 1961:18). This is defined as:

> "a scheme in which variables were to be
> discovered rather than a scheme in which
> variables, decided on in advance, would be
> located and their consequences isolated and
> measured.
> (Becker, 1961:18)

As Becker points out, such a research technique allows

> us to discover phenomenon (unstructured)
> techniques)[2] we were unaware of at the
> beginning of the research.
> (Becker, 1961:18)

This method allows us to discover "the variables themselves as well as relationships between variables"(Becker, 1961:18). In essence, the idea here is for the researcher to enter the field aware of general concepts regarding his area of interest and in light of these basic theoretical commitments adopt as his/her

> major method of investigation, participant
> observation in which the researcher
> participates in the daily life of the people
> understudy either openly, in the role of
> researcher, or covertly in some disguised
> role, observing things that happen, listening
> to what is said and questioning people over
> some length of time.
> (Becker, 1961:22-23)

All the while the researcher is accumulating extensive field notes[3] which are to become "theoretically meaningful" (Becker,

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[2]Unstructured techniques refers here, obviously, to techniques in which the data gathering operations are not designed, for instance, to see which of two or more alternate answers to a question someone will pick, but rather which questions he himself will ask.

[3]Becker states that "encyclopedic recording is neither possible nor particularly useful (Becker, 1961:27) Depending upon the problems being dealt with and/or the recurring phenomenon, certain datum is "included" while the superfluous items "left out" (Becker, 1961:27).

1961:26) once analyzed. This analysis is carried on
simultaneously with the research, important parts of the
analysis being made while the researcher is still gathering
his/her data. This had two obvious consequences:

> further data gathering takes its direction
> from provisional analysis; and the amount
> and kind of provisional analysis carried
> on is limited by the exigencies of the field
> work situation so that final comprehensive
> analyses may not be possible until the field
> work is completed.
> (Becker, 1970:26)

As the data is collected, the researcher is expected
to select and define, "problems, concepts and indices" (Becker,
1970:26-27) which "give promise of yielding the greatest under-
standing of the organization" (Becker, 1970:26-28) understudy.
If the phenomena are regular and recurring, it becomes the duty
of the researcher to "check on the frequency and distribution
of phenomena" (Becker, 1970:26-28) and then incorporate these
individual findings "into a model of the organization under
study" (Becker, 1970:26-28) As the analysis progresses and as
new information may be encountered due to the simultaneous data
collection, the researcher must constantly recheck and rebuild
his/her model as required. Once the researcher is convinced
that he/she has "sufficient evidence to substantiate some
particular point (Becker, 1961:28) it may be concluded that
that certain segment of the model is complete. When it appears
the model as a whole as derived from the data has reached its
final stage of remodelling, then the final analysis is carried
out which "involves problems of presentation of evidence and

proof" (Becker, 1970:26-28). This "grounded theory" (Glaser

and Strauss, 1967:1) generated from the data then is the

researcher's contribution to his/her specific area of interest.

Methodological Commitment Data,Collection and Analysis

Participant Observation

Focussing on the major method of data collection;

participant observation, it may be simply defined as:

> general open ended interviewing or simple
> talk, visitations of people and events
> including photograph and sound recording
> the keeping of diaries and kindred devices
> (Glock, 1967:272)

and illustrated as follows when put into the context of my own

research. My major method of data collection was interviewing

but I also employed my attendance of ingroup social events,

participation in an ingroup work situation and involvement in

ingroup crisis as other means of gathering information. In the

pages following, I will explain exactly how I collected analyzed

and summarized this body of data.

Data Collection: Interviewing

In progressively relating my actual application of the

methods to the research site, I might say that I first began

the project by making three initial contacts amongst the members

of the Hungarian Ethnic group in Kolonia. I chose each of these

individuals because I knew them to be key representatives of

three of the five major institutions within the ethnic community.

What I anticipated was that these individuals might refer me to

others within their respective subgroups. I would then speak

with the persons and hoped they in turn would put me in contact
with still others. It was through the interview referrals of
the three primary contacts; who correspondingly represented the
Hungarian Presbyterians, the Hungarian Roman Catholics and the
Hungarian Workers, that links were provided either directly or
indirectly to the remaining two ingroup organizations; the
Hungarian Self Culture Society and the Hungarian Greek Catholics.
Whether it was via a specific person to whom the respondent
believed I should also speak, an event sponsored by a subgroup
the interviewees considered worth mentioning in passing or an
ingroup crisis voluntarily or involuntarily binding one to
interaction with the community because of the ethnic group's
recognition of my ascribed ethnic status, eventually mutliple
contacts within all five institutions were available to me.

With specific reference to the interviews themselves,
the researcher arranged approximately fifty (scheduled meetings)
with households in Kolonia, usually talking with both the
husband and wife, and their children as well, if the opportunity
presented itself. It became very evident early in the field
research that one session was rarely sufficient time for the
respondents to relate all that they would like to, so in many
instances, the respondents and I made arrangements for at least
one other session.

In attempting to maximize the productivity of an inter-
view, my first aim was to put the respondents at ease by informing
them of the nature of the study and its purpose. This meant

simply telling the respondents that I was interested in studying

Kolonia's Hungarian Ethnic group and wished to learn more about

their life as a member of the minority. All the respondents

were receptive to my proposal and no one refused to converse

with me. The single disadvantage at this point was my inexperience

in the setting up of comfortable interviewing environment which

was conducive to relevant rapport. As I became quickly aware

of the imperativeness of achieving this rapport, I realized that

there were two stumbling blocks I had to overcome, if I was to

carry out successful interviewing. First, there was the

Hungarians' over emphasized regard for "the educated" (Interview

1, Winter/72, Male) and secondly the Hungarians patterned

customs of European etiquette which hindered an initial free

flowing conversation. Whether the interviewees did or did not

have previous knowledge of or contact with me, they tended to

be extremely formal at first. It became obvious that my academic

status, which purposed my being present in their homes, over-

shadowed my ascribed ethnic status. For the moment, my presence

evoked that latent old country custom of deferring to scholastic

achievement which, without a doubt, was threatening the open

ended design of the interview. Such sentiments were sometimes

verbalized by a respondent. For example:

> You know after all these years of education
> maybe you're too smart for us to talk with,
> how could we know anything that you would
> want to know.
> Let's sit in the living room to talk after
> all you're special company.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Female)

In trying to overcome this problematic situation, I discovered
I had to convince the respondents of their helpful role in
the collection of vital data. I pointed out to them that at
times there is this over exaggeration of graduate student status.
I told them that if all those who held such positions were sages
as they (the respondents) seemed to imagine, then I would surely
have little if any valid reason to be there present asking them
to speak with me so that I might become more informed. This
argument was usually successful in relaxing the status constraints.

A second strategy necessary for easy conversation was
to reduce the practice of formal etiquette. Nothing proves
worse than sitting in the respondents living room as company:
a formal guest, to inhibit the imperative transition from the
general social formalities to the particular personal level of
discussion. Productive interviewing time was in the majority
of cases a premium of three to five hours. Therefore, the
sooner the more data-laden conversation began, the more useful
the interview with respect to data content. As it was, my first
interview demonstrated this problem of maximizing profitable
interviewing time, and the second interview, accidently, provided
an unexpected solution. My second interview was a follow up to
the first, as the respondents had wanted time to gather some
institutional literature they wished me to look over as they
attempted to further explain certain items mentioned during the
first interview. It became readily obvious that the living
room wasn't the least bit conducive to such an undertaking.

Consequently, I suggested we regroup ourselves about the kitchen table. It was here with coffee mug in hand that the straightforward core discussion began. In this less formal setting, there was an instant alteration in the relationship between researcher and respondents. It seemed that the interviewees, either knowingly or unknowingly, redefined the researchers status. I was no longer "company" but rather a friend of the family, no longer an ivory tower academician but Joe the butcher's daughter, a person who was interested in them (the respondents) as individuals and in what they had to say as well as one whom they could help.

With the quality of conversation greatly improved, only the natural limits of availability of time, and of memory regulated the accumulation of data. I took brief skeleton notes during such interviews recording them in full to the best of my memory after the interview.[4] With regard to the respondents problem of recall, the utlization of multiple interviews more than compensated here as the respondents voluntarily aired their requests for another session:

> We have so much more we can say, just give
> us a little time to gather some material
> and to try to remember some of those dates,
> and places, its been so long since we've
> thought of some of them.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Male)

These multiple interviews, then, not only helped in accumulating

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[4]All quotes related in the thesis are therefore my own personal recording of what I believe to be as an exact as possible replication of the actual conversation.

a greater amount of more specific data but also aided in what
I would like to refer to as theme refinement. Those families
whom I visited on more than one occasion seem to think more
about what they might like to tell me the next time I came.
If for example, they began to recall the hardships they had
endured as members of the ethnic group, by the following session,
they had mentally organized an informative interview along the
major theme of prejudice and discrimination. In other words,
given the interlude between meetings respondents appeared to
consider what other information a researcher might be interested
in. They take a cognitive inventory of personal facts related
to the cited themes and relate the information during the next
visit.

This method of interviewing worked out fine as I
maintained a very open approach to the interviewing. There was
no set interview schedule or standard procedure of introducing
or directing topics of conversation although there was of course
the major concerns of my thesis that I had mentioned to them
and which set some frame for conversation. I believed that once
I had made the respondents aware of the purpose of my study and
my desire to know how they felt, thought of or viewed the past,
present and future situation of their society as well as their
role in relation to sub-group activities, it was their privilege
to communicate whatever they wished. I encouraged what is
referred to as volunteered statements rather than directed
statements (Becker, 1958:655). The reason being:

> The volunteered statement seems likely to
> reflect the observer's pre-occupations
> and possible biases less than one which
> is made in response to some action of the
> observer for the observers very question
> may direct the informant into giving an
> answer which might never occur to him
> otherwise.
> (Becker, 1958:655)

Other than my initial general statement of interests, the extent

of my contribution was to ask the interviewees to explicate,

or to clarify certain statements they had made. At times, I

might probe in so far as I asked a direct question regarding

some factual events so I might understand as many of the points

being made as possible. However, at no instance whatsoever did

I knowingly attempt to bias responses.

        I should interject here that if anyone came under

pressure during the interviewing it was myself. Periodically,

I came face to face with a rather taxing test imposed upon

myself by various respondents. A recurring practice amongst

certain ethnocentric Hungarian males interviewed was to volunteer

historically based information. Yet they only did this if, in

their opinion, I had verbally demonstrated to them my comparable

knowledge of the necessary background material vital to the

understanding of their explanation. If I convinced the informants

of my relative competence in the field of Hungarian historical

heritage then the respondents explications were forthcoming.

If not, then the interviewees provided me with reference material

and suggested that the discussion of that item be postponed

until the next meeting. This politely provided me with the time

necessary to familiarize myself with those certain vital facts.

I recall one case in particular when an informant asked me if
I knew the difference between "a real true blooded Hungarian
and a Toth Hungarian" (Interview 9, Winter/72, Male). When I
said yes he assertively responded with a "tell me then" (Interview
9, Winter/72, Male). [(I inserted an appropriate aside into my
field notes at this point as I noted that "these people make
sure that you aren't putting them on" (Interview 9, Winter/72,
Male).] The traditional procedure in this instance as in all
others similar to it was for me to attempt to demonstrate, if
at all possible, relative proficiency in explaining these subtle
clarifications and then to carry on with the topic of conversation
if the respondent deemed the rejoinder acceptable. A summary
of just such an episode is recorded in my field notes

> He (the responded) was satisfied with my
> explanation and then continued.
> (Interview 9, Winter/72, Male)

This attempted safety check of my credentials suggests two very
important precautionary steps to be taken by a researcher when
planning to use participant observation in researching an ethnic
group.

First of all the researcher must have at least some
general background knowledge about the people understudy or
chance the possibility of losing connective social historical
data which could prove very valuable in the final analysis. To
permit this type of data to slip by undetected could cause
serious problems in interpreting some of the findings. Secondly,
it may be equally imperative for the researcher to convince those

more sceptical respondents of his/her sincerity and competency
by communicating to them his/her basic understanding of the
groups social historical legacy. To them this insures avoid-
ance of possible misinterpretation. It is the construction
of a trust relationship between individuals which is being
nurtured here; an intrinsic element which helps guarantee a
better quality and depth of qualitative data.

Social Events

A second method of accumulating data which grew out
of the first was that which is referred to as the "events
approach".[5] In various cases, interviewees associated with
one of the ethnic institutions invited me to accompany them
to a cultural, religious or historical event being celebrated
by the members of their congregation or association. This
usually meant spending an entire day, from possibly ten a.m.
until eleven p.m., sharing and observing the interaction of
the people within one particular subgroup. With the persons
present at such "dues" for reasons of personal interest and
commitment: they wished to actively participate in their own
subgroup celebrations, and, consequently, these were not

[5]This approach complements symbolic interaction - it assumes
that human behavior is to be understood as a process in which
the person shapes and controls his conduct by taking into
account (through the mechanisms of "role taking") the ex-
pectations of others with whom he interacts. Such a theory
meshes well with most sociological theories in which such
concepts as "interaction" and "expectation" also play a central
part and so in this way is well adapted to use in a study
working at the margins where collective behavior and individual
conduct overlap. (Becker, 1961:19)

opportunities for indepth interviews. However, as observer,
rather than participant, I discovered that these events were
sources of profitable data. It was via such circumstances that
I became sensitized to an indirect and informal mode of ingroup
categorization of "other" Hungarian sub groups within the
ethnic community. The members of the particular institutions,
in privately celebrating their independent festive events,
took this as a prime opportunity to ventilate their own personal
distinctiveness. It was at "get-togethers", such as these,
that Hungarian Presbyterians joked about the Hungarian Roman
Catholics or members of the Hungarian Self Culture Society;
Catholics, Protestants and Greek Catholics, about the Hungarian
Workers. Such circumstances revealed important latent ingroup
differences which on occasion came to the forefront during the
research as grounds for ingroup factionalism. With a better
understanding as to how the various sub-groups might differ
religiously, culturally, politically, economically and/or
ideologically. I came to realize the extent of heterogenity
within, what might appear to the outsider, a homogeneous group.

To say the least this "events approach" was an
experience in what may be referred to as "data bombardment".
Not only did it furnish me with institutional data but it also
provided me with a means by which I could greatly expand my
interviewee list. In such situations, where I was spending
a whole day observing and briefly communicating with different
individuals, I found it necessary to carry a modest size note

book in which to jot down items of interest. With the avalanche
of data and the introduction to new respondents, I had no
intentions of forfeiting any particular datum due to a possible
mental bankruptcy the next day when faced with the task of
recording "all those field notes". (Interview (aside) Fall/74,
Researcher).

Work Situation

A third method of data collection somewhat spurious
to the research design may be referred to as the "work situation".[6]
Since a family member own a business along the commercial
frontage of the ethnic community, it was customary for me to
spend any spare time I had helping there. Here I was part of
an ongoing informal intrinsic network of communications and
flow of information amongst Hungarians. As this ingroup system
of verbal exchange developed in the business setting, it was
interesting to observe the different levels on which the
staff was expected to interact with the clientele. There was
the obvious role of retailer but, supplementary to this, was
an array of other functions. They ranged from the role of
personal confidant with respect to the private troubles of a
customer, to patient listener regarding general ingroup problems,
to approachable liason person, the battery of resources direct
or indirect, in problem solving, to part time manager of a

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[6] Becker points out that in employing participant observation
it is necessary to participate "in the daily lives of the
people he studies". (Becker, 1961:25) This work situation
without a doubt enabled me to do this.

sub-center for spontaneous congregation of Hungarians who took
the opportunity to socialize here; to grumble, to complain or
to discuss anything relevant to their lives as minority group
members. In discreetly filtering the data herein collected;
meaning recognition on the part of the researcher of the ethics
of social research as well as the respect for and responsibility
to the people involved, those comments compilable were recorded.
It wasn't out of the ordinary, in this social setting, for
example, to have two elderly Hungarian gentlemen sitting on
the radiator in the store waiting for the delivery of the
Kolonia Tribune: the city's daily newspaper, reminiscing all
the while about those "olden days" (Interview 71, Winter/73,
Males) when they came to Canada and how they had to start
making a living from scratch. "Those real hard times" (Interview
71, Winter/73, Males) "the depression" and "the wars" (Interview
71, Winter/73, Male) are still very much alive in that corner
of the world. Experiences as these and many more reiterated
within "the work situation" advanced my insight into the
meaning of being a "Hungarian-Canadian" and are presented
throughout the thesis.

Crisis

A fourth method of data collection was the notation
of reverberations within the group when spontaneous crisis
actually arose. I found myself in the midst of a few catastrophic
situations which had, in the past or more recently, upset the
group as a whole. Consequently there were demands made by

ethnic group members on the researcher for an explanation

and/or rectification of the emergency. Being in the accessible

situation I was, I found myself occasionally involved in ingroup

issues. In explicating the former statement, I should point

out that over the time spent in the field researching, such

issues as the jumping of Kosygin, the Premier of Russia, by

the Hungarian Geza Matrai in Ottawa, the "communist like"

(Interview 72, Fall/72, Female) implementation of the regional

government land reassessment program and the appropriate practices

of etiquette with regard to personal ingroup family life and

death matters, all demanded varying degrees of my involvement

and opinion. Whether it was consultation of my "outside

learned" evaluation of government policy, petitioning of my

sympathy to ingroup militancy or expectation of my empathetic

etiquette required at the time of personal crisis, I became

intrigued noting the groups periodic claim upon me. I was

still part of a society with a definite although sometimes

recessive responsibility. Once I became sensitized to the

effects of spontaneous crisis upon the group, I catered to

this area as a possible theme in community life and became

keenly aware of any hint regarding such events. If such an

item was vaguely or specifically referred to in a reminiscent

conversation or daily discussion, I inquired as to the nature

of the circumstances. In this manner, I discovered relevant

details which aided me in understanding more about the groups

way of life.

From the efforts of all four methods of data collection,

the interviews, the attendance at ethnic events, the exercising
of the work situation and the involvement in ingroup crisis,
I compiled a diary of data. There were a few points regarding
the data itself which should be made; the first being the
objectivity with respect to the researchers position and the
second the credibility with respect to the interviewees
responses. Regarding the objectivity of the study, once exposed
to the facts of my personal background and apparent closeness
to the group, my ability to report unbiasedly the actual profile
of the group may come into question. One might believe that
there may be a voluntary or involuntary commitment to the group
on my part which could lead me to jeapordize the quality of
the presentation. I have this simple response. The cross
institutional approach to investigation of the group reveals
such an extensive inwardly directed heterogenity of the
minority group members that for one to suggest the possibility
of a favorable blanket representation of the ethnic group as
a whole would be an error. With each separate group of people,
their experiences, views, and ideas all represented as part
of the whole ethnic group, the chances of subjective mis-
representation via a homogenizing bias on my part is minimized.

With the problem of credibility of the data given by
respondents, I must admit I was very cautious. In the micro-
scopic investigation of sub groups, I discovered an apparent
ingroup competition between factions. It was Hungarian Roman
Catholic versus the Worker, the landed immigrant versus the
fifty-six refugee, the true blooded Hungarian versus the Swabian

or the rich Hungarian versus the poor Hungarian and so on.
With one group telling a story regarding their ups and downs
with the other, I became skeptical as to where the validity
lay. I became aware of the fact that while participating and
observing I had to try to understand exactly "what people said",
"what they did", and "seemed to feel" (Dollard, 1937:19). To
appreciate the "ring of truth" (Hannzer, 1969:206) in the
datum a respondent might impart, I found I had to make it a
practice to attempt to develop "a good ear for the overtones,
little clues and contradictions" (Dollard, 1937:18) in ones
response. Asking myself such questions as:

> Does the informant have reason to lie or
> conceal some of what he sees as the truth?
> Does vanity or expediency lead him to mis-
> state his own role in an event or his
> attitude toward it? Did he actually have
> an opportunity to witness the occurrence
> he describes or is hearsay the source of
> his knowledge?
> Do his feelings about the issues or persons
> under discussion lead him to alter his story
> in some way?
> (Becker, 1958:654-655)

I attempted to clear up any doubts I might have regarding
credibility. However, I recognized that:

> even when a statement examined in this way
> proves to be seriously defective as an
> accurate report of an event, it may still
> provide useful evidence for a different
> kind of conclusion. Accepting the socio-
> logical proposition that an individual's
> statements and descriptions of events are
> made from a perspective which is a function
> of his position in the group, the observer
> can interpret such statements and descriptions
> as indications of the individual's perspective
> on the point involved.
> (Becker, 1958:655)

With this in mind then, I tried to sort out all the data properly so as to avoid any chance of misinterpretation. I must mention as well that if there were any discrepancies amongst the datum that I was dubious about, I then found it necessary to contact one of my reliable as well as knowledgeable consultants within the group whom I trusted to referee the mystifying ingroup feuds, deadlocks or competitions which were evident in the data collection. As it turns out, I seem to have become increasingly marginal in trying to play the role of a social scientist attempting to fully understand something I was supposed to be part of.

In the analyzing of the field notes, I first read through each report listing the various phenomenon and the events along with the possible systematic relationship between them. A model was constructed (Illustration 1) and as new datum was recorded, I incorporated it into the design. The model (Illustration 1) represents one major theme: that of the accommodation of a minority group within context of the host society. I discovered nine possible levels upon which this theme may be discussed namely: informal symbiosis, formal institutions, economics, culture, ingroup outgroup contact, status and mobility, marriage, group membership, and language. Each topic area revealed the way in which the minority group members maintained an accommodated yet distinct ethnicity up to this point.

With regard to this particular thesis, I decided to

limit discussion to four of these topic areas. I then completed
a final analysis of the data received from the interviewees in
these areas; this meant a final end product of the presentation
and verification of the results. Specifically then, in the
thesis I will discuss: Kolonia: A Community of Hungarian
Immigrants; Benevolent Kingpins, The Arbitrators of Ingroup-
Outgroup Symbiosis; Formal Institutions: Community Independence
and Community Factionalism; Strengthened Ethnic Identity: A
Consequence of Contact with the Host Society, and Status
Stratifications and Mobility: A Means of Maintaining Ethno-
centrism. With these related findings presented, a general
conclusion will then be set forth along with notation of other
possible areas of research in ethnic group studies.

Illustration 1

The Theoretical Model

ACCOMMODATION OF HUNGARIAN-CANADIANS

I

MINORITY GROUP

INFORMAL AID SYMBIOSIS KINGPIN

II

FORMAL AID INSTITUTIONS

) OUR LADY OF HUNGARY CHURCH
HUNGARIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
HUNGARIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH
HUNGARIAN SELF-CULTURE SOCIETY
HUNGARIAN WORKERS

FRAGMENTATION

IX

LANGUAGE

GROUP

MEMBERSHIP

MARRIAGE

VIII

VII

HOST SOCIETY

HIERARCHY IN THE HOST SOCIETY

UPPER UPPER
LOWER UPPER
UPPER MIDDLE
LOWER MIDDLE
UPPER LOWER
LOWER LOWER

) BASIS: ACCUMULATION OF MATERIAL, WEALTH

III

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

EMPLOYMENT

ECONOMICS

VI

STATUS AND MOBILITY

BASIS (i) EDUCATION
(ii) OCCUPATION
(iii) INTRINSIC VALUES

INGROUP OUTGROUP

ACCOMMODATION

CULTURE

IV

CONTACT

INGROUP

V

(i) IDEOLOGICAL AND REALITY CONTACT
(ii) CASUAL CONTACT AND CULTURE SHOCK
(iii) CONFLICTIVE INGROUP-OUTGROUP IDEOLOGICAL CONTACT
(iv) CRISIS CONTACT) WAR
) POLITICAL
) OCCUPATIONAL
(v) RESIDENTIAL CONTACT
(vi) REINFORCEMENT CONTACT
(vii) PERSONAL INGROUP CONTACT

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CHAPTER III

THE ETHNIC POPULATION:
FROM HUNGARY TO "KOLONIA"

The Waves of Hungarian Immigration[1]

Wave I 1848-1867

In all there were five major waves of Hungarian immigration
toward the west, each of which encouraged the departure of a
specific type of Hungarian people for certain social-historical
reasons. The first of these occurred in 1849 just after the
Hungarian revolution of 1848 (See Table I). The majority of
these people who formed the first wave of immigration were
political emigrants rather than potential settlers of the west.
They regarded their migration as an opportunity to seek asylum
in the west (the United States more so than Canada) until
political circumstances were such that they could return to
the old country without apprehension of personal harm (Kellner
1965, Lengyel 1948, 1958, Souders 1922, Timar, 1957).
Historical sources suggest that this return of political exiles
began in 1867. However due to the lack of formal records
dealing with immigration and emigration prior to 1900 in Canada,
the exact number of Hungarian persons who may have temporarily
or permanently taken up residence in this country, at this
particular time, is unknown (Kellner 1965, Lengyel 1948, 1958,
Souders 1922, Timar, 1957).

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[1]For a detailed outline of the Waves of Hungarian Immigration,
the reader may refer to Appendix A.

Table I

Waves of Hungarian Immigration and their Subcategories*

Wave	Period	No. of Immigrants	Total
Wave I	1848-1867	Not recorded	Not recorded
Wave II	1867-1914	15,010	15,010
	1915-1919	0	
Wave III	1920-1941		33,948
	1920-1923	252	
	1924-1930	29,748	
	1931-1941	3,948	
	1942	0	
Wave IV	1943-1955		12,054
	1943-1947	116	
	1948-1955	11,938	
Wave V	1956-1965	43,667	

*Compiled from the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups, Appendix II, Table A-1.

Wave II 1867-1914

What is recognized as the second wave of Hungarian immigrants arrived between 1867-1914 (See Table I). Most of these people were peasants. Agricultural problems in Hungary had encouraged or forced rural migration to the city, and former peasants were temporarily employed in government supported projects begun in the 1870's. (Souders, 1922). As the projects terminated between 1886 and 1899, the unemployed were attracted to the reported industrial opportunities in America with the intentions of earning and saving enough money to return home to Hungary to purchase their own tract of land. With this the impending situation, the majority of the million and a half Hungarian peasants poured into the United States to take up residence with only a small percentage, approximately 15,010 Hungarians, spilling over into Canada with the opening up of the west (See Table I). However with approach of World War One, the immigration policy of Canada became more stringent and as the war gained momentum the allies of the Axis power[2] were denied entrance rights. Falling into the latter mentioned category, the Hungarians experienced a contemporary curtailment to their admission privilege. During the years 1915 until 1920 not a single Hungarian immigrant set his foot upon Canadian soil in so far as the statistics

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[2]World War I (1914-1918) between the Allies (Great Britain, France, Russia, the United States, Italy, Japan etc.) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, etc.)

show (See Table I).

Wave III 1920-1941

After the Treaty of Trianon which had as its purpose
the spelling out of war reparations and given the resulting
political economic and social chaos in Hungarian, a third wave
of Hungarian immigrants was encouraged to leave Europe. By
nineteen thirty, thirty thousand Hungarians had entered Canada.
During the thirties however, the situation altered once again.
Canada imposed a quota system with regard to immigration and
then again further restricted immigration due to the more
dismal days of the depression. Consequently the number of
Hungarians entering Canada dwindled and only three thousand
nine hundred and forty eight Hungarian persons made their way
to Canada during the period from 1931 to 1941 (See Table I).

Wave IV 1943-1955

With Hungary defined as a member of the Axis Power[3]
during the Second World War, Hungarian immigration was limited
to one hundred and sixteen persons for the period 1942-1947.
Matters became even more complicated as the Germans openly
declared their occupation of Hungary on March 19th 1944 and
then were replaced by the Russians in 1946. Prospective deserters
of the Hungarian army as well as war refugees from all walks of
life could see no alternative other than to leave their country.

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[3]World War II (1939-1945) between the United Nations (Great
Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the U.S. etc. and the Axis
(Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary etc.)

The only problem facing them was finding a sympathetic place

of refuge: the only question was where. With time the response

became evident. By 1947 Canada officially recognized Hungarians

as no longer aliens for immigration purposes. Consequently,

eleven thousand nine hundred and thirty eight persons arrived

in Canada during the period 1948-1955 bringing the total number

of Hungarians emigrating during the fourth wave to twelve

thousand and fifty four (See Table I).

Wave V 1956-1965

It must be emphasized that contributing to this steady

flow of immigrants during the post war period was the Russian

occupation of Hungary. Given an inch in 1946 within ten years

the Russians had taken a mile. Unable to route the Russians

out of Hungary during the 1956 revolution, up until 1965, forty

three thousand, six hundred and sixty-seven defeated Hungarians;

peasants, skilled laborers, professionals, gentry etc., escaped

from Hungary to Canada to form the fifth and so far final wave

of Hungarian immigration (See Table I).

Considering the composition of this collectivity of

immigrants over this one hundred and seventeen year period,

for the greater part all strata of the society were represented.

These individuals arbitrarily distributed themselves throughout

Canada, if not claimed by relatives pre-established here, in

the following way.

Relocation and Re-establishment of the
Hungarian Community

National and Provincial Populations

A report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reveals
that in 1961, the Hungarians represented the eleventh largest
ethnic group in Canada with a total population of 126,220
persons (See Table II). The data further indicates that the
members of this ethnic group were scattered throughout the
nation from the east to west coasts with every province or
territory accounting for a certain percent of the Hungarian
people (See Table III). Firstly the provinces and territories
can be ranked in terms of the proportion the Hungarian provincial
population forms of each provinces total population. In
Saskatchewan, the Hungarian population is approaching 2% of
the provincial total; in Alberta and Ontario, it is about 1%.
In all the remaining provinces, the Hungarian population is
proportionately smaller.

Secondly, in examining the distribution of the Hungarian
population as a percentage of the total Hungarian Canadian
population, a different ordering of the provinces and territories
becomes apparent. These people tend to display a certain
settlement pattern. It seems that the members of this particular
ethnic group prefer to take up residence in the western and
central rather than eastern or northern sections of the country.
The distribution in the various provinces (or territories) in
rank order is: Ontario, Saskatchewan, Quebec, Alberta, British
Columbia, Manitoba, the Eastern provinces and the Northern

Table II

Ranking of Ethnic Groups in Canada
By Size of Population*

	Ethnic Group	Population
1.	British	7,996,669
2.	French	5,540,346
3.	German	1,049,590
4.	Ukranian	473,337
5.	Italian	450,351
6.	Netherlands	429,679
7.	Scandinavians	386,534
8.	Polish	323,517
9.	Native Indians and Eskimos	220,121
10.	Jewish	173,344
11.	Hungarian	126,220
12.	Russian	119,168
13.	Austrian	106,535
14.	Czech	73,061
15.	Finish	59,436
16.	Chinese	58,197
17.	Negro	32,127

*Compiled from Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Population by
 Ethnic Groups and Sex for Counties and Census Divisions, 1961,
 VI, Pt.: 2(92-541:92-551 Bull. 1.2-5 Table 37).

Table III

<u>Relative Size of the Hungarian Population Per Province</u>*

Province	Total Population	Hungarian Population	Hungarian Provisional Population As A Percentage Of The Province's Total Population	Hungarian Provincial Population Of The Total Hungarian Canadian Population 126,220
Eastern Provinces[a]	1,915,425	1,327	.069	1.051
Quebec	5,259,211	15,561	.296	12.328
Ontario	6,236,092	59,427	.953	47.082
Manitoba	921,683	5,443	.590	4,312
Saskatchewan	925,181	16,059	1.736	12.723
Alberta	1,331,944	15,293	1.148	12.116
British Columbia	1,629,082	12,833	.791	10.207
Northern Territories[b]	37,626	277	.736	.219

*Compiled from Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Population By Ethnic Group and Sex For Provinces and Territories, 1961, VI. Pt.:2 (92-543) Bull. 1.2-5 Table 36.

a Eastern Provinces include Newfoundland, P.E.I., Nova Scotia, New Brunswick.

b Northern Territories include Yukon, North West Territories.

Territories (Table III).

City and County Dense Populations

Aware of the provincial population of Hungarians, of
the ten counties and census divisions which ranked highest
across Canada with respect to the number of Hungarians within
their boundaries, the two areas which are most outstanding are
first, Division Twenty of Alberta and second the County of
Welland (See Table IV). Division Twenty has an overall figure
of 3,603 Hungarians or 2.86% of the entire population of
Hungarians in Canada. As a calculated percent of the total
general population in just that census division, the Hungarians
account for 4.33% of all the people enumerated therein; that
is the highest percentage of local Hungarian representation in
all of Canada. Following close behind in almost an equally
prominent position is the County of Welland. Ranking forth
in the general cumulative census figures with 6,536 Hungarians
or 5.18% of the total population of the ethnic group in the
country, Welland County has the Hungarians representing 3.98%
of its total population. When compared with the remaining eight
areas it seems that these two qualify primarily as settings
impressingly supportive of a strong proportion of Hungarians
(See Table IV).

With these findings in mind, the focus is shifted to
the more micro level of incorporated cities, towns, villages
and other municipal subdivisions of 10,000 and over as represented
by Table V. Of the ten areas listed; that most concentrated with

Table IV

Counties and Census Divisions with the Highest Hungarian Population*

County or Census Division	The County or Census Divisions Total Hungarian Population	As a Percentage of Canada's Total Hungarian Population (126,220)	As a Percentage of the Total Population in that area.
			T.P. (1,733,108)
York,Ontario	18,069	14.32	1.043
			(1,747,696)
Île de Montréal Quebec	13,005	10.30	.74
			(907,531)
Division 4, B.C.	7,395	5.86	.82
			(164,741)
Welland County, Ontario	6,536	5.18	3.98
			(358,837)
Wentworth, Ontario	6,368	5.05	1.78
			(258,218)
Essex, Ontario	4,757	3.77	1.84
			(475,989)
Division 20, Manitoba	3,978	3.16	.84
			(154,400)
Division 6, Saskatchewan	3,685	2.92	2.39
			(83,306)
Division 20, Alberta	3,603	2.86	4.33
			(410,679)
Division 11, Alberta	3,292	2.61	.80

*Compiled from Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Population by Ethnic Groups and Sex for Counties and Census Divisions, 1961, VI, Pt.:2 (92-541, 92-551) Bull. 1.2-5 Table 37.

Table V

Incorporated Cities, Towns, Villages and other Municipal

Subdivisions of 10,000 and over with the highest

Hungarian Population*

City, Town, Village Subdivisions	The City, Town Village or Sub-division's Total Hungarian Population	As a Percent of Canada's Total Hungarian Population (126,220)	As a Percent of the Total Population of the City
			T.P. (672,407)
Toronto, Ontario	10,715	8.49	1.59
			(1,191,062)
Montreal, Quebec	10,304	8.16	.87
			(273,991)
Hamilton, Ontario	5,643	4.47	2.06
			(249,641)
Calgary, Alberta	4,168	3.30	1.67
			(384,522)
Vancouver, B.C.	3,414	2.71	.89
			(265,429)
Winnipeg, Manitoba	2,987	2.37	1.13
			(36,079)
Welland, Ontario	2,960	2.35	8.20
			(112,141)
Regina, Saskatchewan	2,897	2.30	2.59
			(114,367)
Windsor, Ontario	2,260	1.80	1.98
			(281,027)
Edmonton, Alberta	2,255	1.79	.80

*Compiled from Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Population by
 Ethnic Groups and Sex For Incorporated Cities, Towns, Villages
 and other Municipal Subdivisions of 10,000 and Over, 1961, VI,
 Pt.:2 (92-541-92-551) Bull. 1.2 Table 38.

Hungarians, is the city of Welland which ranks seventh highest

when considering the individual districts' Hungarian population.

With 2,960 or 2.30% of all of Canada's Hungarians residing

within the city limits, Welland has the overall high of 8.20%

of her population reportedly of Hungarian ethnicity. This

proportion of the Hungarians calculated as a percentage of the

total Hungarian population in the individual areas is not

nearly as strong in any of the remaining nine cities. Regina

has the second largest proportion of Hungarians in a city with

2.59 percent, while Hamilton and Windsor have about a 2%

Hungarian population (See Table V).

Hungarian Immigrants in Kolonia : Size and Density of Population

Coincidently enough, the research site selected primarily

because of its convenience was one of these above mentioned

areas. Referred to as Kolonia, the research site seemd rather

promising for field research of an apparent community of

Hungarians. Not only did I have present at my selected setting

a comparatively large number and proportion of Hungarians but

it also proved worthwhile for me to recognize that this concentrated

group of individuals exists within the rather confined quarters

of a virtually small population. With a very limited number

of "others" amongst whom to socially diffuse themselves, it

could be speculated that a relatively strong network of ingroup

communication could have been maintained by the Hungarians over

the years. Considering the amount of space available for

population expansion, it became further evident that no matter
when and if a Hungarian may have relocated within the city
limits, he could have never altered the degree of his physical
proximity from the central core of the Hungarian community to
such an extent that the apparent physical fragmentation ex-
perienced may have a certain negative effect; namely the loss
of Hungarian identity and/or a severe reduction of ingroup
participation. It seems that Kolonia's environment was very
conducive to providing sufficient occasion and opportunity
for rapport amongst people of the ethnic group. This in a
self fulfilling way could have ultimately perpetuated the life
and purpose of an intense Hungarian community. With these
general observations and speculations as well as supportive
statistics in mind, it appears as though legitimation of Kolonia
as a most eligible research site may be without serious question.
On this note, the social historical and demographic introduction
to the city of Kolonia and its Hungarian Ethnic Group is
presented.

Immigration Opportunities: City History and Work

The questions which arise are exactly when, why, where
and how were the Hungarians enticed, encouraged and/or actually
persuaded to settle within the boundaries of this predefined
area? It all began as early as 1824 when the Kolonia Canal
Company was formed by a William Hamilton Merrit with a George
Keefer as president and fourteen other shareholders, some of
whom were from England others from Canada. On November 30 of

that year the first sod turning ceremony was held to mark the
beginning of the construction of the Kolonia Canal; that
segment of an inland waterway which would link two great bodies
of water. This project was never completed in the true sense
of the word as even up until 1973 extensions, rectifications
and alterations were constantly required. One such renovation
occurred in 1829 when a wooden aqueduct was built to carry the
Kolonia Canal over the Kolonia River (See Appendix B). A
settlement sprang up along the construction site and was called
Aqueduct. The first group of people who settled in this area
were the combined original inhabitants of two Empire Loyalist
Settlements; Fort Erie and Niagara, which had been established
in 1788. With these individuals acting as the initial
organizing core, the settlement, under their close vigilance,
gradually grew to various recognized peaks. On July 24th, 1858,
Aqueduct was formally incorporated as the village of Kolonia,
then on January 1st., 1878 as the town of Kolonia and finally
on July 1st., 1917 as the city of Kolonia (See Appendix C).
As the number of inhabitants grew so also did the city's
participation in the economic, business, and labor market.
The two variables were obviously interdependent as both in-
creased simultaneously. Before long this particular area
became recognized as a beehive of economic activity, supportive
of the majority of those interested enough to take residence
in the region and sufficiently versatile in the sense that the
city and outlying hinterland offered a number of employment

opportunities in the different fields of occupation. The
chronological organization of such an appealing environment
with regard to accommodation of the newcomers flowing into
Canada is as follows.

