

GABRIEL-VIOREL GÂRDAN

MARIUS EPPEL

THE ROMANIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES
UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR.
REVISITING OPPORTUNITIES AND VULNERABILITIES

Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan

Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
Email: ggardan@yahoo.com

Marius Eppel

Babeş-Bolyai University, Center for Population Studies, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
Email: mariuseppel@yahoo.com

Abstract: The European emigration on the other side of the Atlantic was a complex phenomenon. The areas inhabited by Romanians got acquainted to this phenomenon towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Therefore, starting with the year 1895, a certain mixture of causes led to a massive migration to America, especially of the Romanians from the rural areas. The purpose of our study is to explore the causes of the Romanian emigration across the ocean up to the First World War to present the Romanian emigrants' features (occupation, age, gender, social status, religious affiliation, the way they were distributed across the North-American territory) and to bring forth essential aspects of the way they embraced the assimilation process. From a methodological standpoint our analyses are based upon official data of the US Census. This data is being interpreted in the light of some reference papers referring to the period that makes the object of our study. A certain amount of information presented here relies on our research activity in the Metropolitan Archives of Sibiu, where the ecclesiastic correspondence of that time provides very interesting data.

Key Words: emigration, America, Romanian, assimilation process, identity, religion, church, orthodox, gender

Romanian emigration across the Ocean - some facts

The European emigration on the other side of the Atlantic has been and it continues to be a complex phenomenon, its motivation, time span, area, content and effect having natural similarities and differences from one country to another, from one historic period to another.¹ The areas inhabited by Romanians got acquainted to this phenomenon towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. From the American point of view², this immigration is part of what is called *the new immigration wave*, a wave that includes ethnical groups from Eastern and Central Europe, such as: Polish, Czechs, Slovenians, Serbs, Hungarians, Russians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians, Macedo-Romanians, and so on. This new wave was different from what the American authorities³ called *the old immigration*⁴ that had come from the Western and Northern Europe and had reached its peak before the Civil War (1861-1865).⁵

A first group of Romanian immigrants reached on the other side of the Atlantic by the middle of the nineteenth century. They came from Transylvania, Wallachia, Banat, Dobrudja and Bukovina, mostly making their way across Europe in order to embark in Hamburg or other ports, sailing to Halifax, St-John, Montreal or New York.⁶ The approximate number of Romanian immigrants, who left behind their fatherland, after the 1848 Revolution, is difficult to establish for at least two reasons: there are only American sources⁷ to certify it, and they refer only to the Romanians from the time of the Habsburg Empire (up to 1867)⁸ or from the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, without mentioning their ethnic origins.⁹

Romanian historians estimate that the very first stage of the Romanian emigration to the United States, numerically reduced to a couple of thousands, may be ascribed to the general European trend of those times, that is the refuge of some of the European revolutionaries to the United States, right after the 1848 Revolution, when a general anti-revolutionary action started spreading all over the old continent.¹⁰

Șerban Drutzu¹¹ and Samuel Joseph¹² are the ones stating that between 1881 and 1900 the Romanian emigration to the United States included mainly Jewish people¹³. The beginning of emigration of the first Jewish group from Romania was estimated in 1872¹⁴. The emigration of the first Jewish group from Romania began in 1872 in political circumstances which should be recalled briefly (we have in view direct group or collective emigrations and not the reported isolated cases in the first half of the nineteenth century). According to Vâtcu & Bădăraș, one of its initiators was Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, the American general consul in Bucharest, who was famous as one of the sustainers of the migrating current to America as a variant of the Zionist ideology of the epoch. The

Jewish emigrations from Romania, economically motivated, were reactions to the political discrimination against foreigners, especially Jews, by the Liberal party governments of Carol of Hohenzollern immediately after the Constitution of 1866¹⁵. The total number of Jews who emigrated to America between 1881-1900 from Romania was of about 20.000.¹⁶

The exact moment when the Romanian emigration “truly” started is difficult to pin down. However, scholars consider that this phenomenon started sometime between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, together with the massive migration of the Romanians from regions that were under Austro-Hungarian ruling: Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat. The year that set the beginning of this movement was 1895.¹⁷ Therefore, starting with the year 1895, a certain mixture of causes led to a massive migration to America, especially of the Romanians from the rural areas.

The purpose of our study is to explore the causes of the Romanian emigration across the ocean to the United States up to the First World War to present, the Romanian emigrants’ features (occupation, age, gender, social status, religious affiliation, the way they were distributed across the American territory) and to bring forth essential aspects of the way they embraced the assimilation process. Thus, while focusing on the situation of the Romanian emigrants into the United States territory, we will briefly refer to