First of all there was the Kolonia canal project itself.
Requiring a fair part of two centuries for realization of a
tentative completion, the inland water route consumed many
man hours of labour to which the Hungarians contributed a good
share. Eager for any type of employment upon their arrival
so long as they might earn money enough to sustain themselves
as well as their families, a number of the Hungarians engaged
in this necessary yet demanding work. As one middle aged
Hungarian woman described it:

> I remember when my father worked on the canal,
> he didn't like the work at all but it was a
> source of daily bread on the table. He had to
> do something. He couldn't get a job in the
> plant at that time, so he had to work outdoors
> on the canal. It was hard work especially in
> the cold weather. I remember my father getting
> dressed to go to his job: everybody sort of
> helped. He had to put on his big heavy boots,
> his long black coat, a long home knitted scarf,
> a thick pair of gloves and a wool hat that
> covered his ears. Off he would go to dig the
> canal or at other times help level and landscape
> or plant trees along the banks. He would come
> home tired and chilled through but those were
> the jobs foreigners had to do; nobody else
> wanted them.
> (Interview 73, Spring/73, Female)

According to my informants, this was the way in which many new-
comers made their first dollar. They speak of it as a difficult
way but nonetheless an honest way; one which they would never
forget nor permit their offsprings to disregard.

For those who may have been granted farmland in the
surrounding area or who may have borrowed money from a fellow
Hungarian or through frugality saved sufficient funds to put
a down payment on a small homestead, there was yet another
alternative; farming. With the first waves of immigration in
particular catering to the peasant class of the fatherland,
there is little wonder why a number of Hungarians initially
selected this occupation and this area. While interviewing
in the field, I discovered that many of the respondents had
either directly or indirectly made reference to some previous
farming experiences in the rich hinterland surrounding Kolonia:

> When we were first married (1935) on Sundays
> we used to pack a picnic lunch and drive out
> to Mr. and Mrs. B's. farm for the day. We
> would help them out with some of the chores
> and help store food or vegetables for the
> winter. Sometimes we strung; braided the
> onions or garlic and hung them up for winter
> storage or other things. We helped each other
> out a lot like that and everyone enjoyed it.
> But then the farm became too much for Mr. and
> Mrs. B. and with no family to help them as
> they got older they had to move into the city.
> But they were good days although a little
> rough; they brought the Hungarian people
> together.
> (Interview 74, Spring 73, Female)

It appears that even the Hungarian who may have taken up
residence in the city, still had the urge to associate himself
with the traditions of Hungarian rural life thus providing
occasion to draw the ethnic people in the area even closer
together.

Mention should be made here as well of the availability
of certain other seasonal work with which a Hungarian could

preoccupy himself in order that he or she supplement the family income. Those most popular in this job category, excluding those extra after hour jack of all trade types of employment, were summer fruit picking in the orchards of the Niagara Peninsula, the fall employment in nearby canning factories and the good paying summer work in the tobacco fields of Delhi. Hungarians told how they capitalized on these make-shift opportunities for employment.

> If it wasn't for the fruit farms on Niagara
> on the Lake, I don't know what I would have
> done. I made good money as soon as I
> arrived in Canada working out there in the
> orchards. Then when the tobacco was ready
> some of us worked, down in Delhi and made
> even more. By winter the majority of us
> found some indoor work and then with a little
> luck we finally got steady indoor jobs and
> didn't have to work "here and there". But
> all of us had some sort of work that payed
> us some money at least. I don't think any
> of us minded it here;the whole area reminded
> us somewhat of the old country. With work,
> money and a touch of the old country we all
> felt content and at home. Maybe the best
> point of this whole area is the fact that
> if we were laid off at any time from our
> plant jobs; we knew we could always work the
> summer and fall with the fruit or on a
> Hungarian's tobacco farm down in Delhi. We
> were positive that there was a sure way to
> make enough money to get by on and that if
> we watched our money carefully, it could get
> us through those hard times with some left
> to spare.
> (Interview 75, Spring/73, Male)

With the agricultural attributes of the area a cushion the foreigner could fall back on when times were tough or when he needed a little extra to get ahead, the Hungarian had in essence tapped a source of encouragement. He felt that in the long

run there was a way for him to survive and succeed in this alien country.

Besides the canal operation and farming there was yet a third work option open to the immigrant in this seemingly very resourceful area. With the city of Kolonia becoming more and more prone to economic development in the field of industry, a consequential array of various sorts of factories continued to swell as time went on. In examining the nature and number of the different factories in the city (See Appendix D), it becomes more than evident why Kolonia was to be recognized as a major manufacturing area within the Niagara Region. As early as 1860 heavy industry was introduced within the district. By 1905 with the construction of Plymoth Cortage, Kolonia was well on the way to an active and competitive role in Canada's economic and labor market. It was precisely at this time that the Federal Government sought to curb U.S. importation of goods which could be most readily manufactured in Canada. Introducing specific legislation to prevent American exporting of binder twine used in the harvesting of the wheat out west, the government located this potential industry in Kolonia. It was anticipated that this would not only help the economy but it would also employ a great number of the nations "new Canadians" (Interview 76, Spring/73, Male). Taking advantage of this opportunity, Kolonia enthusiastically accepted the governments proposal and aid in stepping up the industrial development of its area. With this the established guideline,

the remaining major industrial cites were not long in coming

into being (See Appendix D). Within no time at all, plants

manufacturing farm equipment, steel, pipe and a host of other

materials began to rise throughout the city. Such a continuous

phase of economic expansion depended increasingly upon the

availability of a strongbacked labor force and where the

factories were willing to provide the wages the foreigners were

willing to provide the work.

News spread quickly amongst the immigrants of

additional job opportunities as they became available. In this

manner, the members of the community helped each other when

seeking work. The following datum illustrates just how intense

this network was:

> I recall when the Electric Metals opened.
> They needed a lot of men there to get the
> factory going. It was just before that
> time I had been writing my uncle and his
> family who were out west working the land.
> Things weren't going so well and he was
> having a hard time so I wrote him and told
> him about the situation down here. I told
> him if he would like to come down just to
> let me know and we could make some arrange-
> ments. Well he wrote back and said he had
> talked it over with his wife and he was
> willing to come east and take a chance. I
> wired him the train fare down to Kolonia,
> the family (relatives here) helped him get
> a job and put a roof over his head until he
> got on his feet. When he had enough money,
> he sent for his family and they came here
> to join him. They bought a little home on
> Park Street and have been there ever since.
> (Interview 76, Summer/73, Female)

It was by means of this web of communication, the Hungarian

community was enlarged and managed to survive economically and

socially.

Less we romanticize regarding these findings, it should be pointed out that what may have appeared to be "the golden opportunity" (Interview 42, Fall/73, Female) for the foreigner was soon realized for what it really was in the majority of cases; second class status and citizenship. Given the less appealing tasks in their places of employment, the landed immigrant endured various social, psychological and physical hardships. They did so in order that they might simply earn sufficient funds to keep well. The foreigner was in a powerless as well as desperate position and the sometimes exploitive and biased persons of management realized this. As the son of a landed immigrant described the situation at that time:

> When people like my father came to this
> country, they took the jobs in the plants
> which were available. Naturally simply
> by being newcomers they were given only
> laborer positions along the lines, no
> foremans' positions or anything like that.
> Even if the men did have trades or skills
> of some type; for example a machinest, it
> wasn't recognized. They kept people like
> my father at the lowest position they could
> even if they learnt a skill while they were
> here in Canada and in the plant. But then
> things started to happen. The Second World
> War came along and before you knew it every
> plant in Kolonia was working on a twenty four
> hour a day basis producing war material left
> and right. They had to have three eight hour
> shifts to meet the demand for war time materials
> for the allies. Well when this happened, then,
> they hired more and more immigrant people, a
> lot of them were women you know. And now that
> they had all these extra people working on the
> new shifts they needed a number of qualified
> or knowledgeable people who were familiar with
> the method and process of production. With a

> shortage of the people the owners had to
> recognize the foreigners who either had
> always had these skills or who learnt
> them over time in the factory. There were
> also children of the landed immigrants who
> had finished their schooling and took the
> opporunity to get a good job at that time.
> Some of these people were given higher
> positions due to the circumstances and also
> don't forget you had to have a person who
> could act as a go between here. Management
> didn't speak Hungarian and a lot of Hungarians
> understood limited English. With all these
> new people something had to be done to
> organize everything. So in the long run
> certain people were finally recognized and
> promoted. It was in a round about way like
> this that the Hungarians got work and proper
> recognition for their abilities.
> (Interview 77; Fall/73, Male)

This paints then a more vivid picture of the extent of the

opportunities available to the foreigner. In an obviously

diplomatic fashion, they were accommodated yet cautiously denied

their full status as persons with equal rights.

Moreover, it must be recognized that the landed immigrant

having come from what he believed a more depressing set of

circumstances to a land he believed offered at least a means

of self maintenance as well as peace of mind was rather grate-

ful for a more humanizing disposition. Within the confines

of his own little ethnic community, he felt that for the moment

he was a very content and wealthy man indeed. Thus regardless

of ones time of arrival, it seemed to the Hungarian that the

Kolonia area was most supportive of immigrating Hungarians;

the canal, the agriculture, and the industry all provided him

with an initial and basic sense of economic and social psycho-

logical security upon which to build a hopefully more promising

future.

The Contemporary Community of Kolonia

Residential Patterns

With the city of Kolonia primarily divided into an
east and west bank by the Kolonia Canal which ran through the
city from the north to south and secondly into other little
sub-zones bounded by either the old Kolonia River or the
crisscross network of railways, it was relatively easy for the
different groups of ethnic people to voluntarily or involuntarily
isolate themselves from each other on both an ethnic and class
base. The living arrangement of the Hungarian Ethnic group
in context of the society at large reflects such a pattern.
In referring to Map No. 1 (See Appendix E) and the areas marked
A, B, C, D, E, the majority of the members of the Hungarian
ethnic group may be located on the east bank of the city in
and around the hub of their five established social and religious
institutions[4] in the Hellems Avenue, Plymouth Road and Park
Street areas. As one Hungarian reported:

> I can remember when State Street, Albert
> Street and Park Street were ninety five
> percent Hungarian. All the Hungarians
> lived in the area or at least as close to
> it as they could.
> (Interview 76, Summer/73, Female)

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[4]Legend for the five institutions
(A)   Our Lady of Hungary Church
(B)   Hungarian Self Culture Society
(C)   The Hungarian Workers
(D)   The Hungarian Presbyterian Church
(E)   The Hungarian Greek Catholic Church

In order to illustrate and subtantiate the actual existence
of this community of Hungarians by means of a supplementary
source, I offer Map No. 1 (See Appendix E) which has plotted
on it all the residences of the members of Our Lady of Hungary's
Roman Catholic Church (A) as of 1972. It was hoped that this
presentation might set forth the general overall view of how
the Hungarians have distributed themselves throughout the city
over the years.

With the gradual development of an overtly apparent
cohesive community of Hungarians came the increasing demand
for supplementary housing from newly arriving Hungarians.
Expressing their personal wish to live near or amongst "our
own people" (Interview 73, Spring/73, Female), these individuals
discovered that they were easily accommodated in and around
the ethnic community. In context of the city of Kolonia as
a whole, the Hungarian community was ideally situated to meet
what might have appeared to be a housing crisis. As a portion
of Ward III of the city (See Map No. 2, Appendix F) the heart
of the community was zoned $R.M._2$ and $R.M._3$ or Multiple Family
Family Dwelling second density district and Multiple Family
Dwelling third density district. Recognized as an area of
immigrant settlement, the Hungarian community could legally
be characterized by the traditional high density and mediocre
taxation within such an area. With limited access to very
specific data, the Hungarian community may be summarized in
the following general terms. A makeshift analysis of the data

Table VI

Density of Populated Areas in Kolonia

Ward I   4.37 persons per acre

Ward II   11.32 persons per acre

Ward III   14.81 persons per acre

Ward IV   18.01 persons per acre

Ward V   8.74 persons per acre

Ward VI   4.61 persons per acre

Residential Areas = Land menus Hinterland and Factory property

acquired further revealed that this area in which the Hungarians

lived was, in fact, the second most densely populated district

in the city (See Table VI) as there was a reported 14.81 persons

per residential acre. This may be attributed to the complementary

housing accommodations entertained in the ethnic area. The

$R.M._2$ and $R.M._3$ zones of residency stipulate the following types

of dwelling permitted in that territory. Represented by the

$R.M._2$ title were (1) private detached dwellings, (2) one family

dwellings, (3) semi-detached dwellings, (4) duplex dwelling,

(5) converted dwellings; apartments and (6) other dwellings

servicing as boarding or lodging houses. Taking into considera-

tion the $R.M._3$ label, all the forementioned applied with the

addition of double duplexes and multiple attached dwellings.

Overall these homes, in comparison to those others of alternate

zones of residency, are homes which are confined to smaller

lots but given greater privileges with regard to the number

of individuals who may dwell within the premise. This meant

then that the Hungarian community was so situated that ideally

speaking it was in the perfect disposition to accommodate the

majority of members of the ethnic group. First of all, a

reduction in individual lot size permitted a greater number

of homes to be built within the district. Secondly, the larger

number of homes were so constructed or utilized that they in

fact offered shelter to a greater number of persons. In this

way, Hungarian families could live together and help one

another out as the older residents familiarized those recently

arrived with a somewhat altered lifestyle. As one Hungarian

couple reported:

> We bought our house on Park Street and before
> too long there were four families living here.
> As you can see it isn't a large home at all
> but we had everything organized and we lived
> happily together. In fact all four of us
> wives cooked on one stove and there wasn't
> one evening that we all didn't sit down; that
> is the four families, to eat together. We
> co-ordinated things so all our individual meals
> would be ready at the same time. Well as time
> went on each family made a little headway and
> left to be on their own. This is the way a lot
> of Hungarians managed for the first while after
> they arrived here.
> (Interview 79, Winter/73, Female)

There was no problem with the Hungarian bachelors; he simply

roomed and boarded with a Hungarian family until he married

and bought his own home. If the latter wasn't the case, he

just kept on renting a room from someone in the community; there

are still single men in the community who live under these

conditions. In the case of a newly arrived family, who may have been a bit better off, they could afford to temporarily rent an apartment or upper half of another Hungarian's house. As they began to work and eagerly saved money, before too long they also could own their own home. Such a symbiotic type of housing relationship not only introduced all the Hungarians into the existence of a Hungarian community but it also provided them with a secure and complementary Hungarian based environment. As one respondent stated:

> It's best to be with your own, you understand
> them and they understand you. You feel
> comfortable; at home. You help each other
> out after all what is life for but that.
> (Interview 74, Spring/73, Female)

The social psychological confidence and contentment derived from these pacifying and relatively secluded surroundings calmed the initially anxiety ridden newcomer who none too soon became victim of the sometimes disillusioning elements of culture shock. Under such general conditions, the community of Hungarians grew and with time it became more interdependent.

Kolonia's Commercial Frontage

With such a strongly integrated group of Hungarians present, it is little wonder why a faint Hungarian commercial frontage along the west perimeter of the Hungarian community took rise and increased steadily. In a general review of the immediate and presently fragmented segments of the Hungarians' owned and operated businesses and benefit as well as professional services, it became apparent that a Hungarian could confine

himself totally to Hungarians when seeking goods or services.

For example, a Hungarian could go to a Hungarian hairdresser

or barber, to a Hungarian shoemaker, to a Hungarian clothier,

to a Hungarian grocery store, to a Hungarian electrician,

carpenter or plumber, to a Hungarian service station, to a

Hungarian bowling alley, to a Hungarian billiard hall, to a

Hungarian patroned hotel, to the Hungarian institutions' dinner

and dance, to a Hungarian doctor; medical, dentist or bone

specialist, to a Hungarian lawyer, or judge, to a Hungarian

benefit organization and even to the Hungarian corner of the

city's cemetery. Obviously such ingroup conveniences helped

perpetuate the life of the ethnic group and in turn this

ethnic community reinforced the existence of the group's business-

men, professionals and benefit foundations. It appears that

even if fragmentation were to occur, it would be on a very

insignificant scale as the individual seems barely able to

escape the constant Hungarian based reference points which can

only contribute to the person's awareness of his ethnic identity

and remind him constantly of his cultural heritage.

The Existence of a Hungarian Community

In summary then, this third chapter has described the

waves of Hungarian immigration, the composition of individuals

arriving, their numbers and relative distribution throughout

Canada. Having cited the Hungarian Ethnic Group in Kolonia,

as we have, we have come to understand some of the basic

characteristics of an ethnic community:

> First it serves psychologically as a
> source of group self identification -
> the locus of the sense of intimate
> peoplehood - and second it provides a
> patterned network of groups and in-
> stitutions which allows an individual
> to confine his primary group relationships
> to his own ethnic group throughout all
> stages of the life cycle.
> (Gordon, 1964:38)

With this brief descriptive outline of how the relocated

Hungarians of Kolonia accommodated themselves to the work world

of the society at large, how they suffered elements of pre-

judice and discrimination, how they responded to such treatment

and how they managed to socially, culturally and religiously

as well as to a certain degree economically isolate themselves

from the dominant society, we have at least laid claim to an

ethnic community worth investigating in further detail along

these lines. It will be the intent purpose of the following

chapters then to discuss the various internal dynamics of the

Hungarian Ethnic Group as found within the community in Kolonia.

We will begin with a discussion of the ethnic group's Kingpins

and their role in helping to maintain community life.

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Marginality is to the theory of cultural
pluralism what "tolerance" is to the
notion of brotherhood. Just as tolerance
suggests condescension which is a negation
of genuine brotherhood, so too, marginality
conveys overtones of patronizing attitude
which is quite different from the concept
of complete equality which is cultural
pluralism.
     (Golovensky, 1951-1952:337)

CHAPTER IV

BENEVOLENT KINGPINS:
ARBITRATORS OF INGROUP AND
INGROUP-OUTGROUP SYMBIOSIS

In examining the beginnings of social organization
within Kolonia's Hungarian community and in analyzing the data
collected, the recurring theme of the marginal man became very
prevelant. It appears that within the ethnic group there are
certain resourceful individuals who voluntarily aid those
other less fortunate members of the ethnic group. Initially
establishing themselves as the ingroup kingpins, they quite
autonomously organize an ingroup system of symbiosis. With
both the kingpin and ethnic group members benefitting from
the reciprocity, at length the majority of ingroup needs are
met. However, over time as the demands for aid surpass the
resourcefulness of the kingpin,certain alterations of the
ingroup system of symbiosis are required. At this point the
kingpin expands his network of resources by acting as a liason
man between the needy of the ethnic group and other resourceful
individuals within the dominant society. This establishes
yet another system of symbiosis, that of the ingroup-outgroup.
It will be the purpose of this chapter then to discuss both
systems of symbiosis pointing out as well the transition from
the informal system of social organization to the more formal
development of ingroup institutions.

The Marginal Man

The marginal man concept has been widely discussed by sociologists in the past. Introduced by Robert E. Park and elaborated upon by Everett V. Stonequist, this topic of interest has since been criticized, clarified and contended by a host of other social scientists. With the basic theoretical and practical premises associated with this subject matter still open to question, it becomes evident that there is yet more to be considered.

Park had initially defined the marginal man as:

> a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and tradition of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures, two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused.
> (Park, 1928 as quoted in Goldberg, 1941:52)

At a later date he further specified such a person as:

> one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic cultures.
> (From Park's Introduction to Everett Stonquist, 1937 as quoted in Golovensky 1951:334)

This in turn encouraged a subsequent body of literature which defined such a societal position as not only, unfavorable but unhealthy as well. Because the marginal man is supposed to be "torn between nostalgic love for the old and a growing attachment to the new" (Golovensky, 1951:334), it is anticipated that he, in entertaining a duality of culture (Golovensky, 1951:

334), will likely suffer from "a duality of personality - a divided self" (Golovensky, 1951:334). As Golovensky says of the marginal man and his apparently compounded problem:

> His is not a problem of adjusting a single
> looking glass self, but two or more selves.
> (Golovensky, 1951:334)

With this as their spring board, other social theorists[1] have argued that all has resulted in the marginal persons' showing "of higher frequencies of various types of personal and social pathology including crime, delinquency and insanity." (Golovensky, 1951-52:334)

These theoretical claims prove to be somewhat disturbing and consequently it becomes necessary to evaluate them by noting empirical and factual evidence. Referring to available data, the following findings are cited.

> (1) The contention that foreigners and Jews,
>   because of their marginal position, show
>   a higher crime rate is far from conclusive
> (2) Turning to mental disease....the available
>   figures offer no support to this notion
>   (Golovensky, 1951:334)

Thus the ideology of these marginality theorists is challenged. It is speculated that what these researchers have done is to have theoretically created

> a caricature of a truth or an exaggeration
> and distortion of a fact
> (Golovensky, 1951:335)

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[1]Refer to
Stonequist, Everett V., _The Marginal Man._ New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons, 1937).
Elliott, Mabel A. and Merrill, Francis E., _Social Disorganization._
(New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

which has been empirically proven to have "lead to a cul-de-sac" (Golovensky, 1951:335).

Golovensky along with other social theorists[2] take an alternate view of the marginal man concept. They are of the belief that:

> The human being is amazingly accommodative both physiologically and psychologically. (Golovensky, 1951:336)...that...the average person, under favorable conditions, can make more complex adjustments without shattering his mental balance and emotional security than Park, et al., seem to recognize.
> (Golovensky, 1951:335)

It is their opinion that "multiple loyalties need not be conflicting or disorganizing" (Golovensky, 1951:335). As they see it, "every individual belongs to many overlapping groups" and he can be "loyal to all of them without being thrown into a constant state of conflict and uncertainty" (Golovensky, 1951:335). Marginal men do not necessarily "feel that they are condemned to a life of duality and conflict." (Golovensky, 1951:335). Rather they may see themselves as in a marginal situation "mutually congruous and hospitable" (Golovensky, 1951:335). Entertaining what may be referred to as a "cultural

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[2]Gillin, John P., "Custom and Range of Human Response," Culture and Personality, 13 (December 1944).
See B. Bettelheim, "Individuals and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 38 (1943).
Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflict (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948).
"The Jewish personality tortured by the conflicts of biculturality," Jessie Bernard, "Biculturality: A Study in Social Schizophrenia," in Graeber and Britt.
Milton M. Goldberg, "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory."
Mordecai M. Kaplan, Judaism as a Civilization. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934).

duplexity" or "biculturality" (Golovensky 1951:335):

> the greater number want - not are condemned -
> to live simultaneously in two civilizations
> (Golovensky, 1951:335).

Furthermore to the majority of men at the margin:

> their marginality is a positively-valued
> stimulus and vehicle to creative living
> and cultural cross-fertilization. To them
> marginality, hyphenism, dualism are stepping
> stones, not stumbling blocks
> (Golovensky, 1951:335).

Such men figure as the "key personality in the contact of

cultures;" "the crucible of cultural fusion" (Green, 1947-48:

168). With this imperative "dual orientation" (Antonosky,

1956-1957:60) the marginal man fabricates "a harmonious synthesis

of opposites, a cultural symbiosis" (Golovensky, 1951-1952:337)

which maybe an asset to his entire ethnic group as well as

himself.

"The man who took command of the immigrant group"

(Handlin, 1951:190) usually became such a marginal person.

More than likely a landed immigrant himself, the evolutionary

"kingpin" of the ethnic community began his life in the new

world as lonely and helpless as all other newcomers. (Handlin,

1951:170) The only difference was that the kingpin:

> had laid hands on the money to open a grocery
> or to take on contracts and had added by
> shrewdness and effort to his original store.
> The fellows who had come off the ship with
> him still toiled away for their uncertain
> daily bread, but he was successful, had faced
> the American environment and had mastered it.
> (Handlin, 1951:190-191)

Treking his way to the top of the ingroup V.I.P. list in this

manner, traditionally the kingpin acted as the major co-ordinator

of the "in fellow feeling": the ingroup organization of "each

others' support," "understanding", "sympathy" and "co-operation"

(Handlin, 1951:170-171). Having achieved this status, his

sequential experiences in attempting to accommodate that role

further defined his ultimate purpose. As Glazer and Moynihan

note it:

> ....Occasionally a sick man is made whole.
> Apparently this is a matter of luck or the
> careful manipulation of the environment by
> interested persons. In a family, school,
> church, settlement house, trade union or
> neighbourhood, when a dedicated invididual
> with imagination who can mobilize some
> social or economic resources establishes
> and maintains a relationship with a man in
> trouble things begin to happen
>   (Glazer, Moynihan, 1970:120)

In general terms then, this is the role of the kingpin in an

ethnic community. Situationally, he may be defined as the

informal co-ordinator of a system of symbiosis for the needy

of his community: the consensus elected social worker of an

ethnic group to whom others "turned in moments of trouble".

(Handlin, 1951:173).

However to function in this empathetic manner, there

must be at the disposal of the beneficient individual a somewhat

complicated "ways and means" network through which he may

realize his apparently benevolent deeds. It must be emphasized

that only when this intricate backdrop of connections, contacts,

and resources has been progessively developed, may the kingpin

effectively exercise the symbiotic gestures which encourage

the existence of a somewhat securer ethnic community. While some of the "ways and means" networks are couched within the ingroup itself, there are those which extend out into the society at large. It must be recognized that, at times, the ingroup resources are limited, and the marginal man "in contact with the outside world" (Menzel, 1960:707) must utilize those "foreign ways" (Menzel, 1960:707) which will help aid the cause. Furthermore in the final analysis not only does the ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis benefit the people of both societies but it also has various effects on the kingpin himself. Operating in "the twilight zone" (Golovensky, 1951-1953:333) between the two societies, the now "emancipated" (Menzel, 1960: 707) kingpin:

> the immigrant become businessman was thrown
> in with all sorts of people, salesman,
> government officials, bankers, and as the old
> saying had it; who goes among crows must
> croak like them, who gets among goats must
> jump like them. It was necessary to get
> along with strangers to win the esteem of
> influential outsiders. He who rose must learn
> to wear American clothing, let his fingernails
> grow like a gentleman, cultivate conformity
> in language and name and still not drift so far
> away as to lose the respect of his own group.
> Such were the burdens of leadership.
> (Handlin, 1951:191)

With the beliefs of the two schools of thought: those anti marginality and those pro marginality, presented, the question as to which is most correct remains. It is the purpose of this chapter to help clarify this point as a tentative solution may lie in the discussion of data I gathered on the subject matter while in the field. I discovered that in

Kolonia's Hungarian ethnic community, there were a number of kingpins; some full fledged marginal man, others simply ingroup "do gooders". It became evident that their role in the maintenance of community life was quite extensive and yet not always legitimate. With the social conditions such, there was established an ingroup, as well as, ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis. Network systems of contacts supporting these were constructed within the community and eventually extended to the outside. With time, circumstances and crisis altered segments of the symbiotic mesh and thus affected the role of the kingpin necessitating a redefinition of his purpose. By compiling all this information in a discussion of the social historical development of the ethnic kingpin, his role, his achievements and alterations; hopefully, we will come to understand at least a situational meaning of the term marginal man as exemplified by the activities of the kingpin in the ethnic society.

The Rise of the Kingpin Within the Ethnic Community

I focus mainly upon two kingpins who jointly represent a continuum of approximately sixty years (1913 to 1973) of perpetual practice of this benevolent role. It is their life history reports which reveal what it might mean to be a marginal man.

The first major Kolonia Hungarian kingpin we shall identify as Mr. Banks. He came to Canada as a very young man in 1907. Described as a very "adventurous" fellow (Interview 2,

Winter/72, Male), he wasted little time in familiarizing himself
with the hard labor of Kolonia's steel industry. Initially,
Mr. Banks directed all his time and energy to his factory work.
He did this so he might establish that basic economic security;
"that first stake" (Handlin, 1951:92) which guaranteed him
some means of subsistence; this was a trait which seemed most
common to most immigrants (Handlin, 1951:90). In 1913, Mr.
Banks took on "the added responsibilities of married life".
He wed Mrs. Banks; "an earnest and hardworking woman", who
"proved herself an asset to her husband in his future success."
Mrs. Banks had managed to save a few hundred dollars prior to
her marriage as "she was an extremely thrifty and frugal woman"
(Interview 2, Winter/72, Male) and it was their combined effort
as well as the merging of their financial resources which
enabled the young couple to take their first step into a life
time career of business. With funds sufficient only to afford
a pre-established business; excluding any property or building
rights, Mr. and Mrs. Banks invested their money in a little
restaurant and boarding house venture. Sharing the responsibility
of seeing to the success of their newly acquired interest,
there was an immediate division of labor with Mrs. Banks in
charge of "looking after boarders and the meals, and the few
other people who came in to eat there" (Interview 2, Winter/72,
Male) while Mr. Banks continued to work at Dominion Foundries
in order to financially safeguard their investment. Denying
themselves even the simplest conveniences and luxuries, they
strove cautiously to make sure all their exploratory efforts

would not prove to be in vain:

> And Mr. Banks walkedfrom — you know where
> the cotton mill is now, that's where
> Dominion yards are as well, that building
> is still there, he walked because they had
> street service then and it was five cents,
> and he walked to the factory from home to
> save that five cent street car fare. Do
> you know how many miles that is, that's
> about four or five miles, he walked to work
> you know just to save that five cents each
> way for the fare, because you know that was
> big money then.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

It was in enduring these extra little sacrifices that Mr. and

Mrs. Banks made steady progress. With their first financial

undertaking proving modestly profitable, Mr. and Mrs. Banks

sold the business in 1917 to reinvest their money in a little

grocery store of their own. This was located on King Street

along the commercial frontage area of the Hungarian district.

Living in an apartment above the business, Mr. and Mrs. Banks

then became full time ethnic entrepreneurs of an ever growing

Hungarian community. As the number of Hungarians in the area

increased substantially, Mr. Banks found it necessary to purchase

land on the corner of King Street and Albert Street in the

early twenties. Here he proceeded to build a new store to

accommodate the inflow of Hungarian patrons, and here he

realized his full time side occupation as the benevolent Kingpin

of the Hungarian community. The first steps in rising to the

status of Kingpin had been taken: Mr. Banks "faced the American

environment" and was learning to "master" it by a trial and

error method (Handlin, 1951:190-191).

Ingroup Symbiosis: The Kingpin's Occupational Cultural and
Economic Based Network

The Personal Occupational Network

Having graduated to the status of businessman, Mr.

Banks was in the complementary position to undertake the

responsibilities of a constant and time consuming pre-occupation

with the trials and tribulations of his people. "The immigrants

reached for some arm to lean upon" (Handlin, 1951:170) and

Mr. Banks offered his as he helped cultivate the "in fellow

feeling" (Handlin, 1951:170-171). Acting as the social worker

of the Hungarian community, he attempted to remedy whatever

troublesome situations he possibly could. An aged Hungarian

carpenter relates a description of such a relationship with

Mr. Banks:

> My wife arrived here in 1925 and we were
> married. The hard times started then. There
> was little or no work and money was hard to
> come by. If it wasn't for Mr. Banks we would
> have died for sure. I owed that man three
> hundred dollars in those days and he never
> complained. He knew I didn't have a steady
> job so he made sure I had the odd job around
> the houses he owned, all seven of them, as
> well as anyone else he heard of who needed
> work done. In fact I built a house for him
> at O'Riely's bridge. It took me a year and
> Mr. Banks paid me twenty five cents a day
> plus the use of his car while I was working
> on that job. It wasn't all that necessary
> that Mr. Banks invest his money in that way
> by buying an eighth home or I should say
> building one but he wanted to provide some
> work for his people. I used the money he
> gave me to pay off some of the debt I owned
> him and lived on the rest.
> (Interview 9, Winter/73, Male and Female)

According to my informants, this is not the only instance

in which Mr. Banks himself provided work for the members of

his group by investing his own money in some project. It was

reported that when he expanded into the winery business, he

initially spent ten thousand dollars in order to set up his

operations. With time he found it necessary to renovate and

build additions to his original building; the end result being

the Banks building which consisted of a commercial frontage

of five retailing shops crowned with apartments above, behind

all of which there was constructed Kolonia Winery Wines. The

respondents informed me that the greater part of this original

expansion work was entrusted to the Hungarians of the area:

> From 1930 to 1936 Mr. Banks had one wine
> cellar, in 1936 he expanded the wine cellar,
> which was built with the help of Hungarian
> people of the ethnic group. Then in 1945
> they again expanded the winery and it was
> Hungarian laborers who built it.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

Yet one man can provide only so much work from his

personal resources and Mr. Banks did discover his limitations.

At this point he summoned the aid of other ingroup members

whom he believed might be able to provide employment for others

in their ethnic group. As one respondent described this aspect

of his activities:

> He (Mr. Banks) became quite active and he
> also was active among his own people, he
> used to do an awful lot of favors, people
> wanted jobs, he used to run around trying
> to get them jobs in the cotton mill and all
> that; through the priest and the different
> people he had known
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

In this role then, Mr. Banks proved to be not only employer

but also the team leader of an informal employment agency.
For the moment, his was the responsibility of helping to provide
work for the unemployed ingroup members.

The Personal Cultural Network

Mr. Banks was also reported to be the type of man who
attempted to maximize on all situations. While in the wine
industry he sought to mix business with ethnic pleasure as he
organized a little of the old country tradition with the tasks
at hand. Various of my informants mentioned that in the fall;
for example, Mr. Banks would celebrate there on his premise
the age old Grape Harvest Festival. As his daughter specifically
reported of such occasions:

> I remember when my father hired extra people
> to work crushing the grapes in the fall. The
> Hungarian people would come together and they
> helped to make the wine. We didn't have
> machines then so a great deal of work was done
> manually. But we all enjoyed it. The people
> were happy and having a great time together,
> it was like an annual reunion every year.
> (Interview 80, Summer/73, Female)

This provides some evidence of the extent to which a kingpin
might personally contribute support to the resolution of the
employment problem which periodically plagued his people and
how he may voluntarily concern himself with the maintenance
of the cultural tradition of the group. In this case, we may
further label him an effective culture-work co-ordinator.

The Personal Credit Network

There are other reports which further indicate that
Mr. Banks did not limit his means of aid specifically to the

work situation and cultural celebrations alone. He took on

as well seemingly endless credit risks in order to provide a

basic level of subsistence for Hungarians who were without

monetary resources. Another Hungarian, the son of a landed

immigrant, relates their indigent family disposition and how

the kingpin functioned in his role to rectify their depressing

situation:

> I am quite sure Mr. Banks had his faults
> like anyone else but I have to tell you
> this. There was a time when my father
> had no money and no job. We were actually
> on the verge of starving to death. My
> father had been dealing with a Swabian down
> on King Street (with regards to grocery
> buying) and so he asked him for credit. He
> refused to give him any. As a last resort
> he went to Mr. Banks whom he didn't know at
> all and vise versa. Well he told Mr. Banks
> about our situation and he gave my father
> credit without any hesitation. He told my
> father to take whatever canned goods he
> needed and told the butcher to give him what
> meat he asked for and just to mark it up.
> Then Mr. Banks told him not to worry about
> paying, that he should take care of his family's
> needs first; he said he was in no rush for his
> money and that he could wait.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Male)

In regard to his professed empathy in such cases, one

of Mr. Bank's former employees summed him up as follows:

> ...a man who would give any Hungarian credit
> who needed it. And I never heard him ask for
> his money even once. In those days you could
> trust people to pay, at least the Hungarians
> and most of them did.
> (Interview 83, Winter/72, Male)

Functioning in such a role then, we may say that this kingpin

was, in essence, exemplary of a makeshift and informal welfare

boss.

The Personal Charitable Ritual and Loan Network

But again this was still not the entire extent of Mr. Banks benevolence. It filtered into his rather private and personal world as well. "Intimate little rituals develop in such situations (Handlin, 1951:173) and Mr. Banks daughter revealed the practice of one such rite:

> ...My dad and I would be working behind the counter in the Winery Store and I could see the little Hungarian Carmilite nun; Sister Mary from Our Lady of Hungary Nursery Center coming towards the Winery Shop. We were the only two who ever knew what she was coming for. In she would step and she would walk up to my father and she would say 'Mr. Banks we would like to take the children of the nursery to the park and we have no money to buy them ice cream with.
>
> My father would reach into his pocket and give her more than enough money; it was always like that. What he gave her would be equal to twenty dollars today. She would smile from ear to ear thank him with a, 'God Bless You' and off she went until the next time. But you see you could afford to be charitable like that in those days, the income tax wasn't so severe and a person could be generous. But dad did this type of thing all the time, he always had his hand in his pocket ready to take out some money to help someone else.
> (Interview 84, Winter/72, Female)

Extrapolating upon my respondents last point others interviewed would point out that if a member of the ethnic group required extensive financing to commit himself to a business venture, Mr. Banks was more than willing to provide as much of the money as he possibly could. He made private loans available and as one respondent reported:

> I borrowed three thousand dollars from him (Mr. Banks) to set up a business. It was

> good to have him.   A bank would never trust
> me for all I wanted to borrow but when they
> knew Mr. Banks trusted me for three thousand,
> they offered to lend me money as well.
> (Interview 83, Winter/73, Male)

Mr. Banks willingness to invest in another Hungarian's under-

taking had two effects.   First of all, it encouraged others

on the outside to finance Hungarian ingroup ventures when they

had every right to doubt their positive outcome.   Secondly,

it helped various Hungarians to get ahead, in so far as, Mr.

Banks had actually cultivated other successful businessmen

within the group.   Catering to the needs of his ethnic group

in this way then, the informal charitable ritualist and

financier; Mr. Banks, strengthened the ingroup social ties,

as well as, the ingroup members chances of achieving commercial

success.

Evidently Mr. Banks was a man who did more than his

share to help other Hungarians find themselves during trying

times.   Available as employer or team leader of an informal

employment agency, as cultural co-ordinator, as creditor, as

charitable donor and as financier, he somewhat independently

knit together an ingroup system of symbiosis.   In recognition

of his role as entrepreneur and in appreciation for potential

as well as actualized favors, the members of the ethnic group

patronized his businesses, and paid him the respect due a

helpful Kingpin.   This then was the reported circuit of exchange

present within the ingroup system of symbiosis.

Ingroup-Outgroup Symbiosis: The Occupation, Political
and Kickback Networks

Simultaneous Expansion of the Symbiotic Network

Interestingly enough, the data further reveal that
Mr. Bank's provision of this ingroup system of symbiosis
eventually became dependent upon his efforts to establish
supportive liasons with certain contacts on the outside. To
achieve and insure his advantageous and resourceful position
within his community, Mr. Banks had to make "contact with the
outside world." (Menzel, 1960:707). It was only in learning
and utilizing certain "foreign ways" (Menzel, 1960:707) that
Mr. Banks could maintain his achieved status as functional
kingpin as the limitations of his own personal resourcefulness
became evident. In securing this marginal position between
the dominant and minority society, not only did he benefit
his ethnic community but he further advanced himself as well.
Having "faced" the outgroup "environment" and having "mastered
it" (Handlin, 1951:190-191), Mr. Banks was in an even better
disposition to exercise his role as kingpin. Now he could well
afford to aid his fellow Hungarians as he continued to
accumulate additional wealth and influence which he was
voluntarily willing to share with other individuals within
the group. As a result of his efforts, Mr. Banks profitably
negotiated the second system of symbiosis; that between the
dominant and minority societies.

The Kingpin's Initial Contact With Outsiders

The first step taken by Mr. Banks in the development of the ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis with himself as mediator is described as follows:

> he was always one of these fellows, always
> being sort of ambitious and he learnt the
> language, he learnt how to speak English
> and also saw that he had to make contacts
> with the English people because...they
> held all the authority they were municipal
> leaders...naturally they ran the country.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

Once he had learnt the English language, Mr. Banks was prepared to meet and deal with the outsiders. The informal and unique way in which he managed this social integration was by means of his grocery business. As absurd as this may sound, this is, in fact, the indirect way in which Mr. Banks introduced himself to the prominent members of the dominant society and established outgroup connections and contacts necessary to the nurturing of both systems of symbiosis. One respondent in particular related Mr. Banks "shrewd efforts" (Handlin, 1951:190-191) exercised in building up liasons:

> Now then you see when he (Mr. Banks) had
> this grocery store he again had the foresight
> - you've got to give the man credit you see -
> he hired a butcher by the name of Johnson;
> English you see and this way Mr. Johnson being
> English; being Canadian - oh and he had a
> fellow by the name of Mr. Mitchener another
> Canadian you see who delivered groceries and
> that so in this way he; Mr. Banks, was enjoying
> the trade, he began to enjoy trade with the
> English people and he had even a little more
> sort of influence you might say.......he had
> more English contacts in all walks of life; in
> the municipal and in the industrial and in all
> the different groups of the English speaking

> people, you see he was able to open doors....
> all because he had English speaking employees.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

Represented amongst the "English contacts in all walks of life"
(Interview 2, Winter/72, Male) were the various industrialists
of Kolonia, political leaders of the city and those well to
do. It was in having expanded his circle of close outgroup
friends in this tactful fashion, that Mr. Banks reinforced his
resourcefulness and functioned as an even more effective kingpin
within the Hungarian community. Through his new cohort of
friends, private "doors" (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male) to
industry, political machinery, money and influence were opened
which helped advance not only various members of the ingroup
but Mr. Banks himself. A microscopic view of implementation
of the incidental ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis is as
follows.

The Ingroup-Outgroup Occupational Network

It had become a hard fact that Mr. Banks was limited to
the number of Hungarians he himself could personally hire. His
grocery, bakery and wine business could absorb only so many ingroup
members. As well, the building and repairing of eight houses,
a winery, apartments and commercial frontage again required
only so much man power. Turning to other emerging Hungarian
businessmen and handymen seeking persons within the group,
Mr. Banks soon discovered they were limited in number thus
restricting employment opportunities for jobless Hungarians.
As the inflow of Hungarian immigrants continued and the persons

turning to him for aid increased, Mr. Banks attempted to meet
the employment demands by couching them in the relationships
established with employers on the outside.

Contacting "the different people he had come to know"
like the "little industrials"; "Mr. D., the guy that set up
the Electric Metals" and "Mr. E.; the fellow who worked in the
cotton mill", (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male) in most cases
Mr. Banks found regular employment, for jobless Hungarians.
Playing the role of the middle man between the host and ethnic
societies, if a Hungarian needed a job chances were Mr. Banks
knew of those readily available to him in the dominant society.
As well, if an outgroup employer required a laborer, it was
more than likely that Mr. Banks could present him with just
the right man from the community. With both groups of people
benefitting mutually, it seemed the perfect extrapolated
solution to the labor supply and demand problem which faced
both peoples. No longer did just Mr. Banks and other ingroup
members attempt to absorb their own unemployed. Now the
outgroup; the cohort of friends of the marginal kingpin, was
engaged in the intimate exercising of a system of symbiosis
whereby it sought the necessary services of the personally
recommended Hungarians.

The Ingroup-Outgroup Political Network

But it was not only the potential manpower within the
ethnic group which commanded the interest of the dominant society.
By the late 1920's and early 1930's a fair number of Hungarians

had become Canadian citizens and as such they were entitled

by law to the right to vote.   Consequently

> they became a more important part of the
> society.........As I say their presence
> was felt and they became more important
> in the city, in the society and gradually
> they were not looked down upon.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

It was at this point, the federal as well as provincial

candidates for office took a keen interest in the prospective

votes within the ethnic area.   Before long, their party

platforms entertained issues which, in essence, "made a bid

for the group's votes" (Interview 86, Summer/73, Female).

Whether it be in the form of an improvement in the labor relations

for the everyday working man, a new type of unemployment benefit,

lower taxation, a recommendation for provision of some type of

security or equal rights and representation for all, indicative

was the desire of the politicians of the main to attract the

Hungarians vote to insure their campaign success.   As long as

a candidate came through for the foreigner with the prospective

promises, the Hungarian continued to come through with the

necessary supportive vote.   As the respondents themselves

symbolically and factually referred to this politically symbiosis:

> After all one hand washes the other.   He
> (the elected politician) improved and
> expanded the industry in the city and this
> helped us a lot.   If we had troubles or
> problems we could always go to him and he
> would help us out.   Yes there is no other
> man like him in Canada.
> (Interview 85, Summer/73, Female)

Guaranteed under this particular symbiotic circumstance then,

was the ethnic block vote for an ethnic committed politician.

The Ingroup-Outgroup Kick-Back Network

Focussing specifically on this issue, one such campaigner in the Kolonia area was an old time conservative and devoted friend of Mr. Banks. He was one who had noted that the Hungarian community had grown to a sufficient size and that the members were large enough in number to "sway votes" (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male). Consequently, because Mr. Banks was both a key figure in the ethnic society as well as a politically knowledgeable conservative, the politician approached and encouraged him to help arouse the awareness of the Hungarian people as to their suffrage and privilege with regard to exercising their vote as they might see fit. A conservative stronghold even until today, it appears that the Hungarian community responded to Mr. Banks political recommendations as he biasedly directed "his efforts in helping the conservative cause" (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male).

Again the data further indicate that in order to maintain the support of this individual Hungarian block of conservative votes, it was necessary for the provincial as well as federal conservatives to open up a whole new politically based line of connections, contacts and resources as a means of expressing their appreciation to the Hungarians for their trust in their party in the past.

This supplementary kick-back network indirectly, as well as, directly aided many Hungarians over the years. The perfect illustration of the workings of this "appreciation"

segment of the network system is found in the recognition

granted Mr. Banks by the conservative party for his substantial

favors performed in the past. It was prestated that Mr. Banks

proved to be a profiting mediator between the two cultures and

a reiteration of the events which led to his repayment for good

political deeds will illustrate how the marginal kingpin himself

did benefit from the symbiotic network.

To begin, it happened that there lived in the Hungarian

community another learned and successful Hungarian immigrant

who had managed to finance a number of businesses all of which

he eventually lost due to a self-inflicted bankruptcy. As the

story goes, originally this wealthy Hungarian, Mr. Storm:

> had established different kinds of businesses
> and through that he made money. But through
> squandering his money on his girlfriends and
> all that he went bankrupt.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

One of these businesses was a wine business. Justifiably

categorized as perhaps a most difficult business to legally

acquire, it was reported that all individuals must endure reams

of red tape in order to even apply for the select privilege

of being granted the strictly controlled winery license (Interview

2, Winter/72, Male). Due to Mr. Storm's financial failure then,

the license rights were available and intermittently accorded

to a young Jewish man by the name of Ross. Destined to change

ownership once again, the license came up for consideration

and Mr. Banks, being the speculator and investor he was, felt

he too would like to try his hand in this field of endeavors.

With this opportunity presenting itself:

> Mr. Banks then went through a great deal
> of trouble to get this license back - well
> one of the reasons was the other Hungarian
> had had it and there again a little bit of
> pride was involved and so Mr. Banks wanted
> it (there was an element of ethnic and
> personal pride involved here; a foreigner
> and none the less a Hungarian had achieved
> the status of winemaker) there was a certain
> amount of pressuring in the right places and
> patronage or whatever you want to call it.
> And you know this was very - very well a
> part of politics, that was a part of living.
> Well patronage years ago was a way of life
> in politics in government........but patronage
> is one way he was compensated for his efforts
> in helping the conservative cause.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

This introduces then another dimension to the system of ingroup-

outgroup symbiosis. In addition to the simple and straightforward

bilateral supply and demand exchange initiated and encouraged

by the marginal kingpin in the fields of occupations and politics,

we now have a benefitting kick-back system for favors done.

Maintenance of Marginality: The Twilight Kingpin

There is an important point to be made here. The data

suggest that there developed in accompaniment to the mutually

satisfying ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis, a self elevating

system of kick-backs for the Hungarians only when they "became

a more important part of the society" (Interview 2, Winter/72,

Male) as their voting privileges were granted to them. Only

when the members of the dominant society saw the potential

value of a relationship with the Hungarians increase, were they

willing to invest more time and interest in the minority's well

being and only then did they effectively employ and repay the

efforts of the mediating marginal man. Less we misinterpret
this politically defined step up of minority group members as
reason to believe the stage was presently being set for the
auto emancipation of the Hungarians in an alien country, note
should be made of the imposition of other fine stipulations
upon the Hungarians which apparently arrested their upward
mobility and made quite evident to them the marginal status
of even those most successful Hungarians.

There were present within the ethnic group Hungarian
men who could have qualified for responsible positions in the
society at large.[3] Nevertheless, recognition and integration
of them was rare. Apparently, the immigrant maintained the
stereotype of being somewhat of an unknown quantity; "not quite
accepted...in the new society in which he sought to find a
place" (Goldberg, 1941:52). It seems the members of the host
society needed reassurance that the eligible Hungarian applicants,
struggling to rise from the ranks of a minority group, would
prove to be an asset to the development of their society. The
manner in which the Hungarian attempted to at least border on
if not cross over this majority vs. minority social-psychological
barrier, as social historically established, was by producing,
what may be termed, an Anglo Saxon sponsor system. Defined,

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[3]Responsible positions in the society at large is defined here
as "structural assimilation" (Gordon, 1961:279) "the entrance
of immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques,
organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life
of the receiving society." (Gordon, 1961:279).

this was a recognized Englishman of the host society who would
vouch for the Hungarian's worthwhileness and acceptability as
a member of the dominant society. This sponsorship is
exemplified in the case of Mr. Bank's further advancement into
the social structure:

>   he got this winery and with a partnership
>   you know two others - again English speaking
>   fellows. There again he used his mind
>   because you have to balance your move up.
>   (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

It was only by conforming to such guaranteeing tactics that
the immigrant succeeded in securing a recognized sponsored
toehold in the world outside the ethnic community. Marginal,
in the sense that it was without question that the sponsorship
was in part the deciding factor in his limitable advancement,
the Hungarian becomes well aware of the fact that he is, in
essence, a man on the perifery of the main.

        Even when a Hungarian like Mr. Banks had gained this
bit of upward mobility, other social circumstances constantly
reminded him of the marginality of his achieved status.
Decisions; moral and ethical, had to be made with regard to
guaranteeing his new position. He had to take into consideration
the short and long term effects his decisions would have upon
his relationships with the people in the majority and in the
minority group, as well as upon his own welfare and success.
Mr. Banks case history reflects such a confrontation, the
method of resolution and the element of marginality involved
in such social circumstances:

> And then in this business there was again
> because of these ridiculous restrictions
> (of prohibition) and all that, all the
> wineries did illegal work, sold wines not
> according to the books. There was a fair
> amount of bootlegging, there was a
> tremendous amount of greasing of the palms,
> and all that and the greasing of the police,
> people, the magistrates and all that land
> of stuff. And this was done by ninety-nine
> percent of the winery owners. And Mr. Banks
> had to struggle along and do the same kind
> of things as the others were doing. The
> hours of sale were say from nine till six
> and there was deliveries made after hours
> and in the evenings and all that. There was
> kick back to the bootleggers, there was also
> the giving of gifts to people, in authority.
> This was all an accepted way of life.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

From this data we come to understand that for the Hungarian

to succeed, he was marginally dependent upon both societies.

In part, Mr. Banks had to rely on those wealthy and influential

contacts in the majority population, for access to as well as

maintenance of upwardly mobile avenues. He had to see to it

that he kept himself in a financially successful position "to

win the esteem of influential outsiders" (Handlin, 1951:191)

for only through them was he able to perpetuate his positively

viewed "marginality" (Golovensky, 1951:335) and possibly

entertain other occasions of "stepping stone" (Golovensky, 1951:

335) advancement. Having achieved this certain level of success,

the kingpin then found it necessary to re-introduce a reversed

illegal kick-back system whereby he recognized those in the

majority population who did favors for him so that he might

maintain this position bordering between the two societies.

Again in part, Mr. Banks had to rely on those within

his group for continued consumer patronage and labor support.
He had to see to it that he maintained an expected resource-
fulness which earned him "the respect of his own group" (Handlin,
1951:191) for it was the minority group members who provided
him with a reinforcing purpose with regard to his role as
kingpin. Seemingly neither here nor there, the marginal kingpin
was hyphenated; in a dualistic social position (Golovensky,
1951:335) which momentarily proved a "mutually congrous" and
relatively "hospitable zone" of "creative living" (Golovensky,
1951:334-335).

Period of Attempted Structural Assimilation

However, there appears to have come a time when the
kingpin became ambivalent regarding his status and he did
attempt to structurally assimilate more completely into the
majority society. The final outcome of this next attempt to
move up the social structure proves most interesting. In
respect to this, we are reminded that initially the data reveal
that in the early days of the 1900's, while various social,
cultural and economic insecurities existed, the Hungarians
tended to function as one homogenous and interdependent group.
This was evident in the ingroup "in fellow feeling" system
of symbiosis (Handlin, 1951:170-171). Yet more recent data
suggests that as the individual Hungarian; such as the marginal
kingpin, experienced an apparently stabilized and standardized
type of environment, he confidently exercised a seemingly
rediscovered independence. This is suggested in a report which

describes an ingroup struggle amongst eligible contenders as
they vied for a political position within the dominant society's
social structure:

> Then you see this was in the 1920's and he
> (Mr. Banks) tried again to actually become
> an alderman in municipal politics but he
> was just a little bit premature in that he
> couldn't (not accepted by the outside) you
> know - there was animosity among the ethnic
> people you see, then they, the other ethnic
> people started to feel their oats a little
> bit, and they formed cliques and they would
> even work against their own. Because they
> would say well who does he think he is.
> Because you see at one time..they looked
> for his assistance but as time went on..
> they were able to you know (they were able
> to become independent); there again they
> had their individual egos; then they had
> their youngsters growing up going to school
> and they would sort of act as their inter-
> preters and then it became - first a man
> like Mr. Banks was a leader a prominent man
> but then as time went on the others sort of
> broke away. Your leadership kind of diminished,
> kind of dwindled....Then because of this you
> have more cliques...they have different fellows
> like Mr. Duke who took over in different parts
> of the ghetto. This created a kind of hassel
> among ethnic people.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

Considering this report, the marginal Kingpin's attempt to
structurally assimilate into the dominant society reveals some
interesting points. First of all the people within the majority
society judged the marginal kingpin as "premature" with regard
to assimilating into the politics of the dominant society.
In spite of having granted him a previous source of organizational
assimiliation; the winery business, it seemed the people found
it impossible to imagine Mr. Banks a political rival. This
suggests that those in the majority society may have believed

they were in a position to subjectively evaluate the threshold

of upward mobility a particular Hungarian would be permitted

to achieve. Secondly the datum reveals that members of a

minority group themselves passed similar judgement. They

evaluated their individual person as well as others in their

community with regard to their likelihood of qualifying for

and of succeeding at an attempt to assimilate into the social

structure. The stimulation in this way of an ingroup competition

for the political position resulted in the introduction of

other emerging minority group leaders to members of the community.

Thirdly as these new leaders came to the forefront, they gradually

shared in the once monopolized responsibilities and rewards of

the original kingpin. The end result of all this is a reduction

in the overall power of the original kingpin, establishment

of other resourceful men in the society and consequently a less

homogeneous ethnic group as individual cliques begin to appear.

Transition from a Kingpin Community to an Institutional Community

Rejected by dominant society with regard to a bid for

further structural assimilation, it became obvious to ingroup

members that, for the present time at least, they were to remain

accommodated members of society. These apparent limits to

integration initiated from the outside contributed in a signifi-

cant manner to the Hungarians belief that preservation of their

community and its system of symbiosis was imperative. With the

paling of the major kingpin as other emerging leaders shared

his role, the minority group members searched for a reunifying

solution which would insure ingroup security. It was at this
time, the Hungarians of the community stressed the need for
and the fostering of a definite, as well as, active insitutional
structure. When superimposed upon the ethnic community, it
was expected that the Hungarians would have recultivated an
environment which would be socially, culturally and economically
satisfying. The historical data indicate such a hope gradually
became a reality:

> It took time but we organized the Self
> Culture Society and that helped us a lot.
> (Interview 91, Winter/74, Male)

With the decentralization of the power within the group
occurring in this fashion then and with the transference of
the major benevolent functions to the rising institution,
relative reinforcement of a strengthening ethnic community
resulted. Furthermore, not only had there been a reduction
of the centralized ingroup authority and power from the hands
of the major kingpin to reliable others, but the chain establish-
ment of institutions which coveted the kingpins manifest
functions left the emerging fleet of other kingpins with a re-
organized and in various instances specialized role. It was
as though this political election crisis had initiated the stand
or fall scene in the life sequence of the Hungarian community.
In effect, the final choice of the still unsure ethnics was
one of protective incubation. Attempting to redefine their
little corner of the world, the Hungarians found it necessary
to clarify and reclassify those regular and recurring old needs
of the group along with those of a more contemporary nature.

The outcome of such an effort was the Hungarians
attempt to institutionalize those symbiotic relationships which
were ranked high in regard to their priority in the Hungarians'
life. Those which were considered of a lesser importance were
randomly distributed amongst all those willing and able members
of the group. As a result, there originated as early as 1921,
the first in this chain of formal institutions; the Hungarian
Self Culture Society. According to its constitution, it had
as its main purpose maintenance of Hungarian Culture in Canada.
As an attractive accessory, the Hungarian Self Culture Society
also promoted a part and parcel insurance program and recreation
center. Within time the Hungarian community was characterized
by three other distinct and separate church groups which
organized the majority of Hungarians into independent religious
sects; the Hungarian Roman Catholics, the Hungarian Presbyterians
and the Hungarian Greek Catholics. All had as their prime
interest the caring for of the parishoners spiritual life with
a secondary concern for their own insurance program and set
of sub group activities. The fifth and final noteworthy group
to rise within the ethnic pocket was the Hungarian Workers group.
They too rolled the three prestated manifest functions of the
former institutions; namely regulation of the (a) social-
cultural, (b) economic (death and sick benefits) and (c) ideo-
logical aspects of Hungarian life into one provisional blanket
for their members. Remaining what may be considered as socially,
economically and ideologically aloof from the other subgroups

within the ethnic community, this segment of the Hungarian
people proved themselves relatively autonomous and independent
of all other Hungarians identifying with them solely on the
grounds of similar ethnicity.

In summary then, the ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis,
negotiated by the marginal kingpin, laid the bases for a mutual
interdependence between the dominant and minority societies
in the areas of occupations and politics. The kick-back systems
which were discovered to exist, point out to us the humanism
in the god-like kingpin. Imperative as well is recognition
of an apparent outgroup prejudice. When it appeared that
the minority might have attempted further structural assimilation,
the marginal minority was rejected by the dominating majority.
Consequently, the group as a whole rebounded inwardly. Directing
all their effots to establishing their own ingroup social
structure, there became necessary a redefinition of the kingpins
status and his role within the group; in general, the field of
personal benevolence was to be revamped.

What Happened to the Role of Kingpin

With the number of potential and qualifying ethnic
kingpins increasing, while the need for them diminishing and
with the chain of institutions gradually taking rise, the con-
temporary kingpins were reduced in status to the post of what
may be referred to as "supporting actors". Forming an informal
web of secondary support for the community, the re-classified
kingpins tended only to reinforce the formal institutionalized

system of ingroup symbiosis. As various problems and crises plagued the group, it became evident that although the kingpin no longer occupied the limelight within the community, he still proved indispensable in rectifying certain trying situations. The contemporary kingpin who proves exemplary of such changes in the status and role was Mr. Auburn; the nephew of Mr. Banks and a successful entrepreneur. Taking up from where his uncle left off in the late 1930's, his life history as immigrant become kingpin mirrors the alterations in the field of personal benevolence.

Rise of the Contemporary Kingpin

As a general introduction, a brief outline of Mr. Auburns relocation in the Kolonia ethnic group and of his entreprenurial ventures parallel on the whole to that of his uncle. Mr. Auburn arrived in Canada on August the fourth, 1928. Sponsored by his uncle, it was originally anticipated that Mr. Auburn would help Mr. Banks in the running of his very successful and ever expanding businesses. However, having landed in Montreal with an expired visa due to a dely in Europe, Mr. Auburn found himself ushered into jail as soon as he set foot on Canadian soil. As he explained the situation:

> I was put in jail until clarification of my
> landed immigrant status could be made. I
> wasn't the only one in such a predicament;
> there were fifteen or so of us. We were kept
> in jail for three days. You see we landed in
> Canada on Friday and the Immigration office
> was already closed for the day. As well they
> weren't open either Saturdays or Sundays so
> regretfully we just had to stay where they put

> us until the Immigration re-opened on Monday.
> Don't think we were kept as prisoners or
> anything. First of all they didn't lock the
> door on the cell and we were all given the
> opportunity to phone relatives. I myself
> phoned my uncle Louis who said not to worry
> about anything, he would fix things up from
> his side of the fence. This he must have done
> for on Monday morning, by the time I got to
> the Immigration Office I had been given the
> green light. The interpreters told me I could
> leave whenever I liked and go on to meet my
> Uncle in Kolonia.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

It was Mr. Banks pulling of the political strings of the symbiosis

system which had facilitated Mr. Auburn's quick clearance.

Once in Kolonia, Mr. Banks wasted no time in training

his new apprentice to cope with his new environment; Mr. Auburn

was to live and learn the A.B.C's of ethnic life, the means

of achievement and exactly what it meant to be both entrepreneur

as well as kingpin. Mr. Auburn reiterated the initial steps:

> So anyway this was a new starting point in
> my life. My uncle sent me to day school for
> a whole year to learn the language and to
> read and write English. My day was very long,
> I would get up early in the morning and be at
> his grocery store by about 7.00a.m. I worked
> there until 8.30a.m. and then went to school.
> At 12.00 noon I returned and at that time my
> uncle went for lunch. When he returned from
> lunch, I then ate and went back to school.
> School was out at 3.00p.m. and again I went
> back to the store to work until closing time.
> On the weekends my schedule was a bit different
> in so far as I started work Saturday at 7.00a.m.
> and worked until 1.00a.m. in the morning.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

Mr. Bank's immediate efforts to familiarize his nephew with the

English language and to introduce him to the ethnic work world

were apparent extensions of his own personal experiences. They

had helped him in becoming successful and no doubt he believed

that if he exposed his nephew to the same elements, he too
would become gradually upwardly mobile.

But a knowledge of English and a strong work ethnic
were not all that was necessary to get ahead. A mind for money
was imperative as well and in order to accumulate even enough
to begin a climb to the top, one needed to be more than frugal.
There could have been no better teacher of this virtue than
Mr. Banks himself. Mr. Auburn related the way in which he
learnt this lesson:

> Well at the end of the 1st year of schooling
> I then took only evening classes in high
> school; as a result I worked the entire day
> in my uncle's grocery store. Now with regards
> to wages I received no pay whatsoever for the
> first two years. It was understood that my
> employment was recognized as a token of thanks
> for my ticket over, schooling, room and board.
> My uncle did buy me two pairs of shoes in the
> two years and some clothes, however, he didn't
> spend where he didn't have to. For example
> any of his clothes which fit me he either gave
> me or we shared there was no overspending.
> Well anyway this went on for two years and then
> I began my third year of work. At this time I
> received my first pay, September 30.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

Well versed in the basics of becoming successful, Mr. Auburn
seemed to suffer no inhibitions or insecurities with regard
to trying it on his own in 1933 when his uncle sold his grocery
business in order to direct all his energies into his demanding
wine industry.

Having saved up a little money, Mr. Auburn invested
a portion of it and opened up a small restaurant in one of the
store fronts attached to Mr. Banks winery. As Mr. Auburn explained

the venture and its side benefits:

> Business went fine and I myself got to know
> a few outside people on a personal basis.
> At that time the police force was all English
> and the fellows would step in for a coffee on
> their rounds. One day one of the fellows;
> that is the police, suggested that I sell
> liquor in the place. They said they would
> make sure nothing happened, that I wouldn't
> be raided or anything like that. All he
> asked was that I sell to others who wanted a
> shot now or then and treat those on the police
> force. This was fine I thought and so I
> decided to go ahead with my new side business.
> Why I remember a time when even the sergeant
> of police came in and brought his wife. They
> sat down, had a drink and then left by the back
> door. That was all there was to it. Granted
> now there were times when the raids had to be
> carried out so that it looked like the police
> were really doing their jobs but I always got
> a warning beforehand. One of the boys would
> come in and say look lie low for a while,
> about a week, raids are coming up. This I would
> do and the police would come check around and
> leave. That was all. Believe me those few
> dollars I did make like that came in handy. At
> times you had to do things like that just to
> stay alive.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

It would appear that the delinquent acts and illegal kick-backs
were still in effect amongst ethnic group members who rationalized
their existence as a push in the right direction. The datum
indicates that regardless of the possible immoral implications,
under certain circumstances, such action were seen as justifiable
in the eyes of the aspiring Hungarian. To him it was "those
few dollars" (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male) which help guarantee
his means of survival. An understanding of the Hungarians
subjective perspective and interpretation is imperative. It
becomes ever more clear that it is by means of these psychologically

legitimized delinquent elevators that various minority group members were able to upgrade their status.

This restaurant venture was a first in a long string of business investments for Mr. Auburn. He engaged in a "leap frog" system of undertakings as he strove to achieve his final successful and self-fulfilling business venture. Selling his restaurant business in late 1933 for a profit of one hundred and fifty dollars plus the current account, Mr. Auburn was able to partially finance his next investment. Borrowing the extra money needed from his aunt; Mrs. Banks, Mr. Auburn bought half shares; six hundred dollars worth, of a butcher business in 1934. Before long Mr. Auburn bought his partner out, sold the business at a profit late in that same year and then rejoined his uncle in his wine making business. A promised weekly wage of twenty two dollars plus commission seemed too great a temptation to resist. Mr. Auburn revealed the different profitable aspects of the winemakers enterprise that he involved himself in:

> My job was to deliver wine and we had two
> types of delivery, there was the legal drop
> off and the illegal drop off. The legal
> drop offs were made to the hotels and clubs
> in the city. There was the traditional
> government slip that had to be signed and
> all that you know, a record kept of the amount
> sold to specific people who owned outlets.
> At the same time I bootlegged for Mr. Banks.
> I dropped off gallons of wine at private homes
> where it was resold for very good money. I
> delivered to all nationalities. Croatian
> people; Polish people, to all people no matter
> where they lived; Thorold, Fort Erie. You
> could tell who was bootlegging and who wasn't
> amongst your illegal deliveries just by noting

> the amount they bought. Let me tell you it
> was a real enterprise in those days. I had
> to outdrive police cars at that time, deliver
> in the dark of the night,the whole Al Capone
> style of making money.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

With revelation of this whole inter ethnic bootlegging ring,

again we see the great lengths to which Hungarians were willing

to go to make a dollar. Even more interesting are the reasons

they were willing to go through such trouble. Mr. Auburn

revealed his:

> Well this went on for a while. I found it
> beneficial. I could support myself and
> still save. Part of my savings I did send
> home to Hungary to my parents in order to
> make things a bit easier for them there.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

Now we can better understand those Hungarian respondents who

offered to legitimize their participation in illegal actions.

When a Hungarian explains that he did what he did because he

believed "this was all an accepted way of life" (Interview 2,

Winter/72, Male) or that " at times you had to do things just

to stay alive (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male), we have a better

idea of what he means. To the Hungarian engagement in such

acts meant that he could live up to a standard of ingroup

expectations. First of all he could support himself and not

become a social burden and secondly he could fulfill his

responsibilities to others who depended upon him.

Like his uncle, Mr. Auburn's young man's fancy turned

to love and in 1933 he married. Investing their joint savings

of three thousand three hundred dollars in a modest home in

1941, Mr. and Mrs. Auburn forewent even the simple luxury of

living in it and rented a small inexpensive apartment. Leasing
the home, they used part of the money to pay for their own
accommodation and banked the sub-income. When there was a
shortage of homes in the area during the pre and actual war
years, the Auburns were in the position to afford to sell their
house at a handsome profit. Receiving immediate payment in
full and in cash and not wanting the money to lie idle, in
1942 Mr. Auburn decided to engage in another business venture.
In April of that year Mr. Auburn went into partnership with
a fellow by the name of Silvers and together they set up a
grocery store in the Hungarian community. Combined, the two
individuals invested three thousand three hundred dollars in
order to begin the enterprise and once more Mr. Auburn bought
out his partner. Borrowing money from a fellow Hungarian;
Mr. King, Mr. Auburn managed to take the business over com-
pletely. As his investment progressed, Mr. Auburn seriously
considered expansion and so consequently the situation resolved
itself with Mr. Auburn deciding to buy his own building as
early as 1947. This is how Mr. Auburn described the major
turning point in his life:

> I bought a lot on the corner of King and
> Albert St., the corner opposite my uncle's.
> The lot had a building on it, it consisted
> of a little grocery store and drug store
> combined with four little apartments on top.
> Well the place as was cost me eight thousand
> dollars. It really looked like it was going
> to fall over anytime so what I did was I had
> it ripped down and built another. This is
> an interesting point here. You know I could
> have had that building destroyed and have
> not payed a cent for it to be done. In fact

> I would have made money. You see at that
> time there was a group of Italians; a
> father and his sons who used to go around
> blowing up buildings, or houses for people
> who wanted to collect insurance. The old
> man came up to me and told me he had heard
> that I wanted to get rid of the building:
> I said yes and he said he would do the job
> for me. He said all he wanted was a share
> of the insurance money. I said no, I didn't
> want to get involved in all that type of
> stuff, you know someone could get hurt.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

It was on this lot he was to build his final place of business.

Erecting a thirty thousand dollar building and investing six

thousand three hundred dollars worth of fixtures, Mr. Auburn

summarized this financial move as well as one other investment

and the way in which he and his wife attempted to see through

the paying of the mortgage:

> I was in debt all right and it sure was a
> gamble. I borrowed fifteen thousand from
> my uncle and fifteen thousand from the
> Prudential Life Insurance Company. Every-
> thing went fine and in 1948 I took on eleven
> thousand dollars more debt as I bought a
> house. To help things along,prior to this
> my wife had worked along side of me to save
> in paying extra hired help and besides this
> she kept boarders for three and a half years.
> Her brother then lived with us and we helped
> him along until he got a job as well. So we
> began to struggle and to pay off our debts.
> However we didn't ignore our relatives through
> any of the trying times.
> (Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

As prestated, it appears various ethnics were eager to aspire

and did. But of more importance, as the datum points out

clearly, there appears to be an ingroup mores with regard to

supplementing ones upward mobility with the few extra dollars

that might be obtained by participating in a delinquent act.

If it was to be at someone elses expense, then the Hungarian
seemed unable to pschologically rationalize it as an acceptable
elevator to success. At this point we come to recognize the
threshold: the limits to which a Hungarian might go in order
to master achievement.

According to my informants, many a Hungarian went
through much the same kind of process in establishing themselves
although in varying degrees. There was in their lives this
common denominator of buying, selling at a profit, buying
again, borrowing money to make the final big investment, earning
a few extra dollars on the side, and finally working the rest
of their life to pay a mortgage off. It was all part of a
seemingly standard pattern.

Up to this point, it might be said that Mr.Auburn was
in effect a replica of Mr. Banks. Both had come to Canada as
young men, both had worked to establish themselves investing
in this, selling that and ultimately both had succeeded in
managing their own enterprises. Incorporating frugality with
a few extra dollars illegally earned on the side, these men
climbed into prestige positions within the community. Yet once
these like stations in life had been reached, the roles of the
status differed in various aspects. This was due not only to
the time lapse between the individuals independent achievements,
but also to the shift in focus within the community from
kingpin to institutions.

Contemporary Ingroup Symbiosis: The Kingpin's Economic, Occupational, Housing and Cultural Based Networks

The Personal Credit and Bank Network

As did Mr. Banks, Mr. Auburn so also based his grocery store on a credit basis for the majority of other Hungarians experiencing difficulties. Mr. Auburn placed this observation in perspective:

> Some days we sold more on credit than we
> did for cash, times were hard and we just
> had to help one another get by.
> (Interview 83, Winter/72, Male)

With regard to private loans, Mr. Auburn revealed that he had never been in a position to lend any sizeable amounts but that he did carry small loans if people were in need of money. He explained:

> Oh I'm always willing to give someone I
> know money if they need it. They come in
> ask for ten or twenty; the most a hundred
> or so and I give them the cash. No papers
> signed nothing just their word that they'll
> pay when they have the cash.
> (Interview 83, Winter/72, Male)

Incorporated into the contemporary system of economic symbiosis then, is a perpetuated credit system and a streamlined loan network.

The Personal Occupation and Housing Network

With regard to finding employment for the jobless Hungarians, the whole program followed at this later date mirrored a more severe alteration in the groups symbiotic relationship. With a steady staff employed in his business, Mr. Auburn was

limited to the amount of work he himself could provide for

those later arrivals and presently unemployed group members:

> In years gone by, I used to try and take care
> of the Hungarians who just came over or those
> who were laid off from the plant for a while.
> Oh I would have the odd fellow build some
> shelfing for me or the regular little repair
> jobs that had to be done but I most certainly
> couldn't absorb any great number of unemployed
> in the community. When John and Joe; two
> Hungarian fellows I know were laid off from
> the plant then I would hire them to help me
> until they were called back. Even now I still
> call on them at times to help out when its that
> busy time of year like Christmas and Easter,
> But as I say I had a regular staff and these
> were extra people I employed mostly to help
> out when they were having a bit of bad luck.
> (Interview 80, Winter/72, Male)

My informant further revealed that it was his practice as well

as his staffs to circulate information amongst the clientele

regarding those other Hungarians reported to be in need of work.

This was the limit to their employment seeking efforts for

those in need of work; the reason being that by the forties

and fifties a more elaborate and efficient system had to be

set up. This was due to the gradual upward mobility of the

Hungarian laborer in the work force by this time. With the

Hungarians posted in personnel, managerial, foreman, shop, and

labor positions within the factories, the ingroup members had

succeeded in introducing an in plant referral system which

eliminated any need for the marginal kingpin and his personal

liasons with worker seeking-industrialists. The men in the

plant who knew of positions could inform others within the

community of occupational vacancies and eventually the word

was passed on to those seeking work. Once contact had been

made with a job seeking Hungarian this grape vine was reversed

with a good chance an unemployed Hungarian would find himself

employed in the very near future. Mr. Auburn spoke of his

experience with this new labor network:

> My brother came down from Toronto to live
> with us. He needed a job so I told a few
> people about it. Then soon after Mr. C.
> came into the store. He works at the Cotton
> Mill; he is a foreman there. He said he
> had heard about my brother looking for a job.
> He told me they were hiring down there then
> and that he should go down and fill out a
> form. I said O.K. that was fine. Mr. C.
> said he would watch for his form and put in
> a good word for him. Well he must of done
> it all right; my brother was hired the day
> after he made application. He has been there
> ever since with all the other Hungarians.
> (Interview 81, Summer/74, Male)

My respondents were of the opinion that this informal system

of employment proved in certain ways to be superior when compared

to any formal system. First of all, in the informal system

language was not a barrier with regard to negotiation and

secondly skills were readily recognized. It appears that on

the outside it was not uncommon for the Hungarian to require

an interpreter and to have his credentials with respect to

qualifications questioned. This usually left the tradesman

rejected as well as depressed. As one respondent reported:

> It doesn't matter what you say or do. Even
> if a foreigner can handle the language and
> knows more about a job they still give it to
> a Canadian if there is one around. Sometimes
> you just can't win.
> (Interview 87, Winter/73, Male)

Realizing that the formal method might shortchange the Hungarian,

the majority of Kolonia residents searching for employment

exercised the ingroup's informal method first, turning to formal agencies only as a last resort. Apparently finding work for each other in this informal way was more positive and reinforcing.

Besides circulating information in the business amongst the clientele regarding those other Hungarians reported to be in need of work, housing accommodations were next on the agenda as the exercised duty of the entrepreneur. Mr. Auburn told of one incident in particular that had occurred the day of the interview:

> Mrs. K. (Hungarian) was here early this morning at 7.30. She told me her tenants she had there now had bought a house and were moving out. She wanted to know if I new of a good tenant I might be able to recommend. I told her that Mrs. M. (Hungarian widow) and her daughter had been in just yesterday asking me if I knew of an apartment to rent here amongst the Hungarians. I told her if I heard of one I would let her know, right away. Mrs. K. asked me more about her because she really didn't know her. I told her that Mrs. M. was a good, clean, hardworking woman that she has nothing to worry about. Mrs. K. told me to tell Mrs. M. that if she wanted she could come over and see the apartment. She wants a reliable Hungarian to rent the place out. You see she just redecorated it and as she said, it would be worth it to rent the place out for less to a Hungarian who would take care of it, rather than some dirty English people like those who just moved out. So she is saving it until Mrs. M. tells us one way or the other.
> (Interview 81, Summer/74, Male)

It is interesting to note how the entrepreneur becomes a referenced clearing house for tenantless landlords and apartment seeking Hungarians. We see how intimately the ingroup's members operate as they are able to provide character references and

prefer to entertain one anothers needs as they appear to be aware of an ingroup set of expectations in regard to accepted behavior. This type of ingroup help may have existed in Mr. Banks time but we come to realize soon enough that unlike the original kingpin, Mr. Auburn lacks both the eight houses and the number of apartments that Mr. Banks himself owned and rented.

The Personal Cultural Network

Looking at Mr. Auburn's cultural contributions to the group in comparison to Mr. Banks, they could be classified as incidently somewhat more intense and pervasive. Mr. Banks via his wine enterprise had sustained the old country tradition of the Grape Harvest Festival. However with the ethnic group going through the transition from a kingpin to an institutional community, this cultural practice became formalized as dinner and dance celebrations. Such was the institutionalization of old country tradition. The one aspect of Hungarian life that was the responsibility of the grocer which remained relatively unadulterated over the years was the Hungarian diet. Investing a good deal of time, energy, and money into catering specifically to the Hungarian cuisine, Mr. Auburn helped perpetuate those old fashioned cooking, baking and preserving techniques important to maintenance of a Hungarian life style. Supplying the Kolonia population with the "real McCoy" imports of poppy seed, damson, and rose hip hams, purée of chestnut, pure black pepper, pure red paprika, vanilla beans, saffron, acacie honey and fresh

hamburg parsley for soup to mention only a few items, he in actuality kept the Europeans kitchen alive.

Moreover, perhaps as equally important if not more important is the manner in which Mr. Auburn may have very well incubated the group for a time from a more frequent contact with the outside world. Since he supplied the majority of goods any Hungarian might ever desire, there was really little or no reason for a Hungarian to deal elsewhere. As well,there were the fringe benefits the Hungarian patron had taken for granted. Due to the fact that a good number of landed immigrants did not own automobiles, it was required of Mr. Auburn to supply a delivery service to bring the Hungarian customers bulky bags and heavy boxes of groceries home. Why should they bother to become mobile; practically everything else they might need was there along the commercial frontage area as well. In this way then the original nucleous of Hungarians did not venture far from their community thus reinforcing this system of exchange.

Even the Hungarians language was protected somewhat in this manner. A Hungarian could phone his or her order into the shop and speak their own language. This minimized the need to speak English and even today there are still those Hungarians who are illiterate. It becomes readily evident how these intimate services provided, by Mr. Auburn and other ingroup members, encouraged an ingroup interdependency on the commercial and cultural level. Providing Hungarian independence from the majority population Mr. Auburn may be recognized as a mechanism vital to the maintenance of Hungarian culture.

The Kingpin's Contemporary Specialization Network.

Yet Mr. Auburn's informal benevolence and responsibilities were exercised even beyond this point. Mention was made earlier of specialization of duties amongst kingpins after the decentralization of power. With regard to Mr. Auburn's role as a contemporary entrepreneur and kingpin, the data reveal that while we may classify various of his duties as redefined or reorganized responsibilities of the past, there are apparent other new duties. One of these new duties or what I would like to refer to as "specialized" functions was that of serving as a legal secretary to members of the community. This was readily exemplified by the events going on in his place of business. As one of his employees stated:

> Mrs. K. phoned me today. I am supposed to
> go over to her place tonight on the way
> home from work and pick up her income tax
> forms and then fill them out for her.
> (Interview 88, Winter/75, Male)

These were not the only forms completed. Others included un-employment insurance, old age pension, social security and citizenship applications. As Mr. Auburn said:

> There is always something needing to be
> filled out and the first place people
> usually stop is here if they don't have
> any family to help them.
> (Interview 89, Winter/75, Male)

Such were the entrepreneurs re-directed role expectations. More a manager of ingroup paper work rather than a "twilight zone kingpin" it becomes evident that the complexity of his responsibilities has become appreciatively reduced and more inwardly directed toward maintenance of ingroup's welfare.

Perhaps the one other specialized function of the contemporary kingpin which stands out is his role in arranging funerals and handling estates. There are a number of bachelors and elderly Hungarian men (whose families are living in Europe) who have entrusted men like Mr. Auburn with the responsibility of seeing to it that they be buried respectably upon death. Willing savings and insurances to him, it is his duty to see to it that after all funeral expenses are paid, the balance of the monies is forwarded to the previous designated relatives. With distinct functions such as these, the contemporary kingpin becomes somewhat specialized in comparison to the original kingpin. Although offering many streamlined favors similar to those of the original kingpin, the contemporary kingpin reflects a specialization in the ingroup system of symbiosis with a definite focus on certain incidental responsibilities.

Contemporary Ingroup-Outgroup Symbiosis: Interdependency for Survival

Contact with Outsiders

When speaking of the more contemporary alterations in the role of ethnic entrepreneur with regard to outgroup contact, Mr. Auburn did manage:

> to link up and open doors in this cross section of the English and foreign speaking people.
> (Interview 2, Winter/72, Male)

But, unlike Mr. Banks, his effort was basically informal and intrinsic. Mr. Banks had exercised his contact on a more formal

level. He did this by working into the earlier elaborated network not only those politicians, industrialists and businessmen of the day but himself as well. He was in fact the marginal man between the two interdependent societies. His contemporary counterpart, Mr. Auburn, seems to have introduced the members of each society to one another on a more informal and personal basis with himself a mere coincidence to the happenings. To attribute credit to him for having brought the two peoples together as a whole would not be an error. However, we must recognize that he was more simply a tool in the matter. With regard to the contemporary case of contact, it could be claimed that a serious confrontation of the peoples was initiated by certain circumstances rather than any particular individual. The combination of the Second World War and Mr. Auburn's established outlet aided in the partial uprooting of the aloofness and coldness the two groups felt from and towards each other. During these trying times of the forties, it was imperative that the members of both societies reconcile their differences and compromise in alleviating the stress experienced during that period.

The Interdependence for Survival Network

It was in Mr. Auburn's place of business that such arbitration and open dialogue took place between the host and minority groups. As he described the goings on:

> Besides the English people were a bit cold
> to us. We were looked down upon as peasants
> and really many of us were, yet you know we
> were trying to better ourselves. But the

nail always pokes through the bag and before
long the English had to bend a little. I'll
tell how such a thing came about through the
grocery business. You see during the war
there were ration coupons. Now the English
were very fond of tea, beef, butter and
preserves. In fact no one could ever supply
them with enough of any of these items. The
Hungarians on the other hand had a great need
for sugar. This they required to put away
preserves, to bake and to make wine. As a
result the two groups would trade ration
coupons which not only satisfied individual
needs but also set up a means of communication.
The Hungarians and English not only learned each
others mode of life style but they also came to
be more tolerant of each other's shortcomings.
Now being dependent upon each other for ful-
fillment of their own individual needs, they had
learned to respect one another a little more.
The English came to admire the foreigners versatile
ability to preserve their own jams and jellies,
their ability to prepare non rationed poultry and
thus save their coupons to trade. In fact they
proved to the English that they really were more
efficient. They had their cake and ate it too
for the English were dependent on them for more
goods than the Hungarian needed from the English.
　　(Interview 4, Winter/72, Male)

With the mutual understanding of one anothers disposition, the

groups took it upon themselves to engage in this limited social

interaction. This episode without a doubt was the first serious

encounter which helped open up meaningful lines of ingroup-

outgroup communication. Each group learned more about the other;

both recognized each others weak as well as strong points.

Narrowing the gap between the societies in this way then, they

had taken a very important step forward in attempting to

objectively accommodate one another.

In summary, there are evident similarities and differences

in the careers of the two Hungarian kingpins. They are alike in

that they both portray a character profile which emphasizes

aggressiveness, a mind for making and saving money, the strength

to take risks and gamble with regard to investments and the

commitment to ones own kind in need. They differ insofar as

Mr. Banks was a marginal kingpin while his apprentice an ingroup

kingpin. Mr. Banks had risen to a more sophisticated level

of kingpin by involving himself in an elaborate ingroup-outgroup

network. Rubbing shoulders with the outgroup elite, he

eventually accommodated himself to the outside society. Be-

lieving that perhaps he might even structurally assimilate to

a greater degree, his ultimate attempt fell short of success.

This failure illustrated to other Hungarians the perseverance

of their minorital status. Rebounding, so to speak, they re-

directed their efforts to strengthening their own ingroup social

structure. With many important functions institutionalized,

the new kingpins emerging within the group nurtured an elaborated

and sometimes specialized "in fellow feeling" (Handlin 1951:

190-191) with a limited coincidental contact with outsiders.

Most certainly the "twilight zone" (Glovensky, 1951-52:333)

marginal kingpin Had faded out for the moment. At this point,

in the life of the Hungarian ethnic community the institutions

were to become their main focus, and this is the topic of the

next chapter.

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Louis Wirth "suggested that, for example,
if the concept of "association" were
looked at as a verb rather than as a noun,
one would ask with whom do people associate
and why, rather than what kind of
associations do they form. Social
organization for Wirth was both structure
and equalibrium, and process and
interaction" (Reiss, 1964: xxiii).

CHAPTER V

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS: COMMUNITY
INDEPENDENCE AND COMMUNITY FACTIONALISM

Introduction

In the previous chapter the primary concern was
recognition of the benevolent kingpins as arbitrators of ingroup
and outgroup symbiosis. Their role in ameliorating the social,
economic, political and cultural insecurities of the Hungarian
immigrants perpetuated the existence of that status within the
group. However as noted, modifications of this role occurred
over time. One of the major factors which helped to streamline
the kingpins' role was the introduction into the ethnic community
of a variety of institutions. In this fourth chapter we will
be concerned with the establishment and the growth of these
institutions, their purposes with regard to a formalized symbiotic
process, and a discussion of the interinstitutional relationships.

Theory

Social theorists such as Park, Miller, Thomas and
Znaniecki consider the element of social change from the informal
to the formal social structure as inevitable. They recognize
the fact that the ethnic community like the dominant society
discovers itself exposed to an ever demanding environment which
is in a constant flux (1921 and 1927). As a result, necessary
alterations insuring the means of maintaining temporary

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equilibrium (momentary harmony within the group in anticipation

of the next crisis) are to be expected and accepted. As Park,

in his text Human Communities, says:

> Institutions have their setting in actual
> interests and affairs of ordinary life and
> sometimes arise quite suddenly in response
> to the pressure of some necessity, a flood,
> a famine, a war, anything which makes collective
> action urgent (Park, 1952: 244).

Accordingly, once a need or crisis situation has been defined

and discussed by those affected, steps may be taken to organize

simple and/or elaborate means of resolving the problems.

Park and Miller in their text Old World Traits Transported

attempt to specify the general pattern which ethnic groups

employ in ameliorating their social, economic, political and

cultural insecurities. They observed that the majority of

ethnic groups initially foster what they term the "first-aid

institution" (Park and Miller, 1921: 121):

> organizations developed simply as business
> enterprises, mainly by more instructed and
> sophisticated members of the various
> immigrant groups to meet the practical needs
> of their countrymen (Park and Miller, 1921: 121).

These are relative to the informal process of symbiosis; the

Mr. Banks type of mutal assistance discussed in chapter four.

Examples of such institutions listed by the theorists are the

ethnic "boarding houses, banks, stemship agencies, labor and

real estate agencies and the padrone system" (Park and Miller,

1921: 121). The introduction into the ethnic society of these

"informal first aid institutions" (Park and Miller, 1921: 121)

encourages the ingroup mores of "communal solidarity" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927:1518). This in turn helps ethnic group members meet a variety of ever arising emergencies and "in some measure" and "for a certain time" counterbalances "the disorganizing influence of the new milieu" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927:1518).

Park and Miller suggest that once the immigrants have experienced this sense of stabilization from the existence of the "first and institutions", they are likely to begin with formally establishing a second type of institution, the "Mutual Aid and Benefit Society":

> There is evidence showing that back of the familial and communal solidarity of the European Peasant is the fear of death and of its attendants and preliminaries - hunger, cold, darkness, sickness, solitude and misery. The peasant is strangely indifferent to death, but he fears any irregular features - suddenness, inappropriateness. He wants to die decently, ceremonially and socially. Since a man's death is usually the most conspicious incident in his life, attracting the universal attention and interest of the group since it is the occasion of judgements and speculation on the status of the family whether they are thereby impoverished, whether they are rich - death and burial are not only the occasion of natural idealization of the dead but a means of securing recognition. Immigrant families are notorious for the lavish expenditures.
> Out of this sentiment grows the mutual aid societies with death, burial and sickness benefits.
> (Park and Miller, 1921:124)

Arresting a number of their social, economic, political and cultural insecurities with the gradual evolution of these informal and formal processes of symbiosis, the ethnic group members managed to protect themselves from various immediate and major

sources of social cultural discomfort as they attempt to accommodate themselves to the novel setting.

From the mutual aid institution grows yet a third type of institution; the Nationalistic Organizations (Park and Miller, 1921: 132): Park and Miller point out that:

> all immigrant groups have societies of the
> character just shown (namely the Mutual Aid
> and Benefit Societies): Nationalistic
> Organizations are readily formed by combining
> these local units into a city wide and
> eventually a country wide organization
> (Park and Miller, 1921: 132)

The purpose of the Nationalistic Organization is to gain some type of collective identity amongst members of the minority group. This is reflected in all Nationalistic Organizations' constitutions as the following common denominators are emphasized: (1) the ascribed fraternity amongst all members of the group, (2) the group mores concerning the practice of mutual aid and (3) the maintenance of a patriotic spirit and love of the fatherland (Park and Miller, 1921: 133).

Eventually if the size and density of the ethnic population is sufficient, then minority group members establish yet a fourth type of institution. This is inception of their own cultural institutions and/or organizations as represented by the ethnic "press, school, church and theatre" (Park and Miller, 1921: 145). According to Park and Miller, this would be the ultimate limit of institutional organization an ethnic group might experience. Although the latter is not to be regarded as a complete enumeration of all "other" cultural institutions or organizations that may be organized within a

minority group, it should be noted that any combination of them
may be found within the ethnic community. For example, a
minority may raise the maximum of those major institutions
considered necessary for group maintenance plus any of those
extra "others" which prove feasible with regard to sufficient
group interest and financial support. Park and Miller go so
far on this issue as to conclude that as a result of the possible
establishment of the forementioned formal ingroup structures
and in light of the pre-existing informal system of symbiosis,
"all primary human needs can be satisfied in the community"
(Park and Miller, 1921: 145). Thomas and Znaniecki bear further
witness to this as they cite the ultimate example which expresses
the extent to which an ethnic group may capitalize upon both
their informal and formal resources. In their text The Polish
Peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki explain that in America, "The
Polish Community before 1860 lived as practically self sufficient
groups" (Park and Miller, 1921: 145). This then is the prime
example of the truly "gemeinschaft" community (Biersteadt, 1963:
304-305); the model independent ethnic group which any minority
may replicate provided that adequate formal institutions and
an informal symbiotic network exist.

Overall, this is the theorists' outline of the need for
and actual materialization of specific institutions within the
ethnic area. With this general theoretical framework as the
point of reference, we can compare the rise of the institutions
within Kolonia's Hungarian Ethnic community to that mapped out
by the theorists. Where possible, reasons for their origin,

descriptions of their purpose and observations of how inter

institution relationships have helped or hindered group solidarity

will be discussed. We will see then how the data collected in

the field reveals some contending points of fact. Basically

it appears that multi-institutions within an ethnic community

allow for factionalism amongst the ingroup members and that

these ingroup boundaries are transgressed only when the ethnic

community unites in a common effort to confront a crisis which

is threatening to the Hungarian people as a whole. This in

essence is the theme of the fifth chapter.

Institutions In Kolonia

Map No. 1 reveals the institutional disposition of

Kolonia's Hungarian ethnic group. With notation of the five

established institutions and the residential location of the

Roman Catholic population of Our Lady of Hungary Church, the

institutional pattern of the past and its means of support

becomes apparent. It was as early as 1906 when the original

nucleous of sixty Hungarian families arrived in Kolonia and

clustered on the east bank in the Hellems Avenue, Plymoth Road,

State Street, Albert Street and Park Street area. Due to a

natural birth rate and migration, the community grew creating

a very densely populated area. As the years passed by, slight

changes occured but seemingly nothing so serious as to jeapordize

the further development of the ethnic community. As Map No. 1

suggests (via the plotting of all the in-city Roman Catholic

Hungarians) sixty seven years later the original heart of the

Hungarian community appears to have remained relatively intact despite the development of a slight residential fringe on the east bank and an apparent fragmentation to the more aesthetic "snob hill area" on the west bank. The fact that those Hungarians who reside outside of the original ethnic area still belong to an ingroup institution minimizes the probability that in this case physical proximity is an important variable in considering elements contributing to ones association with his ethnic group. On the contrary, it illustrates the Hungarian's upward mobility as a marginal man who has invaded former "Anglo Saxon only" areas and who has chosen to maintain contact with his culture and ethnic friends. With such a population of Hungarians present within Kolonia to support the rise of the Hungarian institutions, it is little wonder that over three decades later the institutions still remain. In light of the perpetuation of the ethnic institutions and of the replenished Hungarian population, we are encouraged to attempt a social-historical analysis of the complementary ethnic institutions within the Hungarian community.

To examine the institutions of Kolonia, it is necessary to begin by referring to the institutions labelled A, B, C, D, and E on Map No. 1. The corresponding institutions and the year of their establishment and/or incorporation are as follows: (A) Our Lady of Hungary Church established 1926, incorporated 1928 (B) The Hungarian Self Culture Society established 1921, incorporated 1924, (C) The Workers incorporated 1939, (D) The Hungarian Presbyterian Church established 1926, and (E) The

Hungarian Greek Catholic Church established   , incorporated
1952/53.

From a historical perspective, the Hungarian Self Culture
Society is the central axis of the community, for once established
and incorporated, it directly or indirectly fostered the rise
of the remaining four institutions. Initially the common
denominator for Hungarian life in Kolonia, the Hungarian Self
Culture Society eventually became the makeshift headquarters
for the various other sub-institutions within the group; namely
the Hungarian Roman Catholics and the Hungarian Presbyterians.
It was in the Hungarian Self Culture Society's building that the
different religious groups conducted their religious ceremonies
or related celebrations until they could afford to construct
their own centers.

Processes of fragmentation resulted in the creation of
the remaining two institutions. The Greek Catholic Church
eventually branched from the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church
and the Hungarian Workers Group was a direct off-shoot from the
Hungarian Self Culture Society.[1] From the original one community

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[1]Focussing for a moment on these other sub groups (The Roman
Catholics, the Presbyterians, the Greek Catholics and the Hungarian
Workers) it is interesting to note that all but the latter had
purchased land in close proximity to the hub of activity in the
community; the Hungarian Self Culture Society. With the obvious
intention of someday becoming physically independent groups
catering to the needs of their members, the sub-institutions
apparently anticipated doing so only if their own homebase were not
too far removed from the group of people they were to serve. As
indicated, it was as early as 1928 when the Hungarian Roman Catholics
had organized sufficient support and funds to venture the undertaking
of building their own church. Eleven years later, in 1939, the
Hungarian workers, unable to acquire land in the ethnic area finally

organization, there have developed a set of formal institutions which fall then into three distinct sub-categories: the non denominational social-cultural center (the Hungarian Self Culture Society) the religious sect (the Hungarian Presbyterians and the Hungarian Roman Catholics) and the political group (the Hungarian Workers). With this introduction to and categorization of Kolonia's ethnic institutions, we can take a closer look now at community independence and sub-institutional factionalism.

The Rise and Purpose of Kolonia's Formal Institutions

The first institution to be considered is the Hungarian Self Culture Society: an apparently non denominational social-cultural organization. To aid in the exact definition of this institution, I analyzed the documented purposes of the organization as presented in its consitution and as outlined in its membership pamphlets. Of top priority, there is the nationalistically based intention of the Hungarian Self Culture Society to:

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invested in a ready made edifice; an old abandoned Italian Society Hall which happened to be located in the Hungarian Community. The Greek Catholics, on the other hand, having worked from their own basement church for a number of years finally completed the construction of the upper half of the church in 1952/1953. The last group, the Presbyterians took their first independent step by occupying a little building across the street from the Roman Catholic Church until 1963. Having amassed sufficient funds to construct their own place of worship on land they had bought in 1920, they saw to the final construction of their own church. These then were the pillars of the Hungarian community, the may-poles about which the greater part of the Hungarian people rallied.

> unite the Hungarians in the province of Ontario
> in a society, in which the mental capabilities of
> the members are fostered; the Hungarian language
> and cultures is encouraged, the memory of the
> Fatherland is kept alive, devotion and loyalty to
> the adopted country is instilled and the members
> are trained to understand and obey the laws and
> customs of their new surroundings
> (A Kolonia Magyar Onképzokor Alapszabalyai,
> 1921: 4).

Secondly the institution has as its purpose the responsibility

of providing:

> assistance to members afflicted by illness or
> bereavement
> (A Kolonia Magyar Onképzokor Alapszabalyai,
> 1921: 4).

Then almost as a supplement to the whole purpose of the

institution is the third function which:

> extends to arrange social gatherings and
> entertainment or to organize a glee club and
> athletic association to increase the mental and
> physical abilities of members
> (A Kolonia Magyar Onképzokor Alapszabalyai,
> 1921: 4).

In light of the theoretical framework Park and Miller have

presented regarding the categorization of institutions and taking

into consideration the abovementioned data, the Hungarian Self

Culture Society would be classified as a Nationalistic, Mutual

Aid and Benefit Society with latent social-cultural responsibilities.

This "three steps in one" institution, appears to reflect an over

anxiousness on the part of the members of the minority group to

establish themselves as a strong self-sufficient and self-contained

society of ethnic people. As well, we may conclude from this that

ethnic groups, nurturing the development of ingroup institutions,

do not necessarily follow the progressive steps of evolution as

suggested by Park and Miller. The ethnic community may incorporate their own original scheme with respect to introducing a definite set of institutions within a minority society. Moreover, with reference to this case in particular, the question arises as to why such a sudden and definitive exhibition of ethnic identity arose at this time and in this way?

Without definite evidence, I discovered that I could only attempt to hypothesize an answer. In trying to reconstruct the possible rationale for such a move on the part of the Hungarians of Kolonia which would somewhat satisfactorily account for their establishment and incorporation of their multifaceted organization, I employed two methods of approach: (A) circumstantial evidence as presented by the social historical data and (B) a theoretical interpretation which rests upon the prestated observations and personal evaluations of various sociologists acquainted with the area. From this the following is proposed. Firstly, the year in which this first institution was introduced into the community: 1921, is of utmost importance. This was just one year after the signing of the Peace Treaty of Trianon in Europe which had as its main purpose the allotment of Post World War Two retributions to the allies. This of course was done at Hungary's expense as the country was left with only one third of its pre-war territory. These events appear to have had a great impact upon the Hungarian people in Canada, as well as, in Europe. Although physically removed from the actual site of political turmoil, the Hungarians in Kolonia were linked to the demoralizing

happenings in Europe via the mass media,their postal communication
and the first hand reports of immigrants. Consequently,they
emphathized with their brothers over the recently renewed source
of social cultural political and economic insecurities. Secondly,
reminded of the uncontrollable fate of events, the Hungarians
in Canada re-experienced that all too common feeling of helpless-
ness entering into their lives. Constantly haunted by what
Park refers to as a "megalomanian: a manifold inferiority
complex" with its roots in the Hungarian belief that they are
an "oppressed race", failures in the home country and suffering
the minority stigma of "Hunky" in the new country, (Park and
Miller, 1921: 105-106), the Hungarians seemingly over reacted
to the post war situation. This is implicit in their possibly
exaggerated response as they attempted to introduce within
their ethnic community a specific means of group survival on all
levels; political, social economic and cultural. The establishment
by the Hungarians of an all encompassing non-denominational
institution seemed to be preventive medicine having convinced
themselves of the possible genocide of their Hungarian ethnic
group. Reacting to the situation in a defensive manner, the
Hungarians of Kolonia sported a "Magyar Chauvinism" so that
ultimately they might organize a "Hungariandom" (Park and Miller,
1921: 105-106) in their adopted land; their sanctuary for
preserving the very precious elements of Hungarian life.

Catalystic to the whole process were other immediate
ingroup crises which coincidently paralleled the former events.

In Chapter IV note was made of the changing relationship of
the Kingpin to the community. Aware of the fact that such
change was partially initiated by the Kingpin himself as
responsibilities became too great for one man to handle, it
is interesting to note as well documentation of the actual
impact of such a transition from the informal to formal system
of symbiosis in a comparatively similar situation. In the
Polish Peasant Thomas and Znaniecki cite this element of change
and in fact reinforce the general observations reported in the
third chapter. They present the bridge which links the fourth
chapter to that being presently discussed. Attempting to account
for the apparently inevitable routinization of the more demanding
aspects of the symbiotic process, Thomas and Znaniecki explain
the evolutionary process as follows:

> Originally during the early stages in the
> evolution of a Polish American Community mutual
> help is exercised sporadically from case to
> case by means of collections made for the benefit
> of the individual or family in distress.
> Naturally the more settled and well to do members
> of the community on whom most of the burdens fall
> are eager to substitute for the unregulated
> voluntáry assistance a regular system of mutual
> death and sickness insurance and thus favor the
> establishment of an association which will
> diminish their roles. The very fact that such a
> regulation of mutual assistance is necessary shows
> of course that the old naive and unreflective
> communal solidarity,where each individual had
> rightful claims on the help of every other
> individual in a degree dependent on the closeness
> of their social connection,has been radically
> modified.
>   (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927: 1520-1521).

It is likely that it was the combination of both these internal
and external sources pressuring for "some necessity" (Park, 1952:
22) which encouraged the Hungarians' unified response in the form

of their Hungarian Self Culture Society. We can see then that in certain instances the development of institutions maybe a response to a crisis or an "actual interest or affair of ordinary life" as suggested by Park and Miller in their theoretical framework (1952).

With the people of the community bonded together under this banner of common heritage and needs, the Self Culture Society of Kolonias Hungarians' was highly unlikely to fail in establishing itself as the focal point of the community. With the additional cultural commitments, it actually put the final segment of the constitutional theory into rigorous practice and thus aided in a long term realization of the "embryonic unit" (Lengyel, 1945: 177). Hungarian plays, folk dances, dinners, sports and general festive occasions became an integral part of their lives. This supplementary recreational practice completed as it were the ethnic communities ingroup circle of a definite life style. With this organized entertainment the final reinforcement of the old country heritage and culture, a strong ethnic circuit was developed and nurtured in the form of the community's first formal institution.

To entertain Park and Miller's simplistic view that "other" institutions are just gradually added to the communities repertoire of social structures is to underestimate the complexity of the issue under examination. The data collected indicated that this is only the beginning of a discussion of institutional development as the sub-institutions branching from the major institution play a very important role in life of the ethnic

community. First of all, an analysis of the institutional data leads us to believe that the ethnic community "never had a unified life" (Lengyel, 1948: 177) in the true sense of the word. This becomes evident as soon as one notes the individual purposes of the sub-institutions and the manner in which the sub-group members initiated or failed to initiate congenial inter institutional relationships. The constitutions of the various sub-institutions suggest a complimentarity while their actual participation in ethnic group life reflects a definite factionalism. It appears that in the absence of a pressing crisis, which would make collective action urgent, the ethnic group members focus on latent conflicts and identities thus encouraging ingroup inter-institutional factionalism. This alternating gemeinshaft and gesellschaft type of ingroup image with regard to the sub institutions points out those less apparent heterogeneous relationships within what might appear to be a homogeneous ethnic group.

The sub institutions began their consecutive rise as early as 1926 when the Roman Catholic people of the community invited Reverend Lipot Mosonyi to the area to aid them in organizing their independent religious sect. Later, under the direction of the Reverand Stephen in 1927 "the enthusiasm of the colony" (The History of Our Lady of Hungary Parish, 1953: 2) was channelled "into the formation of the Parish of Our Lady of Hungary" (The History of Our Lady of Hungary, 1953: 2). On November 18th, 1928, the Roman Catholic congregation celebrated the blessing of their new church. To discuss the purpose or

intentions of the church is to in effect state the relative
and basic ideology of the remaining sub institutions. Ultimately
all are concerned with the "spiritual welfare and direction"
(The History of Our Lady of Hungary Parish, 1953: 2) of those
belonging to the individual groups. "Spiritual"here is meant
to imply the religious or political disposition of the members
of the select groups. It is understood as well that each
sub institution provided certain social and material benefits
which further complement the organization's, latent functions of
mutual aid and cultural recreation. In comparison,we might say
that it seems only the names and places of the institutions have
changed in regard to their general blanket raison d'etre.

As well, common to all are the more definite positions
taken by the institutions regarding group membership and
inter relationships. Using the Roman Catholic Church's
perspective once again as reflective of sub institutions
complementarity, the present assistant pastor of Our Lady of
Hungary reported that it was only in and about 1945 that "a
precise a firm philosophy of membership begins to show its
strength" (Interview 65, Winter/72, Male). This in turn
necessitated an elaborate formal definition of the role of the
Hungarian Roman Catholic Church not only with respect to its
relative position within the confines of the Hungarian Ethnic
Community but within the society at large. In clarifying this
fact, the assistant priest reiterated the insitution's purpose
and jurisdiction in terms other than the "spiritual welfare and
direction of all souls" (The History of Our Lady of Hungary

Parish, 1953: 2). The more contemporary reinterpretation of the manifest and latent functions were as follows:

(A) Our Lady of Hungary operates in the framework of the Roman Catholic Church;

(B) Hungarians by birth are not automatically members of the Hungarian Church;

(C) Active participation in the manifold religious and secular activities of this church is the basic requirement of membership.

(D) Hungarian origin constitutes neither a right nor a duty to belong to Our Lady of Hungary - membership is left to the decision of the individual. Our Lady of Hungary does not solicit Hungarians to belong to this parish (Interview 65, Winter/72, Male).

Extending the boundaries of the new policy of the institution to include the society at large, the priest elaborated even further upon the church's position explaining that:

(i) the jurisdiction of Our Lady of Hungary extends to all the Niagara Peninsula;

(ii) Members and only members are being served. Others, though Catholics and Hungarians, are directed to the local pastor of their residence or of their choice.

(iii) A warm, friendly relationship is maintained with all Hungarians regardless of their actual membership. This secures the smooth co-operation of Our Lady of Hungary with the other religious and non religious organizations of Hungarians in the Niagara Peninsula (Interview 65, Winter/72, Male).

Transcending all of the predefined relationships was yet one other most important aspect of sub-group policy which guaranteed institutional maintenance and sub-group solidarity which could be judged overall as to have had a strong bearing on the perseverence of ethnicity. As the assistant pastor explained:

> A person to person relationship of the Pastor and of the members is the main source of Hungarian life in the Parish. Attraction rather than propaganda maintains and increases membership. Any speculation as for the past or the future of Our Lady of Hungary must be guided by these considerations (Interview 65, Winter/72, Male).

It is precisely these elements of complementarity which permits statement of an argument which would support speculation that there are ways and means of creating and perpetuating a strong gemeinschaft community which to the outsider would appear totally homogeonous. With all the sub-institutions employing similar policy with a specific emphasis on the point last mentioned little doubt would be left in ones mind as to the impracticality of attempting to suggest areas of potential ingroup dissonance or dissipation. We would conclude that the Hungarian Self Culture Society provided the unbiased common grounds uniting all Hungarians and that the establishment of sub-institutions; religious and political, further emphasized as well as reinforced the mechanisms of maintaining that primary intrinsic relationship necessary to group solidarity. From the data so far presented we would also deductively rationalize a positive relationship between group solidarity and the formal symbiotic process sufficing the needs of the ethnic community. In fact one would

or could further hypothesize that the greater the emphasis on sub-group organization in light of sufficient numbers to support them, as well as, their respective policies, the greater the strength of the ethnic group's ideological, social, cultural and economic elements. This then would be an objective summary of the general conclusions based upon analysis of the overt presentation of the community's personality profile.

However "once behind the scenes" and exposed to "the back room proceedings", the situation as it practically exists reveals quite a different character profile of the ethnic group. It was in interviewing the assistant pastor of the Roman Catholic institution that I became acutely aware of a see-saw type of gemeinschaft-gesellschalf Hungarian community which existed within Kolonia. Once analyzed, the inter-relationships of the institutions could be ranked along a scale from congenial and stable, to sporadic, makeshift or for the sake of convenience, to the neutral or indifferent to the hostile. All relationships were dependent upon the nature of ingroup circumstances namely: the absence of a pressing external crisis which enabled members of the ethnic group to focus upon latent conflicts and identities which made apparent the inter institutional areas of factionalism. Presented is the data relative to these findings.

Inter-Institutional Relationships

Roman Catholics vs. Hungarian Presbyterians

Having defined the Roman Catholic vs. Presbyterians relationship as somewhat "constant over the years" (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male) the assistant pastor explained that:

> there had always been an informal agreement
> on the part of priest and minister that each
> sect mind its own business with regard to
> recruitment of souls.
>> (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male)

As he elaborated:

> We decided that neither one nor the other
> should try and covet prospective
> parishioners. Thus all interaction between
> us remained very congenial.
>> (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male)

With such an informal truce arrived at with regard to an inter-

institutional competition for members, we can see how the arena

for interaction between the two groups initially proved favorable.

However, the data reveals that such an agreement eventually fell

short of arresting other latent ideological differences between

the two groups as it became apparent that a rift did exist which

revolved about the question of one anothers relgious legitimacy

and supremacy. A staunch Roman Catholic, disappointed at the

mention of a possible mixed marriage between a Hungarian Catholic

girl and Protestant boy, became very incensed at the idea that

the girl might even concede to marrying the boy in his church.

Ultimately revealed were the covert ideological grounds for

negative interinstitution feelings as he verbalized the following

sentiments:

> What right does that Calvinist have expecting
> that girl to follow him to his church. The
> Catholics were in Hungary first; they,the
> Calvanists,had their movement later so how
> does he figure he comes first. And what
> about that girl. Has she no fear of God
> and what He might do if she does go after him.
> Why she might have a defective child or something
> like that. The church won't approve that. She's
> lowering herself.
>> (Interview 94, Summer 73, Female).

While the Roman Catholics appear to attempt to assert themselves
as being the superior religious group, the Presbyterians seem
to counter react with the question of the legitimacy of
Catholicism. It was at a Presbyterian event that the following
ethnophaulism[2] verbalized by the Master of Ceremonies, humorously
indicated the Presbyterians view of the Roman Catholics. His
self explanatory joke went as follows:

> There was this priest in the confessional and
> this fellow came in to confess his sins. He
> knelt down, blessed himself and began. He
> said, "Father during the last week of war I
> killed fifty men, I set a bomb and blew up ten
> more and I set up two dozen land mines. The
> priest then said,'That is enough of the politics
> young man, how about your sins now, tell me those'.
> (Interview 14, Fall/72, Male).

According to a respondent present at the celebration:

> If people joked like that more often maybe things
> would be better than carrying deep dislikes for
> one another and expressing them in other ways.
> (Interview 14, Fall/72, Male).

It seems that in spite of the verbalized complementarity between
the two groups, occasions do arise when latent conflicts and
identities are focussed upon thus making evident the existence
of an ingroup "they and we" relationship between Hungarian Roman
Catholics and Presbyterians.

Roman Catholic vs. Hungarian Self Culture Society

Similar data exists for the remaining three institutions.
It was the Hungarian Self Culture Society which fell into the

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[2]Ethnophaulism: Ethnic derogatory humor: "Ethnophaulisms" may
express and support stereotypes of highly visible cultural
differences." (Rose, 1964: 102-119).

second category as representative of the "sporadic, makeshift

or for the sake of convenience relationship." As stated before,

the Roman Catholic sect had made use of the Self Culture

Society's building in the early twenties in order that they

might conduct a weekly service. However, once they were able

to afford their own building and then expand, the situation was

not so comfortable. As the assistant priest related these

events:

> Now things between us went fine until 1949 when
> we began building St. Steven's Hall. (The
> Hungarian Roman Catholics Social Cultural center
> on the outskirts of the city). The Hungarian
> Self Culture Society believed that this would
> really be too much competition for them. We now
> had a larger hall which could accommodate more
> people and; therefore, they feared we would
> attract all future weddings, showers and cultural
> engagements. We had invested quite a bit of money
> into the building of it and I guess subconsciously,
> we had just this intention.
> (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male).

This documents the weakening of a once close intra-inter

institutional relationship. The possibility of ingroup economic

competition had altered the traditional relations as the expansion

of the Roman Catholic's sub institution threatened the long

established pretigeous disposition of the Self Culture Society

as the foci for majority ingroup activities. The result: a short

lived makeshift positive inter-institution relationship.

Roman Catholic vs. Greek Catholic

Perhaps the most peculiar of all the inter-institutional

relationships was that involving the Hungarian Greek Catholics

and Hungarian Roman Catholics. Their confrontation resulted in

a short term "indifference" (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male),
between the two groups which with time only partially resolved
itself. According to the assistant pastor's report, the original
congregation of Our Lady of Hungary was made up of both Hungarian
Greek Catholics and Hungarian Roman Catholics. With there being
little difference between the two groups' religious dogma or
practice, their combined numbers aided in effective and success-
ful materialization of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church.
Acting initially as one homogenous group, the instant consolidation
remained unchallenged for a number of years.

> Then the Monseigner invited a Greek Catholic
> priest to the church as a guest speaker for the
> Sunday Sermon. Now the visitor was in reality
> a real orator: he could speak very well. So
> naturally when this visiting priest spoke everyone
> was impressed and so therefore listened all the
> more intently. The next important thing was to
> realize just what the man had to say. He got up
> in the pulpit and told the congregation that not
> only did every other parishioner in the church
> belong to him but so also did every other brick
> of which the church was made. Well the results
> of this are simple. After that service a distinct
> Greek Catholic sect was organized and it separated
> itself from the rest of the people. They eventually
> built their own church and had their own program
> of cultural activities.
>   (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male).

This action by the Greek Catholics displeased the Roman
Catholics, who had benefitted from Greek Catholic support. An
"entirely different" relationship evolved between the two groups
and those Roman Catholics still embittered by such behavior on
the part of the Greek Catholics often refer to them as "an
unpolished people" "very rough in their ways." (Interview 7,
Winter/72, Male). As one Roman Catholic respondent observed:

> You know ever since our Greek Catholic Members
> left Our Lady of Hungary they haven't managed
> to keep a parish priest for any length of time.
> They are always having some kind of trouble
> between priest and congregation. While they
> were here with us everything was fine; they
> should have stayed with us.
> (Interview 94, Winter/73, Female).

Obviously the Greek Catholics have not been entirely forgiven

for their seemingly unethical exit from the Roman Catholic

Church. Consequently the relationship between them is a bit

strained as the defensive stereotyping on the part of the

Roman Catholics in light of this latent conflict points out.

Roman Catholic, Hungarian Self Culture Society vs. The Workers

Complicating the inter institutional relationships yet

even further were the Workers; the quasi political (socialists

and/or communists) group of the ethnic community which apparently

rose in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church. Reports have

it that once the Roman Catholic Church had established itself

and before it ventured the construction of its own independent

social cutlural center, members of this group attempted to gain

a strong influential foothold within the Self Culture Society's

bureaucratic structure. As one informant stated:

> My father in law was one of many who opposed
> the Catholic Church's invasion of the Self
> Culture Society. It was supposed to be an
> open organization with no one religious group
> ruling the roost. When those Roman Catholics
> started to try and monopolize the situation,
> men like my father in law decided to leave:
> they had had enough of the ruling religious:
> the Church's controlling things. That had been
> their experience from the old country.
> (Interview 16 (part ii), Winter/72 Male and Female).

Such persons knew too well that in the old country "state" and
"church" (Lengyel, 1948: 179) had all the controlling power but
here in Canada specific provisions had been made so that the
average Hungarian could enjoy a more democratic liberty and this
they wanted to maintain. Their failure to oppose the religious
offensive prying its way into the formal institution resulted
in the Worker's group taking form. It appears that this group
eventually became a haven for those anti-religious who had
suffered under the "state" and "church" rule in Europe. Favoring
a socialists ideology reflected in their policies, the
organization was soon labelled as "Pink" or "Red" by others of
the community who associated the Workers with the reign in
Hungary of the Red Terror and White Terror, the Communist takeover
of Hungary in 1944 and/or the nations revolution in 1956.

With reason for this obvious split, "ill feelings between
the two groups" grew (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male). The Roman
Catholics in general referred to thse people as "uneducated,
illiterate ignorant people": "street Marxists or common day
communists who use slogans like more power to the people,
equality for all, and non exploitation of the lower classes."
(Interview 7, Winter/72, Male). It was the opinion of certain
Roman Catholics that:

> They are only peasants who are victims of certain
> political circumstances. Basically what they
> wanted when in Europe in the early 19th century
> was an equal division of land, some property rights,
> nationalization of natural resources, so the
> bourgeoise wouldn't have everything and reduction
> of the amassed riches of the church (i.e. land they
> rented out in an almost feudal style to poor

> peasants). However little did they know what
> was in store for them and before long they
> experienced an equalization all right, one
> in which everyone forfeited not only all he
> had but also the little he may have had.
> (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male).

However, there were various other Catholics and non Catholics

who took this latent conflict a bit more seriously and were not

so sympathetic. They associated the Workers "street Communism"

with the real Red regime in Hungary and as a result the conflict

began" and continues to exist. So absolute is this conviction

of particular anti-workers that they have reported to be:

> always telling the Communists, that if they
> like the idea of Communism so much, then
> they should just go back to Europe to live.
> (Interview 7, Winter/72, Male).

To say the least, the relationship between workers and non

workers may be judged as ranging from indifferent to hostile.

I recall attending the Hungarians One Thousand Year Jubilee

Celebration at the Self Culture Society where there was overt

expression of hostility. As is readily understandable, Catholics,

Greek Catholics and Presbyterians were present but the Workers

were not. Again it was via an ingroup ethnophaulism that the

sentiments of non Worker for the Worker were communicated. The

master of ceremonies came forth and related the following joke.

> There were five men on a plane, a pilot, an
> Italian, an American, a Russian and a Hungarian.
> As they were flying along the pilot turned
> around and said,'Gentlemen I am sorry to tell
> you this but we have developed engine trouble
> and someone will have to sacrifice his life
> and jump out or the rest of us will perish due
> to the simple fact the plane will obviously
> crash. Without hesitation the American jumped
> up, threw open the plane door, yelled, 'Long
> live America', and jumped out. The remaining

four men noted the former's courage remarked
upon his lack of selfishness. However the pilot
soon announced that another engine had gone dead
and that unless someone obliged himself in the
same manner as the American, all were dommed to
die. Well with this the Italian jumped up, threw
the door open, yelled, 'Viva la Italy', and
jumped out. This left the Hungarian, the Russian
and the pilot who believed that now they could
fly to safety. However the pilot announced that
they were low on fuel and one more person would
have to sacrifice himself so that the remaining
two could land safely. At this point, the
Hungarian jumped up, threw the door open, yelled
long live Hungary grabbed the Russian and threw
him out.'
(Interview 8, Fall/72, Male).

The prolonged outburst of applause, cheers and laughter from

the audience more than validated my initial observations. There

was within the ethnic community an evident non Worker vs. Workers

type of inter institutional relationship.

And then again the Workers themselves are not without

opinion of "others" within their ethnic group. For example,

they too can express definite feelings about the Church and

Roman Catholics. As one informant said:

You know it wasn't too long ago when I had a
real good discussion with a priest and I told
him that if the church ever began practicing
what it preached I would be more than happy to
be sitting in the first pew. But I thought
that this was impossible because the church
was too capitalistic. You know they have all
types of shares in big companies, they own
apartment houses in New York and even control
certain Swiss banks. They have all types of
money.
(Interview 3, Winter/72, Male).

Another respondent related that his anti-religious sentiments

were justified by an early experience based on the following:

When I was young I was an altar boy in the old
country. I used to say Mass or I should say served
the priest during the Mass. I was close to him.

> That's when you really find out what everything
> is all about. You know this priest would stand
> up in church and tell all the people that it
> was a mortal sin to eat meat on Friday, yet at
> the same time, I can tell you I sat down at
> his table on a Friday and ate meat with him.
> (Interview 3, Winter/72, Male).

As is evidenced, the Workers have had their personal experiences
which they use to justify maintaining a separate institutional
identity as well. They too employ their knowledge of latent
economic and ideological based conflicts and identities to
overtly validate their independent sub-group status within the
community.

Witnessed then are the grounds for ingroup factionalism.
But even with these developments, there remains one final point
of interest. It seems that the ethnic community, in spite of
all its ingroup calamities, will still unite in light of an
excessive external threat. Forgetting for the moment the reasons
for their past differences, with the exception of the Workers,
the Hungarians as a collectivity will ignore ingroup barriers
and unite as an ethnic community to resolve some impinging problem
imposed from the outside. An example is the group's response
to the 1956 revolution and the needs of the Hungarian refugees
leaving Hungary and coming to Canada at that time. Through the
combined efforts of the Hungarian Self Culture Society, the
Hungarian Presbyterians, the Hungarian Greek Catholics and the
Hungarian Roman Catholics, some thirty five thousand dollars was
raised to help their fellow countrymen within the Niagara
Peninsula alone. The money was entrusted to the Hungarian Self
Culture Society and a coalition board was set up immediately to

see that the money was handled properly. At first the board was inclined to give all of the money collected to the Red Cross. However, when the frugal members of the board were informed that forty percent of the thirty five thousand dollars would be alloted for administrative costs of the Red Cross, the proposed donation was retracted. Instead the coalition board itself saw to the needs of the refugees coming into their area. Food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and even tuition fees (University and Private school) were provided. There was no question in their minds; theirs was the joint responsibility of seeing to the welfare of all Hungarians if such a crisis arose. Apparently then, in spite of the factionalism within the group, if an external crisis arises which is serious enough to demand the united attention of Hungarians, they may come together as an independent collectivity with the mutual goal of resolving their common problem.

In conclusion then we might summarize this chapter on ethnic institutions as follows. First of all, within the ethnic community, there is a transition from the paling kingpin type of an informal symbiotic system, to the institutional type of a formal symbiotic system. There are specific general institutions established to meet the common insecurities and crises in the lives of the immigrants and once this has been achieved then sub-institutions catering to the other characteristics of the population take rise. It appears that when the crises affecting the group as a whole and demanding collective action are absent, the members of the sub-institutions focus upon latent

conflicts and identities thus defining inter-institutional relationships and ingroup factionalism. However, if the group is confronted with yet another contemporary crisis, the well defined factions will combine forces once again to independently rectify the trying situation.

We recognize then that the members of this ethnic group have an apparently very strong sense of ethnic identity. Not only do they appear to define themselves as Hungarians but they are either a Roman Catholic Hungarian, Greek Catholic Hungarian or such like. Furthermore other data collected indicated that not only do the Hungarians define themselves on the basis of their relationship to other ingroup factions but also along a line of dominant society vs. minority. This latter point then will be the theme of the sixth chapter as I discuss what it means to be a Hungarian in Canadian society or as the members of the ethnic group refer to it; a Hungarian-Canadian.

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So painful and shattering was the break from
loved ones in Europe so ugly the long crossing
in small crowded ships and so humiliating the
early attempts to learn a new way of life and
a new language and new forms of emotion (in
public, at least), that many descendants of
immigrants suffer from cultural amnesia. Their
relatives do not speak often of "what it was
like". Each year more and more witnesses go
silently into the grave, unheard. In school,
one learns almost nothing about cultural
traditions of one's own family. Even in
anthropology classes, one is likely to study
the cultures of New Guinea, but not the cultures
of Hamtramck or Lowell, of Hasidism in Williams-
port, or of the Italians of Newmark. No wonder;
for so many education is unreal, and "others,"
so irrelevant.
    (Michael Novak, 1971:xxi)

CHAPTER VI

STRENGTHENED ETHNIC IDENTITY:
A CONSEQUENCE OF VARYING CONTACTS

To be a committed individual within a society or group, a person must believe in, participate in, and identify with it. Group identification amongst minority group people means the sharing of those "intra group attitudes and actions" (Rose, 1961:128) which are "reflected in expressions of intergroup behavior or those involving minority reaction to majority treatment" (Rose, 1961:128). Some theorists have predicted that minorital group identification will disappear, due to inter-group action over a period of time. Others have stated that because minorital group identification has survived ingroup-outgroup interaction up to this point then undoubtedly it will continue to persist in the future. Both are accepted possibilities, but to me of more importance are the real reasons why and how ethnic identity continues to persevere at present. Apparently minority groups have their own individual social-psychological "reaction patterns" (Rose, 1961:130) to their subordinate position in society and these are without question situationally defined. On occasion their response to the dominant-minorital situation is re-recognition and maintenance of their ethnic identity. Or more specifically to my purposes, how, why and what it means to be a Hungarian in Canadian society.

The data indicate that members of Kolonia's Hungarian

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ethnic group have developed what might be referred to as a duplex identity. Not only has their rich historical legacy provided them with a traditional definition of what it means to be Hungarian but so also has their experiences as minority group members who are envelopped in the Canadian main. As minority group members in context of the dominant society, occasions of intergroup contact has necessitated the Hungarians re-recognition, re-definition and maintenance of their ethnic identity. The various types of contact that I found useful to consider are: Ideological and Reality Contact, Casual Contact and Culture Shock, Competitive Contact, Conflictive Ingroup-Outgroup Ideological Contact, Crisis Contact, Residential Contact, Reinforcement Contact and Personal Ingroup Contact. A discussion of these types of contact and how they have aided in the perseverence of a Hungarian ethnic identity will be the theme then of this sixth chapter.

Assimilation vs. Cultural Pluralism

In the past, the assimilationists agreed that newcomers to Western Society would gradually participate in and eventually adopt the host society's way of life. They fostered this idea with their presentation of the melting pot theory (Glazer and Moynihan, 1971) and one of those closely associated with this field is Robert Ezra Park. He blueprinted for us the original version of the progressive path of adaptation by introducing his "race relations cycle" (Jones, 1956-1957:40) which suggests an inevitable sequence of the process of contact, conflict, competition

accommodation and assimilation (Jones, 1956-1957:40). Park's "contact" (Park, 1952:188) refers to that initial culture shock suffered when immigrants are exposed to the novelty of a new social cultural environment; the competition (Park, 1936) to their active participation in a symbiotic relationship with the other members of the society as "the struggle for existence" endures (Park, 1936:2); the conflict (Park, 1936) to the more ruthless developments arising within "a distinct community" (Park, 1936:4) as the age old societal battle for dominance and succession (Park, 1952) ensues; the "accommodation" (Park, 1952: 69) to the social process "which follows and reduces and avoids conflicts implying that the resolution of conflict is necessary for maintenance of the social order but without implying a complete resolution of conflict mutually satisfactory to the contenders" (Gould and Kolb, 1964:5-6) and the "assimilation" to "the incorporation of new members into a society so that they are not distinguishable from former members" (Gould and Kolb, 1964:38). For Park and other assimilationists these were their predictions 'theoretically defined. The "break down" (Park, 1952:99) of ethnic strongholds, the blending of cultures (Park, 1950*55:26) and the final merging of immigrants; old and new, with the mainstream of society were literarily complete. Only the actual experiencing of this entire phenomenon was lacking and in their estimation it was simply a matter of time before that occurred.

Looking at Western society today we see, however, that

this anticipated "progression" of the assimilationists "is far from being a universal law." (Allport, 1954:250) Contending cultural pluralists note "the case is just not that simple" (Allport, 1954:250) although the assimilationists would like us to believe so and they go on to point out that the perseverence of "ethnic enclaves" (Gordon, 1961:272) are proof enough of the need for a more precise explanation of what is really happening to the various nationality groups. The pluralists are of the challenging belief that "from colonial times onward" (Gordon, 1961:272) a settlement pattern did develop but one which nurtured an array of individual ethnic nuclei rather than an ultimate "homo Americanus" (Novack, 1971: XV). According to their analysis, the little Italies, French Villes, China Towns and other comparable concentrations of minority peoples were all initially encouraged due to the landed immigrants' "necessity to band together for mutual aid and mutual protection against the uncertainties of a strange and frequently hostile environment". (Gordon, 1961:272) It is their observation that once informally organized into their "particular areas", (Gordon, 1961:272) each ethnic group tended to preserve "at least some of their native cultural patterns" (Gordon, 1961:272) which in essence meant the maintenance of the respective groups' language, religion, communal institutions and ancestral culture (Gordon, 1961:272). With the re-established "miniature" societies (Gordon, 1961:272) institutionally complete, (Breton, 1964) added reinforcements guaranteeing an extended

longlevity of the ethnic community were forthcoming via "the
later accretion of friends relatives and countrymen seeking
out bases of familiarity in a strange land." (Gordon, 1961:272)
Viewing "such a development as natural as breathing" (Gordon,
1961:272) and looking toward the second and third generational
offsprings for continued backing, the pluralists prophetically
concluded that the entire process has led to as well as
maintained an overall "multiplicity in a unity." (Gordon, 1961:
278) For the cultural pluralists, this somewhat accidental
patchwork of distinct minorities has undoubtedly laid the
permanent foundations for a pluralists society.

Emphasizing then, the need to recognize and to compre-
hend "multiple group life" (Gordon, 1961:278) for what it really
is, the cultural pluralists argue that the melting pot approach
of the assimilationists remains at present more fancy than fact.
With the supportive societal backdrop of varying ethnic
ingredients, pluralists revel in their various theories con-
tradicting the assimilationists' ideology; Herberg's Transmulating
Pot Theory, (Herberg, 1955), Jacksons Conflict Model (Elliot
ed., 1971) and Handlins (Handlin, 1951) as well as Kallen's
(Gordon, 1961:279) Cultural Pluralism to mention only a few.
All are of the shared opinion that "cultural pluralism was a
fact....before it became a theory." (Gordon, 1961:272)

In competing for recognition as the originators of the
major explanation of immigrant adjustment, the supporters of
both viewpoints have attempted to validate their positions, but

only at the cost of introducing biased and limited conceptual
models. It would seem more constructive to suggest that the
"goal" oriented (Gordon, 1961:263) scheme set forth by the
assimilationists ought to have considered a number of alter-
natives to accommodation; (Park, 1936) "pluralistic detours",
if you will, which circumvent that particular segment of the
"one way non stop route" of the melting pot theorists. At the
same time, the pluralists "descriptive model" (Godon, 1961:263)
which deals at length with those visible exceptions to the
assimilationists rule, ought to outline minorital positions in
such a way that any element of potential assimilatory progression
not be minimized or negated. It appears the former school is
consumed with stipulating what "should happen"(Gordon, 1961:263)
while, the later states how it hasn't happened. (Gordon, 1961)
The conclusions drawn then are that each presents what may be
regarded as half truths, and that the designing of general
individual theories geared to complement the respective inter-
pretations of reality, has been so done at the expense of giving
"close analytical attention to the theory of immigrant adjustment".
(Gordon, 1961:263) Open then to debate even still, is the
question regarding the degree to which immigrants groups have
remained marginal to the society.

To what extent do foreigners and their offspring maintain
their ethnic identity, how and why? If the predictions of the
assimilationists were to be true then we would not be faced with
any problem at all; we would simply expect the Hungarians of

Kolonia, especially those of the younger generations, to profess
an adopted Canadian identity. On the other hand, if the
pluralists were correct in their observations then we should
anticipate a relatively segregated little society with a unique
unadulterated and readily discernable ethnic identity. However
as stated before, neither polar extreme provides the whole and
proper answer; rather it lies somewhere in between.

Ethnic Identity in Kolonia

I discovered, while in the field collecting data that,
amongst the Hungarians of Kolonia, there has been a definite
re-construction of a Hungarian identity in context of the groups
experiences in Canada. I refer to it at times as a "Hungarian
Canadian identity." This challenges both the assimilationists
and pluralists ideologies as the Hungarians of the research site
prove neither totally integrated or segregated from the society
at large. Perhaps even more important is the contradiction of
the datum gathered at the research site with that of a study
carried out in 1950 by John Kosa regarding the assimilation of
the Hungarians in Southern Ontario. His datum led him to believe
that the Hungarians mirrored a pattern of adjustment which
tended to suggest an ultimate yielding to the Canadian way of
life. Kosa, like Park and the other assimilationists, gravitated
towards hastily concluding that without a doubt the Hungarians
too eventually became assimilated. As he rather poetically
rather than analytically described it, "their old country
culture disappeared as a chalk island in the sea; they them-

selves (the Hungarians) became "Americanized". (Kosa, 1957:96)

Yet my datum of the 1970's indicates overall that this

assimilation of the Hungarians has not occurred; at least in

Kolonia that is to say. This is not to deny the possibility

that perhaps it has been simply delayed but if we keep in

mind the fact that Kosa's work entertained such certain general

assertions and projections as:

> The immigrant actually receives more in
> cultural patterns than he gives. He is
> invited to work not to teach, and the old
> country patterns are washed away by the
> sea of Canadian experiences.
> (Kosa, 1957:94)

then it may be quite true that his conclusions may be subject

to radical change as I present my own findings.

The respondents themselves validated the perseverence

of their ethnic identity as they communicated such remarks

as the following:

> There is a core which is pure Hungarian in each
> one of us (Interview 16, Winter/72, Female)
>
> ...I have to remember we are just different
> types of people (meaning English and
> Hungarian) and our individual habits never
> change. Granted we may alter an outlook
> or habit or modify something about our
> customs but overall we are still Hungarian.
> This is the way our lives are - there maybe
> some aspect we can negotiate on but others
> are just too different and we just have to
> be tolerant. I know about this difference
> in life styles believe me
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Female)

It seems that in spite of their exposure to the new environment

and its inhabitants, these people still identify themselves as

Hungarians, not as Canadians. Granted the saliency of ingroup

identity may vary from respondent to respondent but overall

there is an impressively positive attitude towards being part

of this ethnic group. I can say at this point that perhaps the

most ethnocentric statement encountered while researching was

that of a middle aged factory worker who immigrated to Canada

in 1951. He was of the opinion that:

> there are only two types of people in the
> world, Hungarians and those who would like
> to be Hungarian.
> (Interview 12, Winter/72, Male)

Remarks such as these, which expressed the strong identification

of Hungarians with their ethnic group after a number of years

in an adopted country, indicated to the researcher the need to

investigate further those potential mechanisms, occasions, events

or whatever which insured such an apparently potent ingroup

identity with regard to Hungarian ethnicity.

In attempting to understand this element of ethnic

identity and its maintenance, I took two preliminary steps.

First I re-analyzed all the datum discovering that there

definitely was running through the field notes this theme of

"what it meant to be a Hungarian in Canada". Secondly, I

mentioned this potential sub-area of research to a member of

the Hungarian clergy. He, in turn, pessimistically concluded

that the formerly mentioned examples of ethnocentrism, especially

the latter, was only an extremely exceptional case of an overt

exaggeration of a simple fact. However, by my next visit, the

clergy confessed that he may have underestimated or taken for

granted the actual depth of ethnic conviction within the group.

He explained his reasons for altering his perspective on the

issue.

> As I continue to visit the parishoners I am
> always told how much Hungarian tradition
> means to them. Why last week I was up in
> Fonthill visiting Mr. S. You remember his
> father don't you he lived on Park St.,
> well he married out of the group but he
> keeps telling me that even though he isn't
> physically close to the group he still
> practices the old Hungarian tradition and
> this really means a lot to him and his
> family. He says it gives him a kind of
> identity in a world where things are
> defined in very general terms
> (Interview 48, Winter/72, Male)

It was confirmation data of this sort which convinced me to

give "close analytical attention" (Gordon, 1961:263) to the

process of immigrant adjustment with particular focus on ethnic

identity and identity maintenance as it occurred amongst the

Hungarians of Kolonia.

The datum reveals in general that the integration of

a minority group depends extensively upon "the nature of the

contact that is established" (Allport, 1957:251) between the

ingroup and outgroup as well as amongst the ingroup members

themselves. In the case of the Hungarians I studied, overall

the ingroup-outgroup contact, although it may have periodically

facilitated, in general, a better understanding between the

dominant and minority groups, it deterred the ultimate merging

of the two cultures. The final consequence of the varying

circumstances initiating ingroup-outgroup contact was encourage-

ment of rather than a reduction of ethnic identity and

maintenance of it. Simultaneously supplementing this mode of

preserving ethnic identity were the personal ingroup "contact

circumstances" which incorporated a Canadian as well as European
based network system. They nurtured as well the maturation of
a seemingly transplanted and re-cultivated ethnicity as they
perpetuated that part of the ethnic identity which has its
roots in the rich soil of a historical legacy. To precisely
explicate how the Hungarian's ethnicity was redefined and pre-
served in the context of Canadian society, it is necessary to
reconstruct the process of adjustment in "its real coherence"
(Kosa, 1957:91) This will be done in two parts. First, there
will be a chronologically ordered discussion of the different
types of ingroup outgroup contacts; those accidental,
coincidental, conflictive, and accommodative incidences, agents
and agencies which progressively affected ingroup-outgroup
relations and an explanation following each of how they helped
re-initiate, encourage and recreate the Hungarian ethnic
identity. Secondly, attention will be directed to the personal
ingroup contact and how this ingroup network system, based both
in Canada and Hungary, works not only to minimize superficial
assimilation but also to stabilize, secure and sustain Hungarian
identity. Following this two part explication, there will be
a general summary of the findings, and its main purpose will be
the presentation of a possible pattern for the redefinition of
ethnic identity and maintenance of it.

Ideological and Reality Contact

To begin, it would be an error to believe that minority
group members have never had any intentions at all of ever
assimilating into Canadian society. When interviewing the

respondents at the research site, those who spoke of the voyage from Hungary to Canada expressed the positive expectations they initially had of "their land of choice"; (Kosa, 1957:   ) in essence exaggerated perspectives of a new way of life that awaited them in Canada and to which they would voluntarily devote the rest of their lives. They explained as well, how in fact, these expectations were never met. As one respondent so vividly described it:

> I was permitted to go on to Canada and on
> the way over I dreamt about the mansion
> I would be walking up to, with a bedroom
> of my own and a nice bed. But it didn't
> turn out that way. I arrived in Kolonia
> and at my father's rented apartment which
> was obviously overcrowded as there were
> three other sisters and two other brothers
> there; four of whom hadn't been born or
> were just babies when my parents left myself
> and an older brother home (in Hungary) as
> they made headway to the "Golden Land". I
> ended up sleeping on the couch in the
> living room - quite a difference from what
> I had imagined. Life wasn't the least
> like a princess' ; I went to the cotton
> mill to work to help bring money into the
> house to help out. More like a Cinderella
> I would say. Life was a struggle; Canada
> wasn't a paradise for the foreigner.
> (Interview 42, Fall/73, Female)

It was this type of ideal which the hard reality of the new environment immediately shattered for the majority of Hungarians. They were to come to understand that the "princess'" life had been monopolized in many ways by the dominant society and that they themselves were to play, for the greater part, the role of an exploited Cinderella and for some length of time.

Perhaps if the Hungarians had been immediately confronted upon their disembarkment with the possibility of even half fulfilling their anticipated desires, there may have been a chance that the immigrants would have identified more strongly with and committed themselves more avidly to being Canadian. The point was expressed as follows

> It wasn't (life in Canada) what we thought
> it would be and maybe if it had been I
> would have become more Canadian than I am
> Hungarian but things just didn't work out.
> (Interview 42, Fall/73, Female)

Due to this fact that "things just didn't work out", it appears the quasi-end product is a potent ethnocentrism built up over the years. This early clarification of a "superordinate-subordinate" (Elliot ed., 1971: Jackson:160-174) relationship between the host society and the minority group quite graphically set the stage with regard to future social graces when the two groups engaged in social intercourse.

Casual Contact and Culture Shock

Upon arrival the landed immigrants immediately presented an image which labelled them as misfits in the subjective eyes of the host society. Their "somber home dress", the "ankle high buttoned up shoes" of the men, the "kerchieved heads" of the married women and the general overall illiteracy of the group singled them out as "foreigners". (Voros, 1970:1-110) They were those "Hunkies" who in the host society's opinion "would work a full day for next to nothing" because as the Hungarians further qualified "we had to and the English knew it" (Voros, 1970:1-110). Stereotyped as "greenhorns" "just of the boats",

those "who didn't know any better" and "who could be taken advantage of", (Voros, 1970:1-110) the landed immigrants were without a doubt confused with their new surroundings. For the moment all the landed immigrant had was his quickly fading "high hopes" and "blind faith" (Voros, 1970:1-110) upon which to depend; at least, until the skeleton of the informal ingroup mutual aid structure could lend itself as a cushion to his abrupt tumble into a different world. As the Hungarian immigrants clustered together, their instantaneous gemeinschaftness arrested the immediate timidity, the momentary maladjustment, disorganization, and discontent suffered by the foreigner. As one elderly Hungarian described such an experience

> Well I left (Hungary) in 1923 and ended up
> out west in the wheat fields. We had to
> do such work for the government had brought
> us out and we had to pay them back for their
> graciousness. I worked in that hot sun for
> weeks stacking bales of hay. Boy I never
> saw so many snakes in all my life. I just
> couldn't stand them. By fall I had a little
> money saved up and I wanted to get out of
> that flat land. I had heard that there were
> some Hungarians in Kolonia so I headed down
> there by train. By the time I and a friend
> got off the rails in Kolonia we didn't have
> too much money left. We began walking down
> the street and I guess we had gone about a
> block when we came upon a group of old ladies
> sitting under a big tree. The one said to
> the other in Hungarian 'Well I wonder where
> these people are from. It looks as though
> they have been travelling for some time.'
> When we heard this we were really happy. We
> greeted them in Hungarian and the poor old
> women were shocked as well as a bit
> embarrassed. Having told them of our
> experiences so far and the fact that we were
> without money, they offered to take us into
> their homes immediately.
> (Interview 9, Spring/73, Male)

This was basically the makeup of the ethnic group's "culture shock absorber". Consequently members of the group, in flocking together in such a manner, reinforced one anothers ethnic disposition. This in turn relaxed the new arrivals for they realized that there was no necessity in attempting to entertain any immediate change on their part. If in light of some hasty conclusion, select immigrants felt that near impossible alterations had to be made so that they might fit in and succeed in the new society, they soon learnt that all efforts to achieve this were to no avail, for at that point in time, the dominant society was likely to shun them anyway. This turning in towards other Hungarians for some initial security and moral support was the first step in originating a formal community of Hungarians which had already begun the redefinition of their ethnic identity as it applied to their novel and depressing experiences in a new social environment.

Competative Contact

To argue whether or not the ultimate establishment of a separate formal ingroup society was voluntary or involuntary with regard to the Hungarians of Kolonia, when in actuality it must be conceded as part and part, would be to side step the more important consideration of the obvious social rift created between the dominant and minority groups. The over-riding fact remains that as the host society questioned the "quality" of the foreigner, the foreigners once roughly organized questioned the "respectability" (Voros, 1970:1-110) of the host society thus

encouraging maintenance of a social distance between the groups.
It was not long though before the unavoidable collisions between
the two societies were to occur and it was resolution of such
incidences which aided each group in coming to understand the
other a bit better. Once this knowledge was acquired, then and
only then, were the individual groups in a position to review
their feelings concerning the acceptability of one another and
thus act accordingly.

The realm of human competition; the struggle for
dominance and succession reflects the perfect example of such
an ongoing process. An elderly Hungarian lady recounts one of
the first overt confrontations the minority group had with the
dominant society and its eventual resolution and outcome.

> We knew they (the English) thought they were
> better than us but they even had to show it
> when they had the chance. I remember the
> time when they had the politicians speaking
> at the English Hall and some of the Hungarians
> who could vote went to hear them talk. When
> they got there,they were turned away at the
> doors because foreigners weren't allowed.
> Well when the next election came we had our
> own hall, we asked the politicians to come
> and speak and when they did and the English
> voters came to listen we turned them away;
> only foreigners were allowed. They got the
> message and we didn't have too much trouble
> like that again.
> (Interview 49, Fall/72, Female)

There were many other incidences reported that were
similar to this. However, the point important to understanding
them all was the fact that regardless of the Hungarians apparent
consensus in accepting the dominant society's identification
of them as second class citizens with an entrance status, they

still maintained a stronger ingroup identification based on their
ethnic pride and self respect which helped initiate the counter
attack to the host society's overt aggression via a belligerent
attempt at social superimposition. We see emerging here the
ethnic minority's ingroup conception of what it is to be a
Hungarian in Canada. Already the dominant society has pointed
out to the ethnic group that demarkations within the hierarchy
are based along ethnic lines as well as education or income.
It also appears that the Hungarians have very subtlety, yet non-
militantly, retorted that, at least, with regard to ethnicity,
both groups may very well be on par. It was the nurturing then
of ethnocentric traits such as those mentioned above which
proved to be the stumbling block to the assimilationists ideal
of eventual integration.

Conflictive Ingroup-Outgroup Ideological Contact

The Hungarians past weighed heavily on the present as
well and due to their stubbornness to alter their lagging "old
country" based habits and beliefs, more serious collisions with
the civil society soon arose. There was the problem of boot-
legging, a notorious pastime of various ethnics which was held
in constant check by the dominant society's authorities. Regard-
less of their conscientious efforts; however, it seems that the
law never convinced the Hungarians that they were committing a
crime. In fact the Hungarians never believed they were in the
wrong in the first place and ; moreover, they didn't believe the
English thought so either. One of the clergy explicated how a

Hungarian might explain their innocent action:

> I have a little old lady who comes to
> confession every Saturday night. She
> really doesn't have anything to confess,
> it is just part of an old routine. So
> one night I said to her, "Mrs. X you
> really don't have anything to confess and
> there isn't anyone around here tonight so
> lets just sit in the back pew and talk."
> This we did.
> In a round about way I told her that I had
> heard she had bootlegged in the past and why
> had she never confessed that to me. She
> said, "What for. All I did was keep boarders.
> I cooked meals for them, cleaned their rooms
> and washed their clothes. Now included in
> the board was a drink with dinner and supper
> if they wanted but only one drink. So then
> if they wanted more I gave them as many as
> they wanted and they paid for it so now
> what is so bad about that. It was only a
> fair and honest deal. If they brought a
> friend home I treated them the same. I am
> quite sure God knows thats not bootlegging.
> (Interview 26, Summer/72, Male)

while another respondent went on to most convincingly implicate

the members of the dominant society as the actual offenders:

> The English begged you to sell them some
> homemade wine. They didn't know how to
> make good wine but we did and so sometimes
> we sold it to them, especially during the
> depression when things were bad. So was
> it really wrong? The English made the law
> then they turned around and came to the
> foreigner asking him to break it. They
> went out of their way, only to break their
> own rule. They were the hypocrites and
> criminals not us.
> (Interview 47, Spring/73, Female)

This then was the Hungarians own subjective plea of

"not guilty" to his delinquent crime. According to the data

presented it appears that all depends on just how the individual

looks at the entire situation and the foreigners do seem to have

their own way of looking at certain issues. Their rationaliza-
tions, moreover, seem sound enough to warrant an impressive
defense of their position. Yet due to these imputative conflicts
of interest, which produces neither winner or loser, the two
groups stubbornly continue to present their own personal views,
and hence simply encourage perpetuation of the grounds for
the social distance between them. In summary, with regard to
the social mores then, it is apparent that each group has its
pride and unless the polarized and/or hypocritical positions
were clarified so as to facilitate mediation, the social
cultural rift between the two societies remained.

Crisis Contact

Nevertheless, changes in time and in circumstances
commanded that each group make an effort to understand the
other as the social cultural gap widened and narrowed. One
agent which aided in the bringing of the individual groups closer
together was the Second World War. As one entrepreneur explained
its merging role:

> One of the reasons for this close group
> (ingroup) cohesion was probably the
> simple reason that we all understood the
> language (Hungarian) the customs and life
> style so we flocked together. Besides the
> English people were a bit cold to us. We
> were looked down upon as peasants and
> really many of us were, yet you know we
> were trying to better ourselves but....
> before long the English had to bend a
> little. I'll tell you how such a thing
> came about through the grocery business.
> You see during the war there were ration
> coupons. Now the English were very fond
> of tea, beef, butter, and preserves (jams
> etc.) In fact no one could ever supply

them with enough of any of these items.
The Hungarians on the other hand had a
great need for sugar. This they required
to put away preserves to bake and to make
wine. As a result the two groups would
trade coupons (ration coupons) which not
only satisfied individual needs but also
set up a means of communication. The
Hungarians and English not only learnt
each others way of life but they also came
to be more tolerant of each others short-
comings. Now being dependent upon each
other for fulfillment of their own individual
needs, they had to learn to respect one
another a little more. The English came to
admire the foreigners ability to preserve
their own jams and jellies, their versatile
ability to prepare unrationed poultry and
thus save their beef coupons to increase
their reservoir (for tradeable coupons). In
fact they proved to the English that really
they were more efficient. They had their
cake and ate it too for the English were
dependent upon the Hungarians for more goods
than the Hungarians needed from the English.
(Interview 5, Fall/71, Male)

The points to be emphasized here are that certain crisis

situations external to both the dominant and minority group may

strip the whole of the society of its fabricated societal

differences thus setting all the members of the society on

equal grounds, which in turn necessitates mutual recognition

and respect of fellow citizens as they combine forces in

achieving reparation of the trying situation. In this neutral

situation both groups accidently or coincidently share equally

the responsibility of seeing to the survival of the entire

community. This interaction helps decrease the intensity of

the negative definitions one group may hold of the other and

thus aids in the drawing of them closer together.

However, there is a very subtle aside in the above

quote. Granted the Hungarians and English overcame a crisis
as a joint force but despite all, the minority group members
had won their own informal battle. They had just proven
themselves "more efficient" in the crisis situation;

> "the English were dependent upon the
> Hungarians for more goods than the
> Hungarians needed from the English"
> (Interview 5, Fall/71, Male)

As a result, they were left with the impression that not only
could they equal the English but they could surpass them as
well. Consequently this experience or interlude of togetherness
proved to the Hungarians the fact that they had all the
chauvinistic reason in the world to be and remain what they
were "Hungarians". Even though the circumstances had helped
minimize previous barriers of prejudice and discrimination, it
also presented the occasion for the minority group members to
increase the saliency of their ingroup identity.

Another example which parallels somewhat closely to
the war crisis is that which may be referred to as the politics
crisis. Despite their shortcomings with respect to their
active role in Canadian politics, the Hungarians did impress
those in power in a round about way with their intense conviction
to protect "the democracy" they admittedly enjoyed in their land
of choice. In explanation, it had been the personal vindetta
of many Hungarians within Kolonia to purge the ethnic community
of any "real communist" they might discover and to protect the
members of the group from any "pink" insurgents. The Hungarians
strict sensitivity to this issue was rooted deeply in their past

history and at this point it is sufficient to say that with
alternative crisis which arose in Hungary some of the migrants
to Canada were pro, marginal or anti communists. As a result,
when ingroup unrest occurred due to internal personal ingroup
differences with regard to politics, the members of the ethnic
community regarded the conflict as effectively arrested only
if they were to be the administrators of their own ingroup
version of "law and order". This meant immediate elimination
of any active pro-communist force. The reiteration of the
following incident which occurred in the sixties illustrates
in detail the occurrance of the above mentioned and how, in fact,
it was an accommodative agent which had positive effects with
regard to ingroup-outgroup relationships and a further strengthening
of ethnic identity.

It had been a few years since the 1956 revolution in
Hungary and the inflow of anti communists was overwhelming.
Readily apparent was the great psychological scar suffered by
the Hungarians in their dealings with the Communist regime.
Their extreme ulcerous hate had been initially quieted by the
compensating belief that here in Canada they would find a
sanctuary independent of the political oppression of Hungary.
On the contrary, they soon discovered that periodically old
memories were actually resurrected by the actions of the
Hungarian pro-communists or socialists of the community. One
of the more intense confrontations occurred when a middle
aged Hungarian gentleman returned to Canada from a visit to the

old country. He was quoted in the local newspaper as having
said that the communist had done much to improve the country
(Hungary) and that life was much better now for those left
there. Obviously this was more than the majority of anti
communists could tolerate; especially those who had arrived in
1956. Before long it was the topic of conversation in the
community with the most revengeful expressions of personal
bitterness aired in the common meeting place of the Hungarian
men; a local hotel. As a result of such heated discussions,
it wasn't long before the said gentleman was found beaten and
lying in a ditch. Those patriotic Hungarians fearing for the
general safety of the group had apparently reached a consensus
as to what should be done. Momentarily ignoring the fact that
they had entertained a collision with the law of the society at
large by illegally assuming retributive responsibilities, these
Hungarians felt that it was their duty and privilege to silence
the stirring in the best possible manner. It should be noted
as well that this was not a hysterical response to a threatening
situation; those involved were quite aware of their position and
the possible consequences. As the informant stated in retrospect,
so that he might reassure the researcher of the conspiracy's
assuredness of its position:

> Don't worry he (the beaten man) knew who beat
> him up and why. But he didn't dare tell the
> police because he knew he would have gotten
> it again. Those boys made their point, he
> won't make a statement like that again. You
> know he used to drink at the hotel regularly
> but he doesn't dare set his foot inside now.
> (Interview 50, Fall/71, Male)

These Hungarians had effectively made their point and cautioned the ethnic community as to what was acceptable, as well as, non acceptable behavior in the transplanted society. As for their uninhibited practice of being and believing in themselves as reflected in their exhibition of initiative in regulating threatening events, the members of the dominant society saw them as an asset to maintenance of a free and democratic Canada. By "sheer coincidence," the Hungarians were accommodated as informants to law enforcement agencies. They were to report suspected communists; the potential threat to their respected democracy.

In this way then both the dominant society and the majority of Hungarians had informally reached a compromise with respect to controlling favourable politics. They both further realized that at various levels there were those social elements they valued that were the same. Here the rift between the societies was bridged with both gaining stability from their joint efforts to ward off a "common enemy". Moreover, the Hungarians seem to have risen above the event sporting yet another feather in their cap. In actuality this crisis, which was originally an internal crisis of the Hungarians and taken care of initially with no outside help, helped prove once again that the Hungarians were autonomous in some areas. Having the dominant society come and ultimately ask them for a helping hand gave the ethnic group yet another booster shot in warding off the thought of assimilation and in maintaining an ethnic identity once again strongly reinforced.

The blending of the two cultures then seems to demand
certain pre-requisites; a crisis situation; external or
internal, but one which proves to be a common denominator to
both societies, as well as, neutralization of former differences
with both societies regarding as top priority rectification of
the situation. If these factors are present then a more
credible accommodative compromise may take place which proves
equally satisfying to both parties involved, especially the
minority group which then revels in the added prestige associated
with their ingroup identity.

There is an epilogue to this phenomenon, however, which
proves just as interesting. When circumstances are not
conducive to the blending of cultures as under crisis situations,
then the relationship between the groups is altered once again.
There is a redefining of the mode of interaction between the
dominant and minority groups, as well as, another sequence to the
process of reconstructing an ingroup identity amongst the
Hungarians. In illustrating this, the reader will recall the
work situations of the ethnics discussed in Chapter III. They
seemed to be suffering from what may be coined an "occupational
lag" until the beginning of World War II. It appeared that up
until that time the "British bosses" could always find some
reason why a foreigner shouldn't get a promotion; either his
English wasn't too good, or he didn't have enough experience or
he didn't have the proper trade papers. Only when the war made
pressing demands upon the English run factories were jobs

easily available to the Hungarians and their true capabilities adequately recognized. As was previously stated in the thesis, it was then that the ethnics were granted positions of authority and specialized trades as the labor force mushroomed with the need for a twenty four hour work day. Again a crisis had neutralized the discriminating social situation and both groups were willing to recognize the other's ability to contribute a worthwhile effort to arrest a common crisis. Such a crisis had minimized the dominant society's discrimination and this provided the opportunity for minority groups to be exposed to some very effective encouragement with regards to a more responsible and respectable role in society. Once this step forward had been achieved, the foreigners were not eager to loose the ground gained. As long as the war continued, there was no question as to the society's dependency upon them but what was to happen afterwards. As the respondents explained their predicament:

> The English really aren't as sincere as
> the European people. They always have
> this thing about being better than
> foreigners.
> (Interview 12, Summer/72, Male)

Consequently the Hungarians feared that if the dominant society saw their upward mobility as a threat, then perhaps the English might limit or even renounce the promotions granted them in the labour force.

Their safety valve in this instance was the up and coming second generation "marginal men" of the ethnic community. In the factories, if the members of this generation were not

skilled labour in the plants working along side of the landed

immigrant,then they were white collar workers in managerial or

administrative positions; all very aware of the need to guarantee

their people of job security. This is how one second generation

offspring mirrored his marginal position in the work situation.

> Mr. K. a second generation Hungarian told
> me that he was in the labor union at his
> plant where he was employed and that with
> his knowledge (extension education B.A.)
> he could protect himself, as well as co-
> workers (other Hungarians and ethnics)
> against those young guys who come in and
> through throwing a lot of big economic
> terms around are trying to make you believe
> that they know it all. He said he didn't
> trust anyone there in the total sense and
> that even the older Hungarians who worked
> there and were near retirement always came
> to him to verify anything that the other
> people in charge had said. As well, he
> explained that a great number of Hungarians
> who were pensioned off still came to him if
> they had any questions about their retirement
> benefits.
> (Interview 1, Winter/71, Male)

It seems that in spite of the fact that there are

channels of communication provided by the management, the

members of the group prefer to double check their situation by

consulting one of their own knowledgeable members of the group.

Intergroup behavior between the dominant and minority group

could be labelled here as "skeptical accommodation"; an apparent

resolution of the conflict has been implemented in order that

the social order might be maintained, however, all contenders

do not give the impression of being mutually satisfied with the

ethnic group expressing their uncertainty in an ethnocentric

fashion.

Suggested here is the idea that once the crisis common to both the groups is removed then once again both societies return to the former master and bondsman type of social situation. Circumstances are altered a bit though, as the dominant society may fear the formerly proven potential of the minority yet the minority itself is cohesively prepared to defend themselves against the anticipated intimidation of the dominant society as suggested in the work situation. This results in further grounds for an ethnocentric redefinition of the rift between the two societies and an introduction as well as employment of ethnically defined marginal men.

Residential Contact

This "game of social checkers" is refuted even in residential distribution of Hungarians at the research site. It was for similar reasons of social insecurity that the Hungarians (particularly the landed immigrants who were ambivilant concerning the dominant society's sincerity in accepting the minority group members as social-cultural equals), decided generally to maintain an obvious social distance and therefore, hesitated to take up residences in "the better parts of town". They initially refused to consider being next door neighbours to the English on the aesthetic "west bank", even though they could well afford it. The minority was satisfied to subjectively rationalize their isolation:

> why move on to the other side of the canal,
> its people like us who hold the mortgages
> on the English houses on the West bank and
> on Snob Hill.
> (Interview 51, Summer/72, Female)

It was mainly the second generation and "56" refugees who
ventured into this territory looking for housing accommodation.
Yet even they apparently sought out other Hungarian acquaint-
ances in relocating (reference map II) thus generally settling
in close proximity to one another. It almost seems that these
residentially mobile Hungarians actually desire some nearby
source of sympathetic moral support in light of the discri-
mination they might face having entered W.A.S.P. territory.
There could very well be truth in this, for as one respondent
related such an incidence:

> The Hungarian people don't wander too far
> away from their little nucleous on the
> east side. Everything is here on this
> side, their churches, social center, their
> hotel, pool room and stores. You do have
> the certain group of Hungarians moving on
> over to the other side, usually the well to
> do, professional, doctors, judges, business
> people but even some of these people are
> bothered, so I hear anyway. We had some
> friends move over there and their English
> neighbours couldn't get over the fact that
> a foreigner could save up enough money to
> afford a house on that side. So all my
> friend said was that not only did a foreigner
> have the freedom to live on the west side
> if he liked but he also could afford it, in
> fact, he could pay for it all together and not
> have to carry a mortgage like all the English
> people. Like he said if there is anyone with
> a right to live on the west side it is the
> foreigner because he is the one who can
> rightfully afford to do so.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Female)

Knowing that at least the other Hungarians across the way shared
your sentiments when engaged in such a confrontation may have
made marginal acclimatization a bit easier.

Reinforcement Contact

This barraging of the "foreigner" with what might be
termed mild insults wasn't to end with residential prejudice.
It goes on even today as the Hungarians are exposed to pointed
"ethnophaulisms". (Rose, 1961:102-6) Whether purposely employed
to keep the "Hunkie" in his place or not, they convey an indirect
means of social control. As one respondent described it:

> ...at work the other ethnic groups play
> upon a Hungarian stereotype. At work
> they ask me where I was going for my
> holiday. I told them I was taking the
> Hungarian holiday and they knew what I
> meant. It means that I intended to paint,
> fix and repair my properties. The fellows
> in the plant know that a number of Hungarians
> have or may own other property or properties
> and this is a good opportunity to put every-
> thing in shape.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Male)

According to my informant:

> overall, there was a strong ingroup identity
> even amongst the second generation offsprings.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Male)

and this type of joking helped maintain it.

However, my respondents usually found ways of neutralizing
ethnic jokes and this helped reinforce ones identity with their
ethnic group once again. In the case mentioned above the
respondent concluded his remarks regarding the "Hungarian
holiday" episode by saying:

> Underlying this all is really a wee bit of
> jealousy of others toward Hungarians but
> this is how the world is.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Male)

Without a doubt this could be labelled the latter half of a
"self fulfilling ethnic identification" cycle.

Personal Ingroup Contact

There is, however, one other realm which subsidizes a
Hungarian-Canadian identity; the Hungarians own personal
ingroup contacts. Suffering from a "skepticism" regarding their
equal status in Canadian society, it may be this very element
of an ingroup-outgroup insecurity which is responsible for the
greater number of Hungarians adopting only various non commital
elements of Canadian society. For example, the Canadian version
of formal dress is sported by the more accommodated Hungarians
but then again worn mainly to Hungarian sponsored events where
all wine, dine, sing dance and socialize in style. It seems
that even yet the landed immigrant and mature second generation
Hungarians are still dubious about fully abandoning the
transported and recultivated cutlure of an old world for that
of the new. Some blending may occur but apparently it is very
discreet.

Those serious hints of apparent assimilation appear
prominent in mainly the younger second and third generational
offsprings. Their form, however, is most subtle. There is
the young Hungarian pigtailed girl who performs the first baton
twirling exhibition at the Hungarian Kossuth Camp's Summer Picnic,
winning the heart of young and old who marvel at the Hungarian
girls talent to execute a "Canadian sport".

The "pidgin" Hungarian (Bernolak, Boyd, Hall, Kaye,
Kosa, McFaul, Rosenberg, Seywerd, 1955:23-29) spoken by the
youngsters is a conspicuously poorer version of the landed

immigrants' which is itself already a limited compromise between

their original language and elements of their "Canadian

experience". In the case of the landed immigrants, they

became acquainted:

> with many new things unknown in the old
> villages. Since they had no Hungarian
> words for them they picked up and used
> English words such as car, picture (movie)
> fridge (refrigerator) shortening, cheque
> and many others.
> (Bernolak, Boyd, Hall, Kaye, Kosa, McFaul,
>   Rosenberg, Seywerd, 1955:24-25)

The younger generations, on the other hand however, have gone

one step further. They habitually make up half English half

Hungarian words and substitute them while speaking Hungarian.

This practice occurs mainly with regards to the verbs used.

One might say in Hungarian that he is "going to pick" someone

up with the "car" and employ here a newly coined word "pickolem";

meaning I will pick up. A hint of the Hungarian vs. English tug

of war comes then to the forefront.

Again, amongst the young females there is a tendency to

take advantage of the "new and instant" items on the food market

thus encouraging dissipation of the intricate culinary art of

Hungarian cooking. For some, the Hungarian dishes are becoming

more of a specialty treat made only on certain occasions such

as Christmas and Easter or when one has "lots of time" as they

are tedious with regard to preparations. The ethnic barriers

to eventual integration into the mainstream of society appear

for the first time to be weakening under the pressure of the

dominant culture.

Perhaps the best indicator of this potential up and coming fragmentation of the group was an observation made by the researcher at the Hungarians One Thousand Year Jubilee Celebrations. The program proper began with singing of the Hungarian National Anthem and it closed with O Canada.

> I noted that only the elderly Hungarians
> and younger adults (30-45 years) sang
> along to the Hungarian Anthem. The rest
> of those attending, the children and
> second generation Canadian born Hungarians
> didn't join in; they didn't know the words
> to the song. When it came time to sing
> O Canada the situation was reversed. This
> time around only the younger people; (i.e.)
> second generation offsprings of the landed
> immigrants and the freedom fighters children
> sang the national anthem. The older people
> didn't join in for they didn't know the words.
> (Aside, Interview 8, Summer/72)

In spite of the fact that all were present because of their identification with their ethnic group, for the younger people their ethnicity may be becoming more vaguely defined; possibly their identity with the group is more nostalgic than definitive and it is this makeshift element which attracts them to the events.

However, less the researcher speak too quickly, this may not be a very objective interpretation of the exact direction of Hungarian ethnicity as it applies to the group in Kolonia. Other Hungarians of the community have presented similar diagnoses in the past only to be proven incorrect for extraneous reasons. Having been well acquainted with the groups activities prior to this specific research, it is possible for the researcher to point out the developments over the years which have sustained

the ethnic identity.

As any Hungarian will readily admit, the Hungarian community always was and still is buzzing with some type of activity. If it wasn't the case of a new wave immigrants arriving to restimulate the group, it was someone sponsoring a relative to come over or their journeying home to the old country themselves. In any event consequent to such contact, patrons of the ethnic group were never lacking and so therefore, neither was the means of cultural recharge, if by chance the community had momentarily weakened and was in need of it. Greatly complementing the community life in this manner was the 56 revolution in Hungary which insured the groups effervescence with a strong recruitment of fellow Hungarians.

It was the presence of this group of new arrivals that helped revitalize the community on three levels. First, of all the '56 refugees brought new members into the community which accepted the demanding responsibility of rejuvenating the Hungarians formal institutions. Secondly, they reactivated to its full capacity, the informal group structure and thirdly, due to their arrival, interaction and dependency upon the group the '56 immigrants very unawares re-educated the younger second and third generation Hungarians with regard to their past history, culture and language. The personal crisis from without, the revolution in this case, drew those within the group ever closer together.

This revitalizing shot of immigrants was, without a doubt,

restoration of an, at times, apparently eclipsing community
life. Constantly adding to this process of reinforcement of
the ethnic community's purpose for existence as well, were
the external,as well as,internal new and old issues which were
constantly being raised, discussed and acted upon. Following
the last major crisis of '56 were the floods in Hungary in the
60's which again turned the community's attention to Europe.
The Hungarians aid and support were once more sought by their
relatives at home and they complied. Then there were the
special events like the debut of those few Hungarians who had
managed to slip over the border post 1956 and who reaffirmed
the validity of the Hungarian-Canadians' struggles here in
Canada to maintain their ethnicity as the Communists at home
were smothering the true Hungarian identity based on their long
rich social historical heritage.

With the minority's patriotism for pre '56 Hungary so
positively reinforced, the Hungarian Canadians took the trouble
to organize a reunion in 1966 to celebrate commemoration of the
uprising of 1956. With the horror stories mentally relived
for those who experienced them, and retold to those not present
at the scene of the revolution, all of the community was and is
still left with yet another imprint as to what it means to be
of Hungarian stock.

To complement these events even further, in the fall of
1973 Cardinal Mindzenti, the once active Roman Catholic Primate
of Hungary spoke in Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto. He was the

same man who had spoken to Hungarians of Kolonia in their own
church years previously and he delivered relatively the same
message. Reminding the Hungarians of the ugliness of Communism,
he urged the people to forgive the intruders for they obviously
didn't realize what they had done. He stated that it was the
responsibility of the Hungarian-Canadians to see to it through
prayers and deeds that all Hungarians might someday be freed.

Due to recurring major ethnocentric appeals such as
these, the bond of Hungarian heritage is very difficult to break.
Moreover, those, especially the young,who attempt to renounce
their ethnicity are seen as suffering from simple growing pains
and are quickly reminded of their ascribed status. As one
parent reminded his offspring who argued:

> No I am not Hungarian, I was born here in
> Canada and I am not Hungarian but Canadian.
>
> You have Hungarian blood running in your
> veins and that will never change. Besides
> the Indians are the only true Canadians
> and besides the census will list you as
> Hungarian only.
> (Interview 12, Winter/72, Male)

Even the weak links in the ethnic chain will find it difficult
to avoid the soldering effects of personal ingroup contacts.

In summary then, we have seen how varying contacts are
encouraging pre requisites to the construction of a Hungarian-
identity in Canada. An attempt to put forth a summary outline
of the process as it occurs amongst the Hungarians of Kolonia
leaves us with the following conclusions. Although at one time
a persons ethnicity may have been simply defined as the human
environment in which one breathed and functioned (Gordon, 1964:28)

now, we have to understand the possibility that as migrating

individuals may alter their human environment so also, may they

alter their ethnic identity. The man who re-roots himself in

a new setting discovers quite readily that he defines himself,

at present, in joint accordance with both the vagaries of his

ascribed historical heritage and with the new experiences he

entertains as a newcomer acclimatizing to his achieved land

of choice. (Gordon, 1964:19-29)

　　　　With regard to the process proper, the datum indicates

the following major points. Considering a possible model

unveiled here, there are two categories of contacts which dictate

various elements which contribute to the creation of a Hungarian

identity and the maintenance of it; the ingroup-outgroup contact

and the personal ingroup contact. The former in itself

represents eight types of sub contracts: the Ideological and

Reality Contact, Culture Shock Contact, Casual Contact,

Competitive Contact, Critical Contact, Residential Contact, and

Reinforcement Contact while the latter represents other more general

sub-contacts: the relatively confined ingroup network of

social-cultural interaction which extends to and through both

the Canadian and the Hungarian nations. Also, evolving in

association with these contacts is a potential pattern for the

redefinition of ethnicity and maintenance of a remodelled identity.

In spite of the fact that the progression as such may be of

token applicability to other ethnic groups, it may prove worth-

while to recapitulate the dominant themes so that cross cultural

comparisons may be undertaken.

The Hungarian experience in Canada suggests that the basic requirement for the process to even begin is placement of a minority group within the boundaries of an already superimposed host society. Apparently the exposure of the immigrant to the disillusioning "superordinate-subordinate" milieu (Ideological and Reality Contact) encourages the minority's establishment of an ethnic enclave. (Culture Shock Contact). This, in turn, immediately furnishes the dominant society with a readily discernable collectivity upon which to further found a superficial and negative stereotype of the outgroup. However in separating itself from the main, the ethnic group also gains its own vantage point. From their own little corner of the world, the Hungarians confidently regroup forces so that they might mutually sustain the physical as well as social cultural rift between the two societies. (Competitive Contact, Conflictive Contact)

Aware now that the dominant society, its "institutional structure" (Gordon, 1964:29) and its "set of built in social and psychological categories" (Gordon, 1964:29) are equipped "to place him", (Gordon, 1964:29) the foreigner realizes the near impossibility of materializing his initial ideal. It is erroneous to believe that one can strip himself of his original ancestrial cloak of ethnicity, streak into another society and garb himself entirely in a surrogate "future-oriented" (Gordon, 1964:29) identity. What really happens is that consequent to the occasions for contact so far experienced, the minority, as a whole, discovers itself faced with a re-cultivation of their

ethnicity which, under the contact circumstances, has only become

more important to them as members of a new "human environment".

In essence, they find it the perfect opportunity to maximize

their ethnicity rather than minimize it.

It is the intermittent internal and external crisis

(critical contact) which coincidently or accidently and somewhat

contradictorally bridges the two societies together. Under the

pressure of these crisis circumstances which affects the parties

jointly, both the dominant and minority groups momentarily

disregard their differences and meet on equal grounds to merge

their efforts in overcoming the troubles of the time. The

spontaneous neutrality of the social situation gives both groups

the opportunity to come to know each other better and the primary

result of such an interaction is a decrease in the intensity of

negative definitions held on behalf of one for the other. This

modestly narrows then the social-cultural rift between them and,

at least by this point, there is a common understanding that

each side is approachable. The two groups know now they can

share a common ground in that there are various things in life

they both value and would fight for; freedom and democracy have

indubitably proven themselves such elements.

Yet, this blending of the two groups goes only so far

for there are major drawbacks deterring a complete diffusion

of the societies. It is important to remember that any credit

of respectability earned by the ethnic group throughout the

crisis contact has been so achieved under an ingroup banner

rather than that of an Anglo conformed new Canadian. Consequently,

the Hungarians have become even more ethnocentric as they feel
it an even greater compliment to be associated with the one-time
"underdogs" of society; the subordinates, who have finally made
it on their own. Having no desire to abandon this prestigeous
ethnic group, the minority group members share in the prevading
ingroup pride of an upgraded self-image.

Still, prohibiting them from complete relaxation with
their Hungarian identity in Canadian society is a latent fear
of what those various powerful English might do if they nurture
a jaundice eye with regard to the professed and upwardly mobile
ethnics. The Hungarians realize that in the past their full
worth had been conveniently ignored until emergency times forced
recognition of them (as in the labor force) and now that they
have achieved recognition, via attainment of reputable occupational
positions, they believed they might be seen as a potential threat
by "others". At this stage their eagerness, as well as, efficient
resourcefulness and skill has become well known and the Hungarians
do not want it jeopardized. In order to insure themselves
against any possible discriminating discontent, the minority
group utlizes such safety valves as the second generation
marginal man who is to blaze a liason trail between the two
societies thus guaranteeing minority rights.

This skeptical accommodation is reflected in the
cautious intermingling of the two groups even today. (Residential
Contact) Though both the dominant and minority societies have
become more dilute in their interactions, the ethnics still has

definite reservations. In so being, the stage is set once more for a somewhat altered but still relatively discernable collectivity, which lends itself once more as a "they" group for "we" of the society. The stereotype (Reinforcement Contact) expressed this time is indicative of the minority's status progress in the main and the fact the minority ethnocentrically defends this position once again aids us in recognizing that the circuit of construction of an ethnic identity and maintenance of it has not only been completed but re-run. The varying contacts are obviously regular and recurring.

Adding to the nurturing of a Hungarian identity and favoring the "ancestral" segment of it (Gordon, 1964:29) is the ingroup network of contact with other Hungarians, as well as, ingroup events here and abroad. (Personal Ingroup Contact) This type of personal ingroup interaction feeds the ethnocentrism so prominent in Hungarian Canadians and actually gives yet another purpose for maintenance of their ethnicity. There is a need to enjoy help and protect, as well as, defend others of their kind. With this ingroup interdependency then, there is expected on the behalf of every Hungarian a realization of their role in an international community; with the Hungarians of Kolonia a sub-group of the Hungarian Canadian Chapter.

This then is the way in which an immigrating ethnic group has transplanted itself in a new society, re-created a legacy and so far maintained it with the help of the following generations in hope that those of the future will take pride in it as well. Having partially lost the original "polestar

that gave them their bearings" (Handlin, 1951:94) and unable
to acclimatize to a Canadian surrogate, the Hungarians very
meticulously redesigned and reconstructed with well blended
lines of tradition and modernization, a Hungarian ethnic
identity which up until the present appears very secure.

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This is our country now and we
have to do what we can to live as
Hungarians here.
   (Interview 12, Winter/72, Male).

STATUS VALUES, STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY:
A MEANS OF MAINTAINING ETHNOCENTRISM

Introduction

> So you see we are coming up in status and
> the important thing to remember is that it
> is happening to the group as a whole.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Female).

As suggested above in the respondent's statement, success,

status and mobility are important elements in the lives of

Kolonian's Hungarians. Related datum indicates that there

has developed, overtime, within this particular group, a

somewhat complicated and covert system of social stratification

based on values borrowed from both the Canadian and Hungarian

societies. The apparent mechanisms vital to its maintenance

are the ingroup's sib system: family (Kosa 1957:13)[1] and

seemingly an extension of it which, ultimately, incorporates

the ethnic group as a whole. Members have become acutely aware

of one anothers evaluative position along the ingroup hierarchy,

with respondents reporting a sharing of both ingroup successes

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[1] Sib System: (Kosa 1957:13) Kosa notes "that the word family
has two meanings in Hungarian. It connotes first, the unity
of parents and children. In a second meaning, it described
the sib, that is, a wide circle of relatives which includes
aunts, uncles, cousins, sometimes a very remote degree, in laws
with their families and, as an essential part, godparents with
their families. All members of the sib are called "relatives",
although many of them are not related by blood. The Hungarian
language has different names to denote "sib" (csalad, atyafisag,
memzetzeg, rokonsag, had, sogorsag, Komasag), but family is the
word used most generally.

and failures. It is due primarily to the complementary existence
of both these systems then; the stratification,as well as,the
sib; including the extended form, that there becomes evident
within Kolonia a contemporary version of Hungarian ethnocentrism.
This extended breeding ground for further ethnocentrism; an
extrapolated "culture-bound and ingroup centered frame of
reference", (Rose, 1964:73) encourages once again ingroup
cohesion, indirectly insuring then the simultaneous survival of
the community.

John Kosa (1957) in his study of the Hungarians of
Southern Ontario reports generally upon these themes of the
stratification of Hungarians and the employment of a sib system.
He discusses adequately the evolution of the system of
stratification, yet, rather limitedly, the role of the sib
system. He makes no mention of any opinion regarding a possible
"vicarious" status amongst ingroup members (Huber ed., 1973:
Papanek:90-110) He choses quite abruptly to culminate his
presentation with an insertion of a predicted fate of doom for
not only "the systems" themselves but for the Hungarian people
as well.

However, in brief comparison, Kolonia 1972/75 although
it does verify Kosa's report in part, it also provides a wealth
of added information which proves optimistic. Kolonia does
operate upon a dual system of stratification which incorporates
the services of a sib system as Kosa say but exactly how this
occurs is revealed by the respondents of the research site.
They expound upon both elements to such an extreme that the

intricate workings of the system of stratification become
clearer, the role of the sib extremely and extensively explicit,
the supplementary issue of shared status informative and the
relevance of Kosa's predictions challenged, at least for the
moment in light of what is revealed by analysis of the datum.

The purposes of this chapter then are to review the
associated literature as presented by Kosa (1957) with additional
support derived from the works of Beynon (1934, 1936), to outline
Kosa's findings complementing the areas of interest and to
reflect the applicability of Kosa's data, as well as, his
predictions by describing analyzing and summarizing the comparable
situation in Kolonia 1972/75.

History of the Social Stratification of Hungarians

John Kosa in his text Land of Choice (1957) states that
"a particular social stratification has been built up by the
Hungarian group in Canada which mingles both Hungarian and
Canadian traits (Kosa, 1957:36) Both he and Beynon recognize
that the contribution of the old country began with the passing
of Article IX of the Hungarian Reform Bill of 1848. In aboloshing
serfdom, this bill was responsible for changing "the stratification
of Hungarian society from a hereditary to a functional basis
although the latter has its roots in the hereditary stratification
of the past." (Beynon, 1936:424) Reported is the consequent
creation of four principal classes each of which has several
subclasses; namely: the Peasant Agriculturalists and urban
laborers, the Specialists in trade and industry, the intelligensia

and the land owning aristocracy (Beynon 1936:424). Kosa

describes the new ideology complementary to this post-1848

society as one which combines the monetary goals of the feudal

system encouraging financial competition and also equally

important other moral values intrinsically shared by the ethnic

society at large. The latter were explicitly described by an

American; Tom Hawkins who returned to Hungary in 1936 to work

land he was to inherit from his Hungarian grandfather.

> I am sure you understand how I felt, confronted
> with all these strange customs of a new
> environment so entirely different from the one
> I was used to. The life of the Hungarian
> gentleman in those days was something we
> Americans couldn't even envision. Most of us
> would be tempted to call it ridiculous, backward
> medieval or something of the sort. Most of us
> I said. I don't. I just call it different.
> For I have learned since then many little secrets
> that held the old world together. The many
> secrets that held the old world together. The
> many secrets which were hidden behind the
> elaborate exterior, the formality. Things that
> did not meet the eye but nonetheless were there
> in the hearts and souls of men. Things that were
> based on much higher human values than our world
> today is capable and willing to recognize. These
> values were decency, loyalty, responsibility,
> respect, affection and the unlimited trust in
> the interdependency of human relations.
> (Wass   :18)

Kosa trys to adequately familiarize us with the actual workings

of this new ideology by comparing it to the American ideal.

> In America competition centers around monetary
> goals, and financial success represents the self
> realization of the individual. Hungarian society
> on the other hand acknowledged many other than
> financial goals of competition. Many people with-
> drew from the financial competition and achieved
> prestige through excellence in some other fields.
> A penniless count with a gentlemanly behavior or
> a poverty stricken poet with literary achievements
> often had a greater prestige than a business

> executive. The effects of such a social system
> can be easily recognized in the career of the
> immigrants.
>   (Kosa, 1957:36)

As Kosa saw it, Western society based social status on mainly

three variables "income, wealth and prestige"[2] (Kosa, 1957:36)

The Hungarian society however, based its social status not only

on income wealth and prestige but also on an esteem[3] granted

for the faithful fulfillment of personal etiquette rules

ascribed a status, which may be collectively referred to as

one's intrinsic or moral values.

According to Kosa, then, the immigrants who left for

Canada mentally transported with them this altered value system

which had been developed for their new post 1848 social system

and its relative means of social stratification. Upon arrival

to Canada, the Hungarians eventually blended this European based

ideology of social stratification with that of their land of

choice thus creating "an intricate social system." (Kosa, 1957:

36-43) As Kosa attempts to define the ultimate commixture of

systems; "the Hungarians brought from the old country certain

patterns of class structure, and when they struck it rich in

Canada these patterns flourished. Wealth, which is the basis

for this class differentiation, is determined by the Canadian

economic situation, but the manifestation of the class system,

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[2]Prestige: the approval that comes with having a position,
i.e. approval attached to the position and not to the degree
of faithfulness in performing its duties is called prestige.

[3]Esteem: the kind of approval that comes with the faithful
fulfillment of the duties of a position.
(Bendix, Lipset, ed., 1973: Kingsley Davis:61).

such as etiquette can be traced to its sources in Hungary".
(Kosa, 1957:36)

As complicated as the process may seem at first, Kosa
attempts to explain as much of it as he can, believing that it
may be understood in the context of the immigrants' situation
in their new home. Kosa points out that once in Canada, the
Hungarian immigrants learnt that they were all "equal"; the
Hungarian group in Ontario was homogeneously poor, hard pressed
by the crisis, drudging in temporary jobs hit by unemployment
and lacking savings" (Kosa, 1957:29) The majority of the
Hungarian community were economically and occupationally together
in a low prestige position. Nevertheless, as Kosa further reports,
it was the war boom which brought relief to the prolonged
economic plight of these new arrivals. From this point on the
majority of ethnics rose in rank from the common station of
poverty stricken foreigner and "moved fast toward a stable
social integration".(Kosa, 1957:29)

Stratification by Financial Classes

Consequent to the war time opportunity of amassing
economic securities, there became apparent within the ethnic
group "three financial classes" (Kosa, 1957:24) The first of
these was the "well to do". (Kosa, 1957:24) Kosa stereotypes
individuals associated with this class as those persons who
became wealthy tobacco farmers or urban dwellers. Some of these
people had invested their money in real estate purchasing large
tracks of land in the Delhi, Simcoe area of Southern Ontario;

while others had obtained houses and/or businesses in the cities.

Kosa attributes the "well to dos" success to the loyal wife who

either worked along side her husband or subsidized the family

income with a second cheque, the committed sib: family and

relatives who offered physical and monetary support if necessary

and the basic drive to succeed no matter what.

> Strange as it may sound the semi feudal social
> system of Hungary brought to life keen competition.
> The peasants of the village were constantly vying
> for social gains. It was regarded a "virtue" to
> "outdo" other people of similar standing and a
> successful person "bestowed honor" upon his entire
> sib. This old country mentality could be easily
> transplanted into Canadian surroundings and it
> worked as a social pressure upon many members of
> the ethnic group.
> (Kosa, 1957:25)

Yet the goals of achievement, subsidized by sib support and

encouraged by informal pressures from the family, did not

necessarily limit the means of achievement. As Beynon notes:

> The rise of former peasant agriculturalists
> into skilled trades and forms of business has
> been accomplished largely by means of "elevators"
> by means of which these individuals "have gone up"
> into occupations which appear more desirable than
> unskilled labor or peasant agriculture to the
> Hungarian immigrant group. In the case of several
> who made a very satisfactory adjustment, the
> illicit sale of liquor served as such an elevator,
> lifting the individual from unskilled labor into
> an occupation which gave him greater status.
> Butchers, hardware merchants, undertakers, druggists
> and others began their occupational career in
> America as unskilled laborers. In time they opened
> up "candy stores" or saloons. Out of the profit
> secured from the illicit sale of liquor these
> individuals were able to invest in some legitimate
> business. (Beynon, 1934:609)

Regardless of which road the immigrant took to achieve success,

the fact remains that as opportunists in a land of possibilities,

various of the new comers did very well for themselves. It was
to be these individuals in particular who then qualified to
occupy the top tier of the "three financial classes".

The second monetary strata referred to by Kosa is
"The Medium Class" (Kosa, 1957:26) It in turn consisted of
two subcategories; the prospective "well to dos" and those
happy as they were. The former were described as those who
"like to keep up with the richer members and are particularly
interested in common social affairs as big parties or reputable
clubs where the two classes freely mix" (Kosa, 1957:26), The
latter,on the other hand,were those who "seem to be more or
less satisfied with their present state and apparently do not
long for any conspicuous upward move". They have the feeling
that they have taken care of their old age and they do not
intend to participate in group competition "(Kosa, 1957:26).
With its population split between the quasi "well to do" status
seekers and the successful yet modest middle class, this second
financial group reflected in essence the socially potential
and economically stable position of the apparently adaptive
immigrant (Kosa, 1957:29).

A third and final financial class categorized as "the
poor class" (Kosa, 1957:27) is described by Kosa as consisting
of Hungarian "have nots" (Kosa 1957:27) and families owning
"well cared for homes" (Kosa 1957:27). The "have nots" are
defined as those bachelors who may or may not have families in
the old country and who prove themselves somewhat maladjusted

to the situation. It seems the absence of a wife and family
derives him of full identification with being a successful
group member and therefore, he sees and feels himself somewhat
periferal although the group as a whole may very well see him
as an integral part of the community. Those other families in
this poor class are reported to own only one home with no
other investments. Consequently, even though they are not
poverty stricken,in so far as they do have property and a little
money, they are ranked as those with the least and as such are
thus labelled as of "the poor class". (Kosa, 1957: 24-28)

Stratification by European Based Etiquette

This scheme of three financial classes represented to
Kosa the actually integration of the Hungarians' European
based economic system of stratification with that of Canadian
society. However, Kosa recognized as well that an explanation
of the Hungarian community's social stratification system in
Canada by means of these three financial classes alone was not
adequate. There was still this "manifestation of the class
system" via incorporation of the "European based etiquette"
(Kosa, 1957:36) to account for which added yet a second vital
phase to the ingroup system of stratification. Kosa explains,
in a more general fashion, the contribution of this aspect of
the Hungarian system by making reference to the Southern Ontario
Hungarians' dealings with post war (World War II) immigrants
from the old country, who were for the greater part those from
the upper classes; either rich land owners, intelligensia or

professionals. He makes the statement that "the fate of the immigrant in Canada differs according to his class origins", (Kosa, 1957:39) and that for example those of the above mentioned classes of Hungary "never surrendered their ranks and titles" upon arrival. (Kosa, 1957:39) This was not necessary,for as he explains,the ethnic group deferred these individuals according to their European etiquette. In spite of their apparent status inconsistencies, those "ranks and titles, which originated in a social and political system that had collapsed at the end of World War II and presently lacked in "the wealth necessary to maintain" them in Canada (Kosa 1957:39) were still recognized with all due respect. Kosa's general example of this etiquette based stratification of Hungarians in Canada mirrors,in a limited manner,the consumation of a dual Hungarian and Canadian, system of stratification entertained by Hungarians in Western society. With no further explanations or reflections upon these issues of the intermingling of the systems of stratification or the utility of the ingroup sib, Kosa suddenly ends the discussion here with simply a future directed statement regarding the longevity of the compromised systems of stratification and sib: the integral parts of the ingroup social structure.

Kosa's Predictions

It may be stated that overall Kosa sees this piggy-back system of stratification and addendum sib system as tentative. Believing that the sib is likely to collapse with the "first generation" (Kosa, 1957:20) he verbalizes his

conclusion of an inevitable death for not only both the intricate system of ingroup stratification and the sib system but also of the ethnic group as a whole. His exact predictions are as follows.

As a rule, the sib system is dommed to die out with the first generation. Members of the second generation acquire, through their Canadian education, the value system and patterns of life which are general in Canada, and the essence of the sib system is strange and incomprehensible to them. They accept the family in its American form, as a small unit of parents and children. They do not understand how distant relatives can interfere with somebody's life. They accept the American concept of success in which the family is not necessarily a factor in social ascent. They want to make their own success, alone and for themselves. They do not count on the help of relatives and reject the heavy burden of aiding the same relatives. For them the idea of mutual aid, an essential element in the sib organization is completely lost. (Kosa, 1957:20) His efficient summary remark say,s it all.

> When saying farewell to the sib, we say
> farewell to the Hungarian ethnic group as well.
> (Kosa, 1957:21)

For Kosa, his findings indicate a dead end for Hungarian ethnicity. In the matter of merely a decade, he expects not even the fragments of an ethnic group, let alone, some remnants of fading ingroup social structures.

Kolonia 72/75: Stratification by Financial Class

In having accepted Kosa's scheme of three financial classes and his explanation of the incorporation of a European based etiquette to describe the dual system of stratification amongst Southern Ontario Hungarians in the early 1950's, I can evaluate the appropriateness of his reported findings and the reasons for their apparently altered but persistent perseverence as I discuss that same social structure as found within Kolonia 1972/75. With reference first to Kosa's scheme of three financial classes, I can say without hesitation that it applies to Kolonia's Hungarians quite well. They refer to their "well to dos" (Kosa, 1957:24) as either the "gazdog", the rich and/or the "iscolazot"; the well educated. Generally the "gazdog" are representative of those landed immigrants, who did well for themselves during the war boom as described by Kosa in his financial scheme with the exception of only the "tobacco farmer" (Kosa, 1957:24-28) as part of Kolonia's Hungarian society. This was and is counter balanced, however, by a substantial increase in the number of "urban dwellers", (Kosa, 1957:24-28) multi-property owners and entrepreneurs. I have provided a general summary of those Hungarian businesses (see Table I:228-229) the ethnic group has sponsored over the years, jointly, of course, with the dominant society. No doubt, part of this group's commercial success may be attributed to the strong concentration of Hungarians in a rather confined demographic area which encouraged a frequent utilization of easily accessible formal

and informal ethnic services. Professionals, entrepreneurs
and other tradesmen of the group have maintenance of their
occupational status protected by their centralized "foreign
colony". (Beynon, 1936:423) With ethnic group members patronizing
their commercial frontage, which is for the greater part adjacent
to the heart of the community, they stabalized, in a reciprocating
fashion, a supply of ethnic services to meet the ingroup demands.
Profiting from the symbiotic relationship between ethnic
customer or clientele and ethnic entrepreneur or professional,
various Hungarian persons consequently accumulated small
fortunes, thus qualifying them for this class status.

The "iscolazot"; well educated segment of Kolonia's
"well to dos" (Kosa, 1957:24) refers already to the later
immigration from Hungary (mainly post World War II) of lettered
peoples, as well as, to those second and third generational
offsprings who had executed scholarly achievements in the
Canadian system and had returned to the group to offer their
credited services. No longer are the "well to dos" defined
simply as a case of the European peasant coincidently making
good in Canada with regard to "chance" financial achievement.
Now there is the added branch of educated Hungarians who secure
prestigious positions yielding substantial incomes. As is
evident, the Hungarians of Kolonia take care to differentiate
between the two groups of "well to dos" (Kosa, 1957:24) with
the mode of success the means of demarkation. Moreover,
although somewhat different, both parties are representative of
this upper class financial strata and share equally this topmost

position along the ingroup's financial hierarchy.

I must admit at this point, however, that within this ethnic group, certain of those minority members, who may be ranked "rich well to do", did achieve their advancement by means of "illegal elevators". (Beynon, 1934:609) I have referred previously to such persons[4] and will explain their actual standing along the ingroup hierarchy later in the chapter. It is sufficient to restate here that illicit moonlighting and under the counter dealings were entertained within the ethnic community and to say the least, provided a few Hungarians with many an extra dollar.

The second financial class, "the medium class" (Kosa, 1957:24-28) is referred to as "the cozepso" meaning middle. (Interview 56, Winter/74, Female) They are described as "minden napi edsedu nép" or everyday ordinary people. (Interview 57, Winter/74, Female) Owning property; at least a home, with a well stuffed monetary cushion to fall back on if necessary, these individuals correspond to Kosa's "satisfied with their present state" individuals who for the most part opt out of any ingroup competition. Those within this financial strata who sport a mild exception to this general rule of the "cozepso class" character profile are referred to in conversation by ingroup members as aggressive and vain status climbers. (Interview 59, Summer/74, Female) Fitting Kosa's previous description as being those who would like "to keep up with the

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[4] Reference (Chapter Fourth: Case of Mr. B).

rich", (Kosa, 1957:24-28) the ingroup members of Kolonia have
yet a more precise and efficient way of categorizing these
status seekers: they describe them as being people who, "ha
tudnak, a csilagot is magukra akasztanak"; (Interview 57,
Winter/74, Female) that is, "if they could, they would hang
even a heavenly star on themselves". By this they mean to say
that there are amongst the "medium class" members, certain
individuals who strive to be at least recognized by the upper
class people. They are usually anxious individuals who long to
be associated with those others of the "gazdog" or "iscolazot"
class and to them it simply means everything to be "well to do"
(Kosa, 1957:24-28) and to show it. However, within the
minority group as a whole, these persons are despised and
stereotypically reclassified as self centered status seekers.
With notation of the split within the "cozepso" class between
those "prospective well to dos" and "those happy as they were"
(Kosa, 1957:26) we witness then a repetition of Kosa's scheme.

        A third financial class is cited by the Hungarian of
Kolonia as being the "segen" or poor. (Interview 56, Winter/74,
Female) This group is best described as those Hungarians
struggling along to make a living in Canada. The label "segen"
or poor is not used in any derogatory sense; these people most
certainly are not slum dwellers or the like; rather, they are
seen as hard working individuals who are trying to establish
themselves in this society. Apparently, there are not many
Hungarians who are to be lumped together in this financial class.

Respondents noted that most Hungarians may find themselves

qualifying as members of this third category upon arrival, but

only momentarily so, as the majority work their way into the

second class due to their common practice of frugality. With

this third financial class, discussion of the internal

stratification of the ingroup along economic lines also ends.

Evident is the applicability of Kosa's financial scheme to

Kolonia 72/75 with the exception of a few necessary extra-

polations regarding slight alterations and ingroup idiosyncracies.

Stratification by European Etiquette

As Kosa had stated with regard to his Hungarian

population of the early 1950's, a description of the community

by financial strata alone is not adequate to the understanding

of the minority's internal stratification: this is also the

case in Kolonia. Kosa's example of the European based element

of etiquette as part of the ethnic groups system of stratification

proved a valid contribution. The increase in aristocracy,

intelligensia and professional migrants post World War II did

complicate the Hungarian social stratification system in Canada.

With regard to aristocracy, there immigrated to Canada after

the war a good number of "bluebloods" from the "upper crust"

of Hungarian society: In Toronto alone, "a casual survey....

turned up a prince, a princess, four counts and two barons

living in the Metro area," (The Toronto Star Feb. 2/72:27) all

of whom led modest lives. The one time Hungarian Count of

Czachi for example was reported to be living in a mortgaged house

and earning approximately $180:00 a week as an assembly worker

at General Motors of Canada Limited. There were many other

similar instances where prominent persons of the Hungarian

society suffered a loss of status in their homeland; however,

there was one very important consolation for them here in

Canada. Regardless of what the Canadian criterion of social

stratification dictated, the ousted aristocrates from Hungary

were still recognized and respected for their former title and

rank by both Kosa's 1950 community and Kolonia 1972/75. Kosa

had observed that:

> Indeed the status-giving authority of the
> ethnic is an important associative force;
> a great number of immigrants are strongly
> attached to their group because there they
> find a higher status, greater self-respect
> and more security than Canadian society
> allots them. (Kosa, 1957:43)

Consequently, the upper class individual from the old country

benefitted economically from the society at large, in so far

as he found work here in Canada, and social-psychologically from

his own ethnic group, for it deferred him in the proper

manner according to European etiquette.

Such was the case with the intelligensia and professionals

as well. The professor, teacher, doctor, lawyer were all

granted their respective deference within the group with regards

to their European status in spite of the fact that in the society

at large their credentials had to be renewed meeting Canadian

standards before being recognized as functional. In Kolonia

various Hungarians bear witness to these facts. There is in

particular the case of the Hungarian professor from Budapest who

immigrated to Canada with his wife.

> We always referred to him (the professor) as
> "Doctor Sir" and his wife as "Doctor X Mrs."
> even though he never got his papers renewed
> here in Canada so he could teach. The man
> just couldn't seem to manage the English language,
> it was too difficult for him to speak it for some
> reason,so he just never got them. He worked here
> in a plant and even his Hungarian co-workers always
> referred to him as "Doctor" in the plant. He
> isn't here any longer, he got transferred to ....
> (Interview 58, Winter/72, Male)

This example illustrates then, the preservation of the European

values. Even the wife of the professionally inactive intellectual

still derives prestige from her husbands laurels. As Kosa so

aptly points out in his text:

> They cling to the titles even if the title
> claimed is in sharp contrast with their real
> status in Canada (Kosa, 1957:39).

This ingroup support for previously achieved prestige

and earned esteem comforted and encouraged a good number of

persons who could have very well been quite distraught if in-

group circumstances would have been different.

What the inflow of aristocrats, intelligensia, and

professionals did 'for the Hungarian ethnic group was to

reactivate the intrinsic values of the Hungarian system of

social stratification. This, solidified the "two social status"

system of stratification (Kosa, 1957:43); "one within the group

and another one in Canadian Society" (Kosa, 1957:43). Kosa

assumes that:

> In every case the ingroup status is higher
> and more coveted (Kosa, 1957:43).

If this is true, then we might expect the structuring of such

a system of stratification to have various immediate and long

range effects, all of which take rise from the establishment of
this sophisticated dual status situation and this, in fact, is
the case.

The Role of the Sib, Vicarious Status and Upward Mobility

First of all the intricate system of stratification
brought the Hungarian immigrants closely together. They were
very dependent upon the ethnic community for its complementary
benefits and therefore, by their very presence to secure self
recognition, the immigrants reinforced community life. Secondly,
as the intrinsic values became an every increasing intricate
part of the ethnic group life, it became more imperative to
safeguard the prestige and esteem earned by exercising them.
This meant that not only was the individual responsible for his
achievement and maintenance of his social status but so also
were his family and sib. The individual's success brought a
commonly shared prestige to all related which was vulnerable
to any shame incurred by any member of the clan. Kosa uses this
point to explain his observations of a low rate of crime amongst
Hungarians.

> The status system of the group is the main
> incentive of ingroup competition. The
> Hungarian values connected with social
> stratification differed considerably from
> the Canadian ones and the Hungarians had
> more reason to rely upon the status given
> by the group. The consideration of the
> individual and sib prestige enforced the
> form of life set up by the ethnic community.
> Thus none of the maladjusted persons became
> criminal because the same ingroup system
> protected them with a certain status and
> security (Kosa, 1957:43).

My datum further indicates, that the sharing of a success or failure of an ingroup member diffuses beyond the boundaries of the sib and pervades modestly throughout the group as a whole. This became evident to me as respondents in Kolonia spoke of "our John X who represented Canadian mathematicians at their international conference this year" (Interview 60, Summer/74, Male) and "our Mr. K. who got an honourable promotion in his field" (Interview 60, Summer/74, Male) and Steve who "once he made it, he became a bit aloof" disappointing, hurting various people in the community (Interview 62/74, Female). Obviously the vicarious status was not confined to the sib alone. It appears to envelope the community as a collectivity. Thirdly, as the vicarious status of this stratification system theoretically minimizes ingroup delinquency so also does it appear to maximize success. The respondent's reports indicate that the Hungarians of Kolonia seriously entertain a sophisticated pattern of expectations with regard to achievement and this is in part reflected in the communities seemingly escalated ingroup competition for upward mobility over generations. Due to the vicariousness of success and or failure then, the people of Kolonia suggested that within their group there is as great an emphasis upon making it as in the dominant society with the means severely more complicated and intricate.

An explanation of the process of the ingroup stratification as it occurs amongst the Hungarians of Kolonia will bring the foremention points into better light. When intrinsic values

such as decency, loyalty, responsibility, respect, affection, along with their system of derived esteem, are given priority over income, wealth and prestige, then all individuals within the ethnic group qualify as eligible contestants for status supremacy. Such a system requires a life long process of evaluation. The Hungarian system of stratification does not permit the spontaneous "big break" or "stroke of luck" element to monopolize the picture. Rather, it is a day to day process of building up of ones reservoir of intrinsic rewards which determines his social status in the group; income, wealth, and prestige simply complements the persons status. Consequently all members of the group become active participants as they equally earn their social gains based on the old country custom of exercising the European etiquette in social relations so that virtuously one might "out do" the other and therefore, "honor" (Kosa, 1957:25) all his sib. Thus the formally financially based class of the Hungarian ethnic group having re-recognized and re-adopted its ancestral form of intrinsic values as a bases of social stratification introduces the presence of a complicated ingroup pattern for status achievement.

Beginning with the landed immigrants and second generation parents, any individuals are highly respected within the group if they prove they were capable of raising a family relative to the intrinsic values and provided modestly for them. The parents were not judged simply by the quantity of their efforts but the quality, as eventually mirrored in their children.

The ultimate complement to the parents effort soon becomes
recognized as establishment of the offspring in a responsible
and respectable position in the society. A successful career
meant a successful socialization, so, whether it was simply a
matter of a young girl becoming a conscientious housewife and
mother or a young fellow becoming a hard working laborer or
doctor, it reflected upon the parents reputation in the community.
Respondents' reports illustrated these principles of the
community's stratification. One elderly Hungarian gentleman
sent on an errand to the grocery store by his visiting teenage
grand-daughter had this to say:

> You know she tidied up the house and is
> making some home made pie right now. She
> isn't a hippy Canadian she is a Hungarian
> Canadian if not a real Hungarian. She
> knows all about 'hazi tartash' - home making.
> She can manage it all, she understands it all -
> 'ert hoza'. She'll make a fine wife. Her
> mother kept her busy learning all these things
> and off the street and elsewhere. Both her
> mother and father are hard working people and
> expect their children also to be so, in whatever
> they do (Interview 33, Summer/73, Male).

One other example of this evaluating process of family merit
is the case of the disappointing second generation Canadian
born professional of Kolonia.

> I understand he (the professional; herein to
> be anonymously referred to as Archie) is a
> hard worker and still very serious and con-
> servative. When he married a lot of Hungarian
> women said that the marriage wouldn't last.
> She isn't one of us to start and there has been
> separations and divorces in her own family.
> Many not just one or two. So it runs in the
> blood you know, there just wasn't too much hope....
> The person I feel really sorry for is Archie's
> mother, that woman worked hard to educate that

> boy. Why I remember seeing her on the market
> early in the morning, at 6.30, buying her
> vegetables, meat and all, and running home to
> put it away and then rush off to work at the
> cotton mill which started at 7.00a.m. She did
> all that running around so she could save a
> little money to educate Archie. And this is
> the end - a divorce. Well sometimes things just
> don't work out and this is the type of outcome.
> But at least the family stuck together and are
> trying to make the best of it.
> (Interview 61, Summer/74, Females)

This then was all in keeping with the basic ideology regarding

intrinsic values via which one might earn vicarious esteem for

their family.

My datum suggests that the Hungarian people realize

that there is good and bad in everyone of them but what is of

prime importance to them is the balance between them. This plays

a decisive role in their ranking of that individual. A person

like Mr. B. who happens to be a businessman with money is given

low status. The respondents' reasons; he is "ketszinu, hazug,

hizelgo," a two faced, a liar, a browner, he cheated everyone

he could in any transaction, he has no "becsulet"; respect,

amongst our people, we all know him too well for what he really

is." (Interview 63, Winter/74, Male and Female) Despite the

fact he might rank financially in the community's "gazdog"

class, be worthy of a certain prestige because of his business

position, he lacks the esteem to claim any overall significant

ingroup status. The case on the other hand of Mr. K. reflects

a balancing out between the good and the bad. A laborer in the

factory drawing an average income, Mr. K. had the daily habit

of dropping into the Hungarian frequented hotel after work and

consuming his fair share of beer before going home. Evaluation

of his social status was arrived at in the following manner:

> We do have a lot of people, well at least a
> number of men we could call heavy drinkers,
> yet that is nothing really all that serious.
> Look at even those people who drink heavily:
> like Mr. K. They all own at least a home and
> they take care of it. Their lives are
> comfortable, they have a little of everything
> and despite the fact the male may drink heavily
> the family does not suffer from it.
> (Interview 26, Summer/72, Male)

With his personal faults and virtues apparently in equalibrium,

a man like Mr. K. who held a "cozepso" (middle) class

financial standing was granted parallel social status for his

faultering, but not seriously so, fulfillment of the intrinsic

values. In order to illustrate the openness of this system

there is remaining yet another instance of attribution of

ingroup status which proves informative. I had occasion while

out in the field to be amongst a group of females; older, middle

aged and younger, who were discussing their domestic role and

culinary arts. Reference was made to one woman in particular:

> She (Mrs. A.) is takarékos, szorgalmas
> rendes, korekt; sparing hardworking
> decent correct woman. She works hard and
> has five children. She is an excellent
> cook and bakes delicious things. She won't
> just give you a recipe, you have to go over
> and help her bake it. This way she says no
> one can say she wrote a recipe down and left
> something out on purpose so it wouldn't be
> as good as hers. She is oszinte; truthful.
> She is a fine person.
> (Interview 58, Summer/74, Females)

Such a positive recognition of ones potential ingroup standing

leaves little doubt as to her ultimate status achieved within

the group. This woman ranked quite highly amongst the

Hungarians as a whole, regardless of her modest family income
and domestic career. Conveyed then, are the basic and initial
priorities of the community in evaluation of ones position
along the stratification continuum.

However, over the years there developed within the
community a high regard for those persons who could secure a
position which was respected in both the dominant and minority
groups. It became the mores, within the group, that the parents
strive to encourage and provide their children with a high
education. In interviewing the Hungarians a recurring theme
was verbalized:

> Well you know that Europeans have to work
> hard to establish themselves in the country.
> It is their sweat and hard work that helped
> build it. You know all we can do is try our
> best to give our children a bit more.
> (Interview 12, Winter/72, Male)

Beynon interpreted their redefinition of the ethnic offspring's
responsible and respectable position in the society on the part
of their parents as follows:

> The principle factor in the occupational
> "rise" 'of the child has been the desire
> to regain the status lost by the father after
> migration. Maladjusted parents who were
> unable to capitalize their previous occupational
> experience gave their growing children
> imaginative descriptions of the status they had
> enjoyed in the old homeland. The consequences
> are to be found in the rise of sons and daughters
> into the professions. Cooley said "the solid
> facts of life are the facts of the imagination."
> The dissatisfied immigrant worker has been
> probably the principle factor in the unusually
> rapid assent of American born Hungarians into
> the professions. (Benyon, 1934:610)

But this rational is not necessarily valid. It has just been

previously pointed out that there is within the group

recognition of European status. As well, the majority of

intellects and professionals eventually made contact with the

dominant society and exercised their professionalism, while

the many peasants who immigrated to Canada became at least

more prosperous farmers than they had been in Europe, if not

property owning urban dwellers with mediocre factory jobs or

up and coming entrepreneurs. The reason for the occupational

professional upgrading of the ethnics offsprings lies deeper

than the parents desire to "regain status". What the parents

had realized was that regardless of the ingroup status the

Hungarians still had to interact with the dominant society

and "out there" you were judged by their standards and these

in turn nearly always left the foreigner in low standing. To

strengthen their position in dealing with the dominant society

they had to destroy the degratory stereotypes that had been

built up over the years. Since the dominant society stressed

education so much in defining the "Canadian reality" (Kosa,

1957:43) with regard to social stratification, the Hungarians

naturally come to the conclusion, that if they were, or at least

their offsprings were, of equal status in the society at large

then they would be in the proper disposition to benefit from

the best of two worlds. As the Hungarians expressed the

importance of an education:

> Once you have it, it can't be taken away.
> (Interview 64, Summer/72, Male)

and the parents explained their actual role in encouragement of

upward mobility in the occupations and professions of their

offspring:

> I have to be as well informed as I possibly
> can to understand how I can help my children
> along as they become more and more involved
> in the workings of the world. I don't want
> them to be taken advantage of or to be the
> slaves of the English. They can make their
> own way in the world.
> , (Interview 12, Winter/72, Male)

Obviously, the landed immigrants remember all to well the days

before the prosperous 40's and wanted to insure the fact that

they did not recur for their offsprings, no matter what the

sacrifice. It seems general consensus amongst ingroup members

"that it is about time that things changed and that the English

either step down from their authoritarian positions or move

over and make way for the up and coming foreigners." (Interview

12, Winter/72, Male)

So once again there is further reinforcement of the

ethnics status circuit. The ethnics offsprings in maintaining

group prestige on the outside via achievement of responsible

and respectable social status in the society at large,

strengthen the community's image of itself. The vicarious

status practice of the sib becomes extended to the group as a

whole as all members share in one anothers achievements. No

longer is a Hungarian's attributed status confined to the members

of his sib, rather, it appears that the outstanding achievement

becomes a blanket status contributing a derived prestige to all

members. This provision of the entire community with an ingroup

prestige could possibly encourage, in the long run, further

maintenance of the entire ethnic group and a consequential cultural pluralism: it appears the group as a whole is given reason and cause to perpetuate itself.

This process will obviously be effected by the rate of social mobility. A community could not collect much prestige from only one member's achievement per generation. Within the Kolonia community of Hungarians, I tried to establish the patterns of social mobility as defined by general Canadian standards, by collecting, on a referral system, the occupations and professions of landed immigrants and their succeeding generations. (See Table II:230-233) Occupational mobility was not rare.

The emerging patterns of social mobility proved most interesting. Amongst the landed immigrants themselves there were a number of persons within the ethnic group who had stepped up in the community by means of the "elevator" system. For example Mr. K. (case 39) who was originally a tradesman, then a mill right, then a positioned man in the Canada Forage plant ultimately became an entrepreneur in his own ethnic group. Others in this category took one large complementary giant step like Mr. B. (case 5). He was an immigrating peasant who nurtured, here,in Canada his interest in greenhouses and flowers to the extent that he eventually began a family florist shop which is still run by his family today. At times success became even multiplicative, as landed immigrants employed the elevator system to reduplicate their success. There was one gentleman in particular who is the perfect example of this. Mr. N. (case

56) entered Canada as a D.P.; a displaced person from Hungary

during World War II. He worked at various jobs until he could

afford to bring his family over from Hungary and together they

began an eager campaign to establish themselves as one of the

"well to dos". (Kosa, 1957:24-28) The father began a gas

station business and gradually worked his way up into a used

car sideline which he later expanded into a automobile dealership.

> To get the initial capital that Mr. N. and
> his family would got to work the greater
> part of the night washing and cleaning school
> buses for the city. That's how they got their
> money at first, they all worked, if they
> hadn't they wouldn't have what they have today.
> (Interview 66, Winter/72, Male)

Once their car business was secure, the family jointly under-

took to build a large modern bowling alley in the city. This

included parents,children, their individual husband or wife and

the grandchildren. With this sib unit supporting one man's

venture, it wasn't too long before they were one of the more

prominent families within the ethnic group.

Others of the landed immigrants were the professionals.

The data collected revealed for the record that three doctors,

one nurse, one teacher, and an engineer; all of whom immigrated

to Canada as lettered people, rewrote their exams, passed the

Canadian standards tests and found employment. The three

doctors set up practice within the "foreign language colony",

the nurse worked in the hospital adjacent to the ethnic group

and the teacher although living in Kolonia taught at a separate

high school in the next city but one which was affiliated with

the Irish Roman Catholic School of the research site. It seems

Herberg's (1955) theme of ethnicity first, religion second, as priorities for ingroup identity is dually exercised by some ethnics. This brief pre-analysis then adds support to the idea previously expressed in this chapter.

Including the data on social mobility over generations, other prominent trends become apparent. First of all, it seems that in the family of the landed immigrant, if a male child was just finishing high school or of working age when World War II broke out, then he was destined to be part of the war boom labor force. The males especially were granted responsible positions of foreman, manager, shop supervisor and such like in the labor force; something a bit better than what had befallen the landed immigrant. Yet the siblings of these individuals who were too young then to join rank in the work world, remained in the educational system, completing their high school and in many cases university with some persons entertaining the post secondary level.

Almost all of the cases paralleling this time span reflect this pattern. For example, in Mr. P's. family (case 59), Mr. P., as the landed immigrant, held the status of entrepreneur, with his older son going into labor management and the younger becoming a medical doctor. It becomes apparent that perhaps the increase in finances of the foreigner during the war boom was used in part for the educational purposes of the younger offspring. To add support to the observation, the researcher cites the case of one other family. Mr. P. (case 60),

was an entrepreneur with three sons. His two older sons took
over their father's garage business with the understanding that
they had not only their own families to support from the income
of the business but also their younger brother whom they were
instructed to continue educating. At the time of the study he
was enrolled at a university and working toward his B.A. There
is then this obvious ingroup sib committment with all responsible
for the welfare of the "other" in various ways with education
and maintenance of investment two of the major areas of focus.

The offspring of the second generation (third generation)
seem propelled to continue the trend if possible and the reason
for this may be the horror stories of prejudice and discrimination
in the education field told by their preceeding generation. As
one informant explained the situation:

> I was one of the first foreigners to enter the
> teaching profession in Kolonia. (She related
> how in school she was always under pressure as
> an aspiring foreigner who was doing better than
> the English students.) The thing that used to
> get under their (the English) skin was the fact
> that I got better marks in English than the other
> kids. They couldn't figure out how that was
> possible. And let's face it you must admit
> that that was something. When I was young the
> only English reading material around was an old
> English dictionary my father had, the telephone
> book, the newspaper and we were amongst the few
> Hungarians who got that and the Martin Dairy
> calendar. Now you must admit that's a long way
> for a foreigner to go. In fact, I remember once
> when the principal was complaining to me about
> the Italians in the school, expressing the feeling
> that they should be gotten rid of or re-orientated
> because such foreigners were a degrading element
> to the scholastic potential of the school, I said
> to him,'Do you know who you are talking to? M.F.
> another foreigner,' and I was on the honor roll
> then but you can see the stereotype the English had

> of the foreigners. In fact you see how even the
> principal had subconsciously blocked out my ethnic
> heritage taking for granted that if I was on the
> honor roll I must be English and therefore, he could
> share his prejudice with me never dreaming I would
> qualify to answer in the way in which I had. ....
> But I look at the prominent people that rose out
> of the ghetto, the people of our ethnic group who
> did graduate from high school and who did become
> successful people. Why there is Judge K, Dr. P.,
> Dr. H., Dr. P., Architect S., to mention a few and
> this isn't even taking into account teachers,
> nurses, businessmen or others of relatively stable
> and impressive status that we have produced. Why
> in my family alone we have a number of teachers,
> engineers, business people and others of various
> different professions coming right up behind. And
> these are full blooded second and third generation
> Hungarians.
> (Interview 16, Winter/72, Female)

It must be remembered that the offspring of the landed immigrant

had to convince the dominant society that the stereotypes

previously held about immigrants and their capabilities were

no longer valid. There is then this added means of perpetuating

ingroup determination to being upwardly mobile in the

occupations and professions. It is interesting to note as well

the fact that even education, and the achievement associated

with it, has become part of the sib circuit of inter-family

respect and responsibility. With the family unit so constructed

to complement the entire ethnic community on an extended basis,

it becomes quite evident how the internal social structure of

the group escalated the entire process of ingroup stratification

and ideology of upward mobility within the group.

Analyzing the occupational mobility on the whole, it

appears that there is this steady movement from labor to labor

management or entrepreneuralship to professionalism. The one

exception may be the women of the group but there again the
daughters of the landed immigrants either share the responsibilities
of a family business or have some special training in the field
of teaching, secretarial work or nursing. The elderly Hungarian
women always point out that their daughter,even if presently
unemployed due to the priority of raising a family,still have
an education, ;

> which they can use any time they want, its
> there, they can go back to work anytime
> whether it be full time or part time to
> make a little extra money to get ahead and
> help their children.
> (Interview 58, Winter/74, Females)

For a married woman, it is still more important to be a better
domestic than a professional; the former derives for them
ingroup esteem while the latter provides, for the greater part,
simply an added prestige.

With this supplementary realm of occupational achievement
to give the ethnic group yet another means of exercising its
vicarious status, sib and extended sib, it becomes increasingly
clearer how a Hungarian maintains a close identity with and an
active participation in his group life. From the datum, the
only break evident in the ethnic circuit of stratification and
sib family and ingroup is that caused by the problem of re-
absorption. As was cited by a respondent, within Kolonia there
is a limited market for all the professions either migrating
into or produced by the ethnic community.

> It would not be an exaggeration to say that
> people raised and educated in Our Lady of
> Hungary can be found all over North America

> e.g. Steve K. is in California, Steve S. is
> in New York, John Hockhold is in British
> Columbia, Joe Teszar is in New Jersey, etc.
> Kolonia and vicinity could not absorb all
> who came to Kolonia in 1956 many have found
> jobs all over Ontario.
> (Interview 65, Winter/72, Male)

Perhaps the fragmentation of the group will prove detrimental;
at the moment I can only speculate. If various members of the
community aren't re-claimed bodily, simply eulogized in their
absence, we may be experiencing a brief introduction into the
numerical weakening of the group rather than a collapse of the
sib and the dependent stratification system as Kosa predicted.
If this is so, perhaps the ethnic group will eventually die a
natural death rather than experience some abrupt mass conversion
of all second generation Hungarians to becoming Canadian as
Kosa suggests.

All the while, however, regardless of the ultimate fate
of the group, the structuring of a dual system of stratification
in Canada and the maintenance of the sib system, as well as, an
ingroup extension of it has given the Hungarian more reason to
maintain his ethnicity. Relying on Hungarian based interpreta-
tions of the social environment upon which to structure their
lives, the Hungarians once again complete their ethnocentric
circuit in living their Hungarian influenced daily lives in
their Land of Choice. Their financial classes, their intrinsic
values, their family sib, their ingroup sib, their evaluative
and vicarious status, as well as, their serious consideration of
upward mobility all lend themselves as added reinforcements to

the momentary perpetuation of their group as a whole. Having

been exposed to the intricate workings of the system of

stratification in greater detail, a more extensive and explicit

explanation of the sib, the informative element of vicarious

status and the ingroup gravitation toward upward mobility we

might say that overall we have come to understand why,as long

as,the little community of Hungarians in Kolonia continues to

exist so will its social systems and all they encompass.

Table I

List of
Business Establishments within the Ethnic Group
(past & present)

(1) Hardware and Appliances

(2) Service Station

(3) S's Ladies Wear

(4) Food Market

(5) Hungarian Restaurant

(6) Hungarian Radio & Television Service

(7) L's Confectionary

(8) Hungarian Komeves

(9) Dr. K.

(10) Dr. V.

(11) Dr. S.

(12) Dr. H.

(13) Dr. P.

(14) Lawyer S.

(15) S's Barber and Hairdresser

(16) G's Beauty Salon

(17) B's Beauty Salon

(18) Z's Grocery

(19) B's Service Station

(20) K's Groceries

(21) Kolonia Winery

(22) G's Jewellers

(23) B's Flower Shop

(24) P's Restaurant

(25) M Sporting Goods

(26) P.C. Lumber

(27) Kolonia Flower Shop

(28) Rainbow Restaurant

(29) S Painters

(30) T.T. Motel

(31) D's Contractor

(32). D's Road Garage

(33) E's Book Keeper

(34) S's Garage and Auto Wreckers

(35) K's Motors Association

(36) P's Café and Lounge

(37) N. Auto Parts

(38) Super Market

(39) K's Groceries

(40) Hungarian Meat Market

(41) Joe P. Painter

(42) K. Grocery

(43) Park Pool Room

(44) Shoe Repair

Table II

Occupational Mobility of Hungarians Over Generations

Key -   S = Son

           D = Daughter

     Pre World War = Child of working age in 1940

     Post World War = Child of working age after 1944

Case	Landed Immigrant	Second Generation	Third Generation
1	Mr. B.: Laborer Entrepreneur Winemaker	(D) Secretary	(S) B.A. M.A. (S) Laborer
2	Mr. B.: Laborer (56 Refugee)	(D) Nurse (56 Refugee: Young Girl)	
3	Mr. B.: Farmer	(S) Pre World War: Industry	Teacher B.A. B.A.
4	Mr. B.: Laborer	(D) M.A. (French Teacher)	
5	Mr. B.: Farmer Florist	(S) Florist (D) Florist	
6	Mr. B.: Laborer	(D) Secretary (D) Secretary (D) Secretary (D) Secretary (S) Mechanic (S) Auto Accessories Supervisor (S) Entrepreneur Machinery Rental	
7	Mr. B.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War: Laborer	(S) Title Searcher For Law Firm
8	Mr. B.: Entrepreneur	(S) Entrepreneur	
9	Mr. B.: Laborer	High School Teacher	
10	Mr. B.: D.P., High School Teacher	(S) Dentist	
11	Mr. B.: Laborer Pattern Maker B.A. O.C.E. Community College Teacher		

Case	Landed Immigrant	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
12	Mr.B.: Laborer Entrepreneur	(S) Entrepreneur	(D) B.A.
13	Mr. B.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War: Plant Foreman	(S) Undertaker
14	Mr. B.: Laborer	(S) City By Law Officer	
15	Mr. C.: Laborer	(D) Housewife	(D) Secretary (D) Teacher
16	Mr. C. D.P. or 56 refugee, Motel Owner		
17	Mr. C.: Barber	(S) Foreman (D) Housewife	
18	Mr. C. Laborer	(D) Nurse (D) Nurse	
19	Mr. C.: Laborer	(D) Assistant Bank Manager	
20	Mr. D.: Laborer	(S) Manager of Dominion Store (S) Engineer	
21	Mr. D.: 56 refugee completed his high school in Kolonia completed University in Nova Scotia Engineer in Kolonia		
22	Mr. D.: Laborer	(S) Entrepreneur (S) Entrepreneur	(S) Entrepreneur (D) B.A. O.C.E. (D) B.A. (D) B.A. Teachers College
23	Mr. D. Laborer	(S) Dentist (S) B.A. (S) R.C.M.P.	
24	Mr. D.: Contractor	(D) Social Worker (D) Secretary	
25	Mr. E.: Laborer	(S) Post World War II Customs Officer	
26	Mr. F.	(D) Teacher	
27	Mr. G.: Laborer	(S) Personal Manager (D) Secretary	

Case	Landed Immigrant	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
28	Mr. G.: Laborer	(S) Architect	
29	Mr. G.: Laborer	(S) High School Teacher (S) Entrepreneur	
30	Mr. G.: Laborer	(S) Ph. D. (D) B.A., M.A.	
31	Mr. H.: 1965 Immigrant M.D. Intern		
32	Mr. H.: Laborer	(D) Secretary	
33	Mr. H.: Laborer	(S) Orthodontist (D) Bonded Secretary	
34	Mr. H.: Laborer	(S) Computer Operator	
35	Mr. H.: Carpenter	(D) Secretary	
36	Mr. J.: Laborer	(S) Post World War II B.A. (S) Post World War II B.A.	
37	Mr. J.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II: Management	(S) B.A. (S) B.A.
38	Mr. K.:Entrepreneur	(S) B.A. High School Teacher (S) Aeronautic Engineer; now a Pollution Control Engineer	
39	Mr. K.: Tradesman Mill Right Canadian Forage Laborer Entrepreneur	(S) Post World War II B.A., M.A., Ph.D.	
40	Mr. K.: 56 refugee Laborer	(D) seamstress 56 refugee: lage teens	
41	Mr.K.: Laborer	Post World War II, B.A.	
42	Mr. K.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II, Customs Officer	(D) Secretary
43	Mr. K.: Laborer	(D) Nurse	
44	Mr.K.: Janitor	(S) Employed in the U.S.	
45	Mr. K.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II Hotel owner (S) Pre World War II Industry	(D) Nurse (D) Nurse

Case	Landed Immigrant	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
46	Mr. K.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II Foreman (S) Post World War II, Lawyer, Judge	
47	Mr. K.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II, Laborer, B.A. candidate	(S) B.A.
48	Dr. K.: D.P. Medical Doctor		
49	Mr. L.: Laborer	(S) Entrepreneur (D) Entrepreneur	
50	Mr. M.: Tradesman	(S) Pre World War II Machinest (S) Pre World War II Machinest, Gas Co. Employee, Part Time Gypsy violinist at a Hungarian Restaurant	
51	Mr. M.: Laborer	(D) B.A. Teacher	
52	Mr. M. Farmer	(S) Tradesman Welder	
53	Mr. M.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II: Laborer (S) Post World War II: Teacher	
54	Mr. M.: Laborer	(D) Post World War II: Secretary (S) Post World War II: Electrician	(D) Hairdresser
55	Mr. M.: Laborer	(S) Post World War II: B.A. (D) Teacher	
56	Mr. N.: Laborer Garageman Used Car Dealer Car Dealer Bowling Alley Owner	(D) Entrepreneur (S) Entrepreneur	
57	Mr. O.: Laborer	(D) Post Worl War II. C.T.V. (S) Laborer (S) Laborer	
58	Mr. P.: Haulage Trucker	(S) Dentist (S) B.A. O.C.E.	

Case	Landed Immigrant	2nd Generation		3rd Generation	
59	Mr. P.: Entrepreneur	(S)	Pre World War II: Laborer	(D)	Nurse
		(S)	Post World War II: Doctor	(D)	Housewife
				(D)	High School Teacher
				(D)	Housewife
				(D)	Housewife
60	Mr. P.: Entrepreneur	(S)	Entrepreneur		
		(S)	Entrepreneur		
		(S)	B.A.		
61	Mr.P.: Laborer Motel Business				
62	Mr.P.: Skilled Worker				
63	Mr.P.: Laborer	(D)	B.A., M.A. Candidate		
64	Mr.R.: Laborer	(S)	High School Principal		
		(D)	Grade School Teacher		
65	Mr.S.: Laborer	(D)	Teacher		
		(S)	Pharmacist		
66	Mr.S.: Landed Immigrant 1950 Electrical Engineer				
67	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S)	High School Principal		
68	Mr. S.: Carpenter	(S)	B.A. Math.		
69	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S)	Pre World War II: Mill Right		
70	Mr. S.: Entrepreneur	(D)	Teacher		
71	Mr. S.: Laborer	(D)	Nurse Instructor		
72	Mr. S.: Baker	(S)	Computer Operator		
73	Mr. S.: Gardner	(D)	Pre World War II: Secretary		
74	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S)	Lawyer		
75	Mr. S.: Laborer	(D)	Post World War II: Secretary	(S)	Teacher
				(S)	B.A.
76	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S)	Entrepreneur		
77	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S)	Bank Clerk		

Case	Landed Immigrant	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
78	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S) Electrical Engineer (S) High School Teacher	
79	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S) Car Salesman	
80	Dr. S.: Landed Immigrant 1950's Bone Specialist		
81	Mr. S.: Laborer	(D) Nurse: Victorian Order of Nurses	
82	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II: Laborer (S) Post World War II: Golf Club and Shell Service Station	(D) B.A.,M.A. candidate (S) Community College Degree
83	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S) Border Case World War II: Laborer (S) Border Case World War II: Laborer Engineer	
84	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S) Head Salesman at Car Dealers	
85	Mr. S.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II: Mill Right	
86	Mr. T.: Laborer	(S) Detective (S) T.V. Camera Man	(S) B.A.
87	Mr. T.: Laborer	(D) Secretary (S) Engineer	
88	Mr. T.: Laborer	(D) Secretarial Teacher	
89	Mr. T.: Laborer		(D) Teacher
90	Mr. T.: 56 refugee Laborer	(S) Computer Operator at Bell Telephone	
91	Mr. V.: Laborer	(D) B.A.: High School Teacher	
92	Mr. V.: Laborer	(S) Pre World War II: General Foreman	
93	Mr. V.: Entrepreneur	(S) Motor Cycle Repairs Entrepreneur	

Case Landed Immigrant   2nd Generation   3rd Generation

94   Dr. V.: Landed Immigrant (D) B.A.
        1950's Medical Doctor

95   Mr. V.: Laborer   (S) Entrepreneur

96   Miss V.: Nurse

97   Mr. V.: Laborer   (D) Teacher
                Entrepreneur   (S) B.A.
                              (D) B.A.

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We hoped there would be more
    (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:lxxvi)

CHAPTER VIII

IN CONCLUSION

Ideally one would like to be able to present a
"grounded formal theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1970:79) explaining
the perserverence of minority groups and their ethnicity in
our society. However, this is not possible with the present
piece of research recognizing that Hungarians are not necessarily
typical of all other ethnic groups and therefore,reflective of
some universal theory related to this area. Nevertheless,it
may be useful to compare my findings with those of other recent
primary research related to this subject matter. Relevant to
my conclusions is some Canadian research published after I had
completed my own study. This specifically speaking is the work
of Leo Driedger and Glenn Church (1974) entitled Residential
Segregation and Institutional Completeness: A Comparison of
Ethnic Minorities. Committing themselves to a research site
in Winnipeg which supported six ethnic groups: the French, Jews,
Ukranians, Poles, Germans and Scandinavians, it was their con-
cern to test three major hypothesis which they hoped would
better reveal the relationship between residential segregation
and institutional completeness. Their hypotheses were presented
as follows:

> (1) that high institutional completeness
> will be associated with high ethnic
> residential concentrations;
> (2) that extensive support of ethnic
> institutions will be associated with
> intra-area ethnic residential mobility;
> and

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> (3) that those ethnic groups who move in
> ethnic groupings large enough to establish
> and maintain their institutions will be
> able to transplant these institutions into
> new territory and create new ethnic
> communities. If only inter-area mobility
> of individual ethnic members takes place,
> they will tend to assimilate.
> (Driedger and Church, 1974:33).

In exercising the methods to verify these hypothesis:

> a four fold approach was designed to:
> (1) plot original settlement concentrations
> of six ethnic groups; (2) assess their com-
> parative isolation and residential segregation
> over time; (3) determine the type and extent
> of ecological mobility and (4) evaluate their
> institutional completeness
> (Driedger and Church, 1974:33).

With select indices to account for detailed ethnic differentiation

possibly present with regard to the concepts of ethnic concentra-

tion, ethnic isolation, ethnic segregation, ecological mobility

and institutional completeness embodied in the hypothesis, the

deducted propositions were then tested and verified.

The following general conclusions were drawn. There

are apparent in Canadian society three distinct ethnic segrega-

tion-mobility patterns. A minority group may be classified

as either a community maintainer, an ecological assimilator

or a suburban invader. For example the French, who prove to

be strong community maintainers, are typified as being "strong

supporters of their religious, educational and voluntary

institutions and as being highly segregated as predicted in

hypothesis one"(Driedger and Church, 1974:49). They are

reported as maintaining:

> ethnic isolation in their original area of
> institutional concentration with a rising

segregation index coupled with high
ecological mobility; the isolation and
intra-area mobility confirming hypothesis
two.
(Driedger and Church, 1974:49).

In contrast to the French, the Scandinavians, Ukranians,
Poles and Germans prove to be less isolated and less segregated.
Maintaining few religious, educational, and voluntary institu-
tions, "none of which have ever been developed extensively",
they reflect "a fact that makes them typical ecological
assimilators" (Driedger and Church, 1974:49).

The Jews,on the other,hand are an example of suburban
invaders. Having experienced upward social mobility, the Jews
could afford a prestigious move to a new segregated area. Here
they re-established new religious and cutlural institutions
and once again re-isolated themselves. Such a move is referred
to as inter-mobility and in fact confirms the third hypothesis.
Overall then it may be said that population density allows
residential segregation which per se allows development and
maintenance of ethnic institutions.

Referring to my study, according to Driedger and Church
my research is of an ethnic group which they would classify
as community maintainers. With my group reportedly confined,
for the greater part, in and around their original area of
institutional concentration, the Hungarians prove to be avid
supporters of their own ingroup social structure; informal and
formal, which in turn accounts for their relative residential
segregation and social isolation. The informal social structure
is representative of the role of the kingpin in maintaining

two systems of symbiosis; the ingroup and the ingroup outgroup.
With the kingpin the resourceful organizer of the ingroup
system of symbiosis, the minority group people are dependent
upon him as the direct means of arresting their needs. There-
fore, they accommodate themselves in close physical proximity
in order to benefit from his benevolence. The result: initial,
voluntary residential segregation. As the kingpin's own
personal resourcefulness proves insufficient to meet the demands
of a growing community, he becomes marginal mediator of an
ingroup-outgroup system of symbiosis. This means he, in effect,
taps outside resources in his attempt to rectify ingroup needs.
With the circumstances such, the kingpin has actually minimized
the occasion for direct contact between ethnic group members
and those of the dominant group. As a result this encourages
development of the minority group's social isolation.

As the ethnic group continues to grow, the needs of
the community's members become too great and complex for one
individual to satisfy. There occurs then the transition from
the informal to formal social structure with the various in-
group institutions taking progressive rise. Encouraged in
this process is an ingroup competition between the different
factions. With the individual ingroup members participating
in and identifying with their own specific sub groups, their
attention is directed inwardly to development and maintenance
of the formal ingroup social structure which ultimately en-
courages even further residential segregation and social
isolation. Strengthening the community in this manner, the

potential stage is now set for collective action on the part of the Hungarians if any extraneous crisis should arise which affects the group as a whole.

We recognize then the fact that insitutional completeness is important in maintenance of ethnic residential segregation and social isolation. In evaluating the minority groups social structure, there is obviously a dialectic relationship between members of the ethnic community and both the informal and formal sources of social structure. The informal and formal social structure exist because there is this community of ethnic people to support it and vice versa. However my findings generated from the data indicate there are yet other reasons why ethnic group members may appear to segregate, isolate and sustain themselves as a minority group.

Concluded is the fact that the ethnic group's culture plays a very important part in maintenance of the ethnic community and its ethnicity. It was reported that the minority group persons redefines themselves in the context of their eventual and unavoidable relationships with the dominant society and it becomes evident that such a process has long term social-psychological effects which reinforce the individual's identification with and membership in the ethnic group. More specifically varying contact situations with the host society eventually convince ethnic group members of their social equality with "others". The occasions of ingroup-outgroup

prejudice and discrimination, as well as, interludes of joint co-operation in arresting crisis common to both the minority and dominant societies serve to reassure ethnic group members of their personal worth as Hungarian-Canadians. As a result of this tedious process of redefinition, members of the ethnic group find further reason to ally themselves even more fervently with their redefined ethnic identity. Self assured then as socially contendable minority group members, the Hungarians believe they can very well afford the luxury of remaining ethnic group members, residentially segregated and socially isolated (if they so desired), within the context of the host society.

Contributing as well to the Hungarian-Canadian's positive self image as a minority group member is his or her ingroup priorities of ethnocentrism. Entertaining an integrated set of values and dual system of stratification supported by both the incorporation of the ingroup sib system and the introduction of a vicarious status amongst ingroup members, all the individuals of the ethnic group share in a remodelled culture bound and group centered frame of reference which differentiates them from all "others". With their own personal means of evaluating ingroup success and upward mobility, the minority group members have provided themselves with one other area in which to practice a type of social-cultural independence and thus sustain their ethnic community and ethnicity.

In a final conclusion then, not only do the Hungarian

Canadian's of Kolonia prove themselves to be community main-
tainers on a structural level with regard to institution
completeness but so also on a newly generated level of a re-
evaluated ingroup culture. In redefining themselves in con-
text of the host society, ethnic group members come to be
recognized as marginal men as Glazer and Moynihan predicted
(1970) in so far as they established a"new identity shaped by
distinctive experiences of life in the adopted land"(1970;
xxxiii) and reinforced a renovated ethnocentrism based on a
blended culture of the old and the new developing then "a
personal view of themselves as a distinctive, group that
maintained itself." (1970;xxxiii). This observation then
may be considered the major contribution of this thesis and
the generated grounds for other research.

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The Waves of Hungarian Immigration

Wave I 1848-1867

In all there were five major waves of Hungarian immigration toward the west, each of which encouraged the departure of a specific type of Hungarian people for certain social-historical reasons. The first of these occurred in 1849 just after the Hungarian revolution of 1848. Having suffered defeat in their bid for just and equal rights for the lower peasant class, the revolutionaries fled across the border in fear of the consequential political reverberations to their actions. The majority of these people who formed the first wave of immigration were political emigrants rather than potential settlers of the west. They regarded their migration as an opportunity to seek asylum in the west (the United States more so than Canada) until political circumstances were such that they could return to the old country without apprehension of personal harm. Historical sources suggest that this return of political exiles began in 1867. However due to the lack of formal records dealing with immigration and emigration prior to 1900 in Canada, the exact number of Hungarian persons who may have temporarily or permanently taken up residence in this country, at this particular time, is unknown. (See Table I)

Wave II 1867-1914

The whole of the immigration scene remained relatively quiet in Europe after the 1849 departure of the revolutionaries. It wasn't until 1867 as the political emigrants were supposedly upon their pilgrimage back to the fatherland that other of their native brothers were simultaneously associating themselves with the second migratory movement. During this second wave, 1867-1914, an estimated one and a half million Hungarians left their homeland. The actual political and social pressures of the time which ultimately encouraged the departure of a certain basic type of Hungarian people are summarized as follows. In Hungary in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries, those most discontent were the members of the lower class or peasantry. Subject to the feudal system, these people were violently oppressed by both the landlords and the ruling class. With regards to their working conditions, the peasants daily stint in the fields began at dawn and ended at dusk; they were overworked and under paid. The recorded observation of Sandor Csizmadia perhaps best describes the social injustices which existed at that time. He was quoted as saying:

> I have seen men collapsing on the richest
> soil of the country because of starvation
> and I have also seen men being virtually
> drowned in their own fat (Lengel, 1958:172)

The magnates and nobles were worlds apart from their fellow Hungarians who tilled the soil.

Nevertheless, the occurrence of certain events mitigated

the caste like gap between Hungary's people. First of all,
the landlords were confronted with the new competition of
overseas grain which had flooded the European market. So great
were the quantities imported and so reasonable the price,
that the Hungarian landowners found it difficult to sell their
own crops. Due to the fact that less of their goods were in
demand, the landowners relinquished various of the peasants
from their duties. To add to matters, several seasons of
crop failures left many other peasants with the feeling that
they had to seek out some other type of livelihood. The newly
initiated labor agitators of the early twentieth century
introduced a possible direction which could be taken by the
recently formed surplus group of peasants. They pointed out
to them that there was a demand in the then developing cities
for manual labor and that there they would find working con-
ditions not only better but by far more rewarding. At this
time then, there was a rural to urban migration of Hungarians.

Here the bulk of the new work force found itself
engaged in terminal government supported projects begun in
the 1870's. With the majority of this work completed by 1889,
the overflow of unemployed persons once again searched for a
solution to their recurrent problem. As the industry in
Hungary developed at a very slow pace, only a few of the uprooted
peasants found it possible to relocate themselves among the
ranks of Hungary's employed. Those remaining had but one of
two alternatives; they could return to the land and continue

to work under their landlords coolie-like conditions or migrate to the western world and establish a new life for themselves there.

It is important to note that the lower class peasants seem to realize that there was little or no hope in rectifying their situation as it existed in Hungary with respect to the exploitive class structure. The ruling class had all the power and in their estimation the stacked politics of the upper class cancelled out any and all hope of a legal approach to rectification of the suppression. The town and country politics of rotten boroughs, rigged voting, biased land distributions, unjust taxation as well as exploitive landowners organizations had too well incubated the rich against any offensive the peasant mass may have supported.[1] At this point, the peasants only hope lay in a venture to America. Once there, they believed they could engage in the labor opportunities provided by mining and industry. It was their plan to amass sufficient monies to finance their return to the old country where they could afford to purchase a sizeable tract of land. In this manner then, they could achieve and enjoy the comfortable security of the licensed status of landowner.

With this the impending situation, the majority of the million and a half Hungarian peasants poured into the United

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[1]The tillers of the soil regarded these odds as too great. In their minds they knew "the ruling class looked down upon the peasants and the factory workers as the professional white man of the Mississippi looked down upon the Negro (Lengel, 1958:184)

States to take up residence with only a small percentage

spilling over into Canada. Although the work was demanding,

it wasn't nearly as exploitive as that which had been ex-

perienced back home under the vigilance of the seemingly

merciless landlords. In fact so appealing was the new environ-

ment that few Hungarian immigrants decided to return to

Hungary in order to realize their goal of buying land. Instead

beleiving that they had entered the garden of paradise, many

Hungarians came to consider this new country as possibly their

permanent residence.

It was precisely at this point in time (the turn of

the 19th century) that a certain Count Paul Esterhazy advised

the frugal Hungarians that they capitalize upon their good

fortune by travelling to Canada where even more enticing

opportunities lay (Kellner 1965:12-19). He tempted them to

seriously consider such a move by telling them of the free

land the Canadian government had made available in the west

to any persons interested in settling and developing that area.

The fertile soil appealled more to the Hungarians than the

dusty, dingy mines or smoke filled noisy factories of

Pennsylvania. Therefore, by 1914 a substantially good number

of Hungarians had crossed the border into Canada where they

joined those others of their ethnic group who had arrived

directly from the old country.[2] In all then this second segment

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[2]Those Hungarians who had immigrated directly from Hungary to
Canada were encouraged to do so by the work of approximately

of the Hungarian migration to Canada was responsible for the
arrival of a total of 15,010 Hungarians by 1914 (See Table I).

Wave III 1920-1941

However with the approach of World War One, the
immigration policy of Canada became more stringent and as the
war gained momentum the allies of the Axis power[3] were denied
entrance rights. Falling into the latter mentioned category,
the Hungarians experienced a temporary curtailment to their
admission privilege. During the years 1915 until 1920 not
a single Hungarian immigrant set his foot upon Canadian soil
in so far as the statistics show (See Table I). It wasn't until
war reparations had been agreed upon and set forth in the
Treaty of Trianon, that the Canadian government felt justified
in reconsidering the entry policy with respect to foreign
nations involved in the war. Reviewing the laws introduced
during the war period, changes were made and as a result
Hungary once again held a favorable status with regards to
immigration rights. No sooner had these laws been altered

six hundred Canadian agents sent to Austria-Hungary. It was
their purpose to recruit potential immigrants so that these
individuals might help the Canadian government in the settling
of the country. This government program was directly related
to the opening up of the west at the turn of the century (1900)
and the Hungarians did complement the governments efforts in
so far as they did join with others from the United States in
establishing themselves in the western provinces. Initial
Hungarian settlements out west exist even today as viable
indicators of such happenings. At present they may be located
on the map of Canada as the cities of Esterhazy, Kaposvar and
Bekevar.

[3] World War I (1914-1918) between the Allies (Great Britain,
France, Russia, the United States, Italy, Japan etc. and the
Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, etc.)

when the third wave (1920-1941) of Hungarian migrants began
to arrive upon the Canadian shores.

The post war conditions at home were an encouraging
factor towards this third episode of out-migration as well.
The Hungarians were faced with a grave reduction in the size
of their national territory, they were plagued with the
occupation of the country by foreign troops, the economy had
collapsed, the national moral was at a severely low ebb and
to complicate matters the Bolshevik Bela Kun had duped the
Hungarian people into believing he was the answer to all their
problems when in fact his main concern was stabilization of
a Communist regime in Hungary. Granting Kun the opportunity
to cure the malaise of the ailing country, as Kun proposed
he could, the Hungarian people suffered even greater misfortunes.
Instead of correcting the situation as he had promised, Kun
took the occasion to establish a new Bolshevik government (1919)
which haunted the Hungarian people for approximately one year.
Referred to by the Hungarians as the Red Terror, Kun and
his disciples simply eliminated any and all forces large or
small which may have questioned their program, policy or pro-
cedure. As the discontentment grew amongst the people, a
counter revolution began to quietly take shape. When the
numbers were sufficient and the time seemed proper, these
counter revolutionary forces under the leadership of Horthy
attempted to route out Kun and his commissars. Substituting
Hungarian White Terror for Kuns Red Terror, the anti communist

forces were successful in their venture. With the country

returned to its rightful owners; the Hungarian people, the

Horthy government began the chore of reconstruction.

Yet the price paid to reach such a seemingly hopeful

stage in Hungarian history was dear. During the revolution

and counter revolution a fair number of socialists, Bolsheviks,

Communists and liberals had left the country. As well, many

other Hungarians, tired by the havoc, chaos and destruction

of both the war and the post-war political crisis, decided to

emigrate. As the west re-opened her doors to the people of

Europe, these Hungarians flocked to her doorstep. By nineteen

thirty, thirty thousand Hungarians had entered Canada.[4] (See

Table I)

During the 1930's, however, the situation altered once

again. Canada, like the United States who had already imposed

a quota system with regard to immigration, realized that she

too was capable of supporting only so many newcomers. The

country was experiencing the more cumbersome days of Canadian

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[4]This increase in the number of Hungarians reaching Canada
within such a short time span; ten years to be exact (1920-
1930) may also be attributed to the United State's change in
her immigration policy. Having introduced a quota system
as a means of regulating the number of foreigners crowding
into her domain, the Hungarians heading for the western
countries found it necessary to reroute themselves towards
Canada. Consequently, Canada now became the major landing
dock for Hungarian immigrants seeking refuge from the
troublesome times encountered in Europe.

history as the dismal days of the depression left many Canadians
unemployed. In order to protect those persons already within
her boundaries against the threat of even more competition,
the Canadian government added other restrictive measures to
the Contract Labor Act of 1929. Initially it was passed:

> to prevent the importation to Canada of
> labor that was not required and whose
> coming would displace Canadian labor
> while at the same time not interfering
> with the admission of immigrants coming
> on their own and seeking employment
> after arrival (Kalback, 1970:16)

The stipulations inserted at this time dealt mainly with the
latter part of the forementioned law.

> In 1930 for example, Asiatic immigration
> was restricted to the wife or unmarried
> child under 18 years of age of any Canadian
> Citizen resident in Canada who was in a
> position to receive and care for his
> dependents. The following year, immigration
> was restricted to certain British subjects
> and United States citizens; the wife and
> unmarried children under 18 or fiancé(e)
> of a legal resident of Canada and an agri-
> culturist having sufficient means to farm
> in Canada (Kalback, 1970:19)

As a result of these defensive measures, the number of
Hungarians entering Canada dwindled. Consequent to the fine
filtering process, only three thousand nine hundred and forty
eight Hungarian persons made their way to Canada during the
period from 1931 to 1941.[5] (See Table I)

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[5]It might be speculated that a portion of these immigrants may
very well have been those individuals who, having recognized
the hints of Fascism and Nazism in Hungary as future forces
of intrusion, complied with immigration regulations just so
as to insure avoidance of the apparent catastrophe and guarantee
their immigration to the west.

Wave IV 1943-1955

This cutback in foreign immigration was to become even more severe as World War Two necessitated yet other regulations be brought into effect. These specific laws prohibited:

> the entry or landing in Canada of enemy aliens unless detained under Defence of Canada Regulations or where such aliens could show that they were opposed to the enemy government (Kalback, 1970:17)

Due to this alteration in entrance policy, only a few Hungarians trickled into Canada during the war period; 1939-1945 (See Table I and Table II) as Hungary was defined as a member of the Axis Powers.[6] Duped by the Germans into this war, a resentment grew amongst the Hungarians especially those in the Hungarian army who did not wish to fight for or with the Germans. Matters became even more complicated as the Germans openly declared their occupation of Hungary on March 19th 1944. Prospective

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[6] It seemed Canada was to express little or no sympathy to this ethnic group which history suggests was in reality the victim of vaguely defined war circumstances. According to various historians, Hungary was supposedly not only duped into entering the war but also into siding with the Germans. This may very well be true for persons interviewed in the Kolonia Hungarian Community related war time experiences which could possibly condone the intellectuals suppositions. On one occasion, I had told a Hungarian refugee I interviewed, that I had read in a Hungarian history text that the Hungarians were led to believe that Russian planes had bombed Kassa and Munkacs; two northern Hungarian towns when, in fact, the aircraft were later identified as being German (Lengyel, 1958:130-231) The text revealed that the Germans in taking advantage of the offensive, pointed out to the Hungarians, who had been neutral up until then (June 26, 1941) with respect to taking sides in the war, that obviously the Russian had attacked Hungary and that she should declare war on the Soviets. Believing what the Germans said to be true, Hungary joined the war as an Axis power

deserters of the Hungarian army as well as war refugees could
see no alternative other than to leave their country. The
only problem facing them was finding a sympathetic place of
refuge: the only question was where. With time the response
became evident.

Once the Germans were defeated and the war over,
reparations were once again agreed upon. Canada felt it
imperative to review her immigration laws once more and con-
sequently the Canadian government announced its approval of
an emergency measure to assist in the settlement of these

learning the truth of the matter only later. My respondent
verified these facts by reporting that he was at the front
at that time in the city of Kassa. He remembered the event,
the planes and the bombing. According to him, "the aircraft
were unmarked" yet everyone knew way down deep "we had entered
the war on the wrong side." The Germans had set the Hungarians
up and they fell for it; they didn't find the truth out till
it was too lage." (Interview 13,14, Summer/72, Male) Due to
this feeling of having been co-opted into their war position
an obvious discontentment grew amongst the Hungarians. Even-
tually it culminated in the overt expression of infidelity to
the Hitler regime in the following way. It seemed that the
bulk of the people who dared to oppose the Nazis were those
men either presently enlisted in Hungary's armed forces or
members of the Anti Nazi forces who refused to full heartedly
pledge their allegiance to the Germans' cause. By not argreeing
to take part in the war and/or by declining to fight for
something they did not believe in, these individuals found it
necessary to flee from the country. Regarded as deserters,
they came to be defined as persons with neither house nor
homeland; "displaced person" was the term coined then to
describe such people. With Canada rejecting their bid for
entrance at that time, these displaced persons relocated
themselves temporarily anywhere and everywhere until immigration
to the west became possible once more.

refugees and displaced persons from camps in Europe and to
rectify Canada's growing labor shortage experienced during
the post war period of economic growth. In order to realize
these intentions, Canada had to revoke various laws and rein-
state others. P.C. 2908, July 31, 1947 was one such regulation.
It was:

> relative to nations of nations of Finland,
> Hungary, Italy and Romania who were no
> longer considered as enemy aliens for
> immigration purposes.
> (Kalback, 1970:20)

Permitted to enter Canada once again, by 1956 of the post war
period, a complete fourth wave consisting of twelve thousand
and fifty four Hungarians was gradually admitted (See Table I).

As well it must be emphasized here that contributing
to this steady flow of immigrants during the post war period,
was the Russian occupation of Hungary after the war. Given
an inch in 1946 within ten years the Russians had taken a
mile. Left behind initially to protect the lines of
communication, within this short while the Russians had
nationalized all phases of Hungary's livelihood; mines,
industries, banks, enterprises, schools, churches, religious
orders and even apartment houses. The Russians had simultan-
eously transformed Hungary from the traditionally agricultural
center it had been into a conventional industrial gold mine
as they introduced the "Five Year Plan". Such rapid and
unanticipated social changes frightened the Hungarian people.
Those most seriously affected were those of the upper class

who found themselves almost immediately stripped of all their possessions and properties. Realizing the fact that the Russians had no intentions of reimbursing them for their involuntary donations to the Reds program of communalization, the gentry presently made their first en masse exist from Hungary. This fourth wave of immigration had introduced then different and distinct types of individuals; the displaced person, the refugee, and the upper class. It seems that for the majority;the peasants and those recently associated with the status of industrial worker, had been lured to stay home this time round by the Communists promises of land reform in the case of the former and the Red's prophecies of a new democracy in the instance of the latter. When the peasants and industrial workers finally realized the emptiness of the new government's perspective policies for the people and it became obvious to them that they had been deceived, it was too late for them to immigrate. By this time the iron curtain barred the way.

Wave V 1956-1965

The situation grew increasingly worse in Hungary as the A.V.O.; the secret police network, impinged upon the Hungarian's privacy, as the industrial workers were subjected to continuous Red propaganda as well as indoctrination, as the Hungarians began to fear a repetition of their previous experiences with Russian rulers and as the Polish

strike[7] against the Red Regime hinted at the sentiments of
the Hungarians as well as their need to organize some united
front in order that the country air its discontentment (Lengyel,
1958:244-267). On October 23rd. 1956, the Hungarians raging
temper exploded and their 1956 revolution began. Compiling
a petition of sixteen liberalizing demands the Hungarians once
again entered battle in order to attempt to secure that too
unfamiliar independence and freedom they longed for. In
spite of their efforts, they suffered defeat once again. Yet
all was not lost, for during the confusion of the revolution
and up until 1966, forty three thousand, one hundred and
sixteen Hungarians escaped from Hungary to Canada to form the
fifth and so far final wave of Hungarian immigration (See Table
I). Considering the composition of this collectivity of
immigrants, for the greater part all strata of the society
were represented. These individuals randomly distributed
themselves throughout Canada if not claimed by relatives pre-
established here with 59,427 or 47.08 percent of the total
126,220 Hungarians in this country, settling in Ontario itself.

Here in this province, the Hungarians were to dis-
cover a long term security as of yet inexperienced by them.

---

[7]Polish Strike: In Poland as in Hungary, the workers were
subjected to the party officials' pressures to produce more
at the same wages and to listen to more indoctrination-brain-
washing. A food surplus country in normal times, Poland had
become a food deficiency country, just like Hungary. The
Poles became shabbier and gloomier as the years went on, and
their living standards declined.
        On June 28, 1956, the bitterness accumulating in Poland
erupted in a bloody strike in Poznan (Lengyel, 1958:263-264).

In Ontario, for those who wished to farm there was land readily
available and for those with interests in the field of industry,
a whole new horizon awaited them. Southern Ontario in
particular proved to be a congenial site for the relocation
of these people as:

> the land around Hamilton, Welland and
> Delhi proved more attractive than land
> in the Western Provinces. Farmers took
> up tobacco growing while industrial
> workers went into the International
> Harvesters Companies and Big Steel
> Companies of Canada (Timar, 1957:14)

With the immigrants re-estab ished in ethnic pockets in and
around these areas, it was relatively easy for those professionals
within the ethnic group to offer their services and find a
more than satisfactory Hungarian clientele or patronage to
support them. As a result there came about the somewhat
natural rise of apparently independent Hungarian Ethnic
communities.

Table I

Waves of Hungarian Immigration and their Subcategories[*]

Wave	Period	No. of Immigrants	Total
Wave I	1848-1867	Not recorded	Not recorded
Wave II	1867-1914	15,010	15,010
	1915-1919	0	0
Wave III	1920-1941		33,948
	1920-1923	252	
	1924-1930	29,748	
	1931-1941	3,948	
	1942	0	
Wave IV	1943-1955		12,054
	1943-1947	116	
	1948-1955	11,938	
Wave V	1956-1965	43,667	

[*]Compiled from the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups, Appendix II, Table A-1.

Table II

Hungarian Immigration To Canada From 1900-1965[*]

Year[a]	No.of Hungarian Immigrants	Year	No.of Hungarian Immigrants	Year	No.of Hungarian Immigrants
1900-1901	546	1922	26	1944	15
1902	1,048	1923	162	1945	16
1903	2,074	1924	1,107	1946	83
1904	1,091	1925	2,741	1947	96
1905	981	1926	5,182	1948	1,130
1906	739	1927	5,781	1949	1,633
1907	499	1928	6,265	1950	1,577
1907-1908	1,307	1929	5,375	1951	4,376
1908	453	1930	3,279	1952	1,435
1909	692	1931	493	1953	858
1910	992	1932	311	1954	502
1911	703	1933	484	1955	427
1912	1,210	1934	427	1956	4,274
1913	2,113	1935	319	1957	29,825
1914	562	1936	320	1958	2,723
1915	-	1937	555	1959	1,044
1916	-	1938	596	1960	1,207
1917	-	1939	360	1961	734
1918	-	1940	77	1962	759
1919	-	1941	6	1963	902
1920	23	1942	-	1964	987
1921	41	1943	2	1965	1,212

[a]Fiscal Years From 1900-1901 to 1907-1908, Calendar Years From 1908-1965.

[*]Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV
The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups Appendix II Table A-1.

An Outline of The Construction of The Kolonia Canal

The idea of building a canal to link the Great Lakes of Canada was proposed as early as 1770 with actual construction begun in the early part of the nineteenth century. There were actually four phases to the constantly expanding project which ultimately resulted in Canada's great inland waterway better known as the Saint Lawrence Seaway. An outline of the segmented process of construction is as follows.

Organization of the Kolonia Canal Company:
Formed in 1824 by William Hamilton Merritt with George Keefer as president and fourteen shareholders, some from England as well as from Canada.

First sod turning ceremony held at Allenburg on November 30, 1824.

First Kolonia Canal (1829-1844)

- Construction began November 30, 1924.
- extended from Port Dalhousie on Lake Ontario to Port Robinson where it met the Kolonia River whereupon once locked in the latter waterway ships could sail out to the Niagara River and on to Lake Erie.
- Depth - eight feet
- Number of wooden locks - forty
- Length - one hundred and ten feet
- Completion 1829

- Service 1829-1833
- Due to the treacherous currents encountered at Chippawa along the Niagara River the original canal was pushed southward from Port Robinson to Gravelly Bay; Port Colborne on Lake Erie.
- Completion 1933
- Service (1833-1844).

Second Kolonia Canal (1845-1886)

- After the uniting of the Canadas in 1841, the Provincial Government bought up the rights of the private canal company when it ran into financial difficulties.
- Renovations; deepened to a depth of ten feet widened to twenty six and a half feet
  Locks replaced - the forty wooden locks were replaced by twenty seven cut stone ones.
  Length of locks - one hundred and fifty feet.

Third Kolonia Canal (1887-1931)

- With Confederation in 1867, the canal passed from Provincial to Federal hands.
- Renovations, deepened to a depth of fourteen feet
  Locks reduced; the twenty seven locks were reduced to twenty six.
  Length of locks - two hundred and seventy feet.
  Course change - the canal course was changed from the Twelve Mile Creek to a route running from Port Dalhousie to the east side of Thorald and then south.

Fourth Kolonia Canal (1931-1972)

The need for a new canal was foreseen even before the turn of the century. The larger ships were unable to pass through the canal system and therefore their cargo had to be transferred to at least five small canalers for shipping. This inconvenience slowed down the rate of transferring goods and cargoes through the canal system and as a result between 1907 and 1912 plans were in progress for the present canal. Although construction began in 1913 and continued until 1916, the First World War brought the work to a halt. Nevertheless by 1919 the renewed efforts to complete the project were introduced and by 1932 the new canal was finished.

Locks reduced - the twenty six locks were reduced to seven

Length of locks - seven hundred and sixty six feet

This fourth canal actually became part of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959.

Fifth Kolonia Canal

The new Kolonia Canal Relocation project undertaken in the 60's and to be completed in 1973 has as its main purpose (1) the construction of a canal which will entirely by-pass the city of Kolonia therefore greatly reducing the congestion presently experienced as the original waterway bisects the city proper and (2) the introduction of a refined thirteen miles water route which will reduce the travelling distance of ships sailing from one Great Lake to another and consequently increase the efficiency of the Canadian inland waterway.

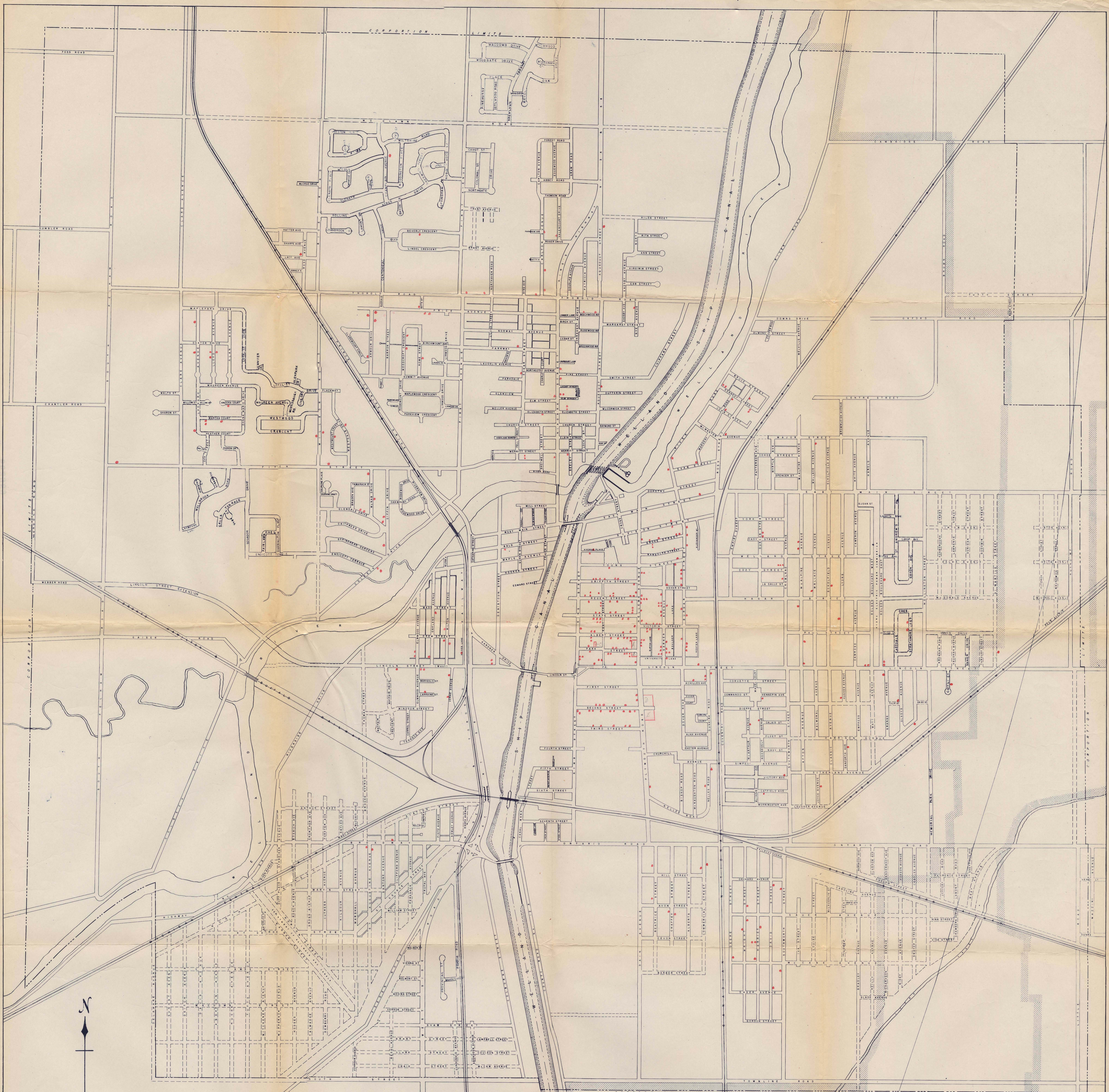# Appendix C

The History of the City of Kolonia; An Outline

Origins: (A) In 1829 when a wooden aqueduct was built to carry the Kolonia Canal over the Kolonia River, the settlement which sprang up along side the construction site was called Aqueduct. The first group of people who actually settled here were originally members of the two nearby camps of Empire Loyalists; Fort Erie and Niagara, which had been established as early as 1788.

(B) In 1842 when the wooden aqueduct was replaced by one of stone, the name was changed to Merrittsville in honor of the Honorable William Merritt the founder of the Kolonia Canal Company.

(C) The Settlement was incorporated as the village of Kolonia on July 24th 1858.

(D) Incorporation as a town took place on January 1st. 1878.

(E) Final legal recognition of the city of Kolonia occurred on July 1st. 1917.
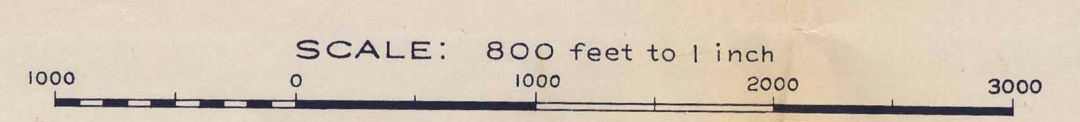
Appendix D

Industry in Kolonia

Various Industries which arose in Kolonia proper.

1867   Kolonia Flour Mills

1860   Kolonia Iron Works (this industry built cargo ships
       for the allies)

1905   Plymouth Cortage (The west was opening up and farmers
       needed binder twine for the harvests. Canada put a high
       duty on twine from Massachusetts in order to locate the
       industry in Canada and thus employ Canadians.

1907   Electro Metallurgical Company of Canada

1909   John Deere (Farm Equipment Manufacturing)

1909   Page Hersy Tubes Limited (origins; 1888-Montreal, Branch
       1902-Guelph, Branch 1909-Kolonia)

1911   Page Hersy (No. 2 Mill)

1912   Canada Foundries and Forgin Limited

1913   Woods Manufacturing Company Limited

1914   Union Carbide Company of Canada Limited

1918   Kolonia Iron and Brass Company

1923   Page Hersy (No. 3 Mill)

1924   Kolonia Electric Steel Foundry Ltd.

1928   Atlas Steel

1930   Page Hersy Seamless Pipe Mill.
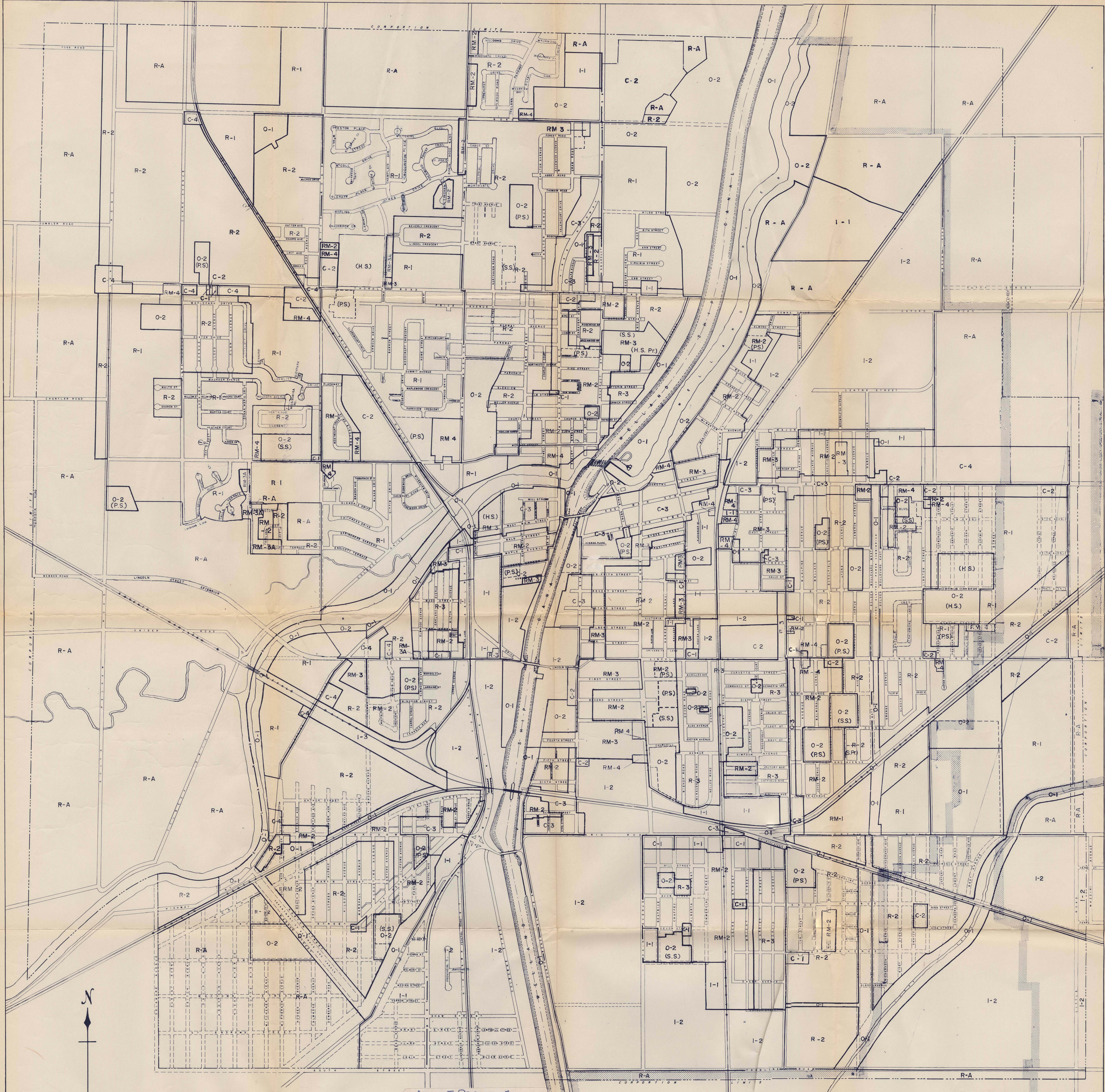
CITY OF

KOLONIA

SCALE: 800 feet to 1 inch

1000   0   1000   2000   3000

APPENDIX F: DISTRIBUTION OF KOLONIA'S
INSTITUTIONS AND ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION
P. 287

PLANNING OFFICE MAP NO.
BASE MAP - CITY ENGINEER'S DEPT.
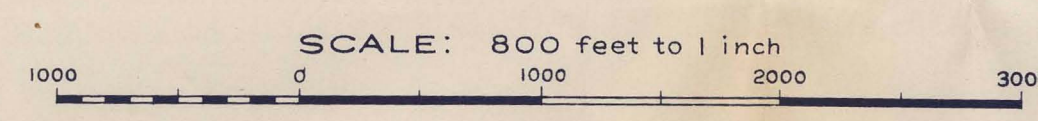
BUREAU OF LANDS EXPROPRIATED BY SEAWAY AUTHORITY

N

CITY OF

KOLONIA

ZONING MAP

LEGEND

SCALE: 800 feet to 1 inch

1000   0   1000   2000   3000

PLANNING OFFICE MAP NO. L2-64
BASE MAP - CITY ENGINEER'S DEPT.

APPENDIX F: Residential Zoning
PE 201

MAP FORMING PART OF
OFFICE CONSOLIDATION OF
ZONING BY-LAW NO 2667
as amended

Code	Description
R-1	RESIDENTIAL — ONE FAMILY — 1ST DENSITY
R-2	RESIDENTIAL — ONE FAMILY — 2ND DENSITY
R-3	RESIDENTIAL — ONE FAMILY — 3RD DENSITY
RM-1	RESIDENTIAL — TWO FAMILY — MULTIPLE 1ST DENSITY
RM-2	RESIDENTIAL — MULTIPLE 2ND DENSITY
RM-3	RESIDENTIAL — MULTIPLE 3RD DENSITY
RM-4	RESIDENTIAL — MULTIPLE 4TH DENSITY
R-A	RURAL AGRICULTURE
C-1	COMMERCIAL — LOCAL
C-2	COMMERCIAL — SHOPPING
C-3	COMMERCIAL — GENERAL
C-4	COMMERCIAL — HIGHWAY
I-1	INDUSTRIAL — LIGHT
I-2	INDUSTRIAL — HEAVY
I-3	INDUSTRIAL — RAILWAY
O-1	OPEN SPACE — PUBLIC
O-2	OPEN SPACE — PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

BORDER OF LANDS EXPROPRIATED BY SEAWAY AUTHORITY

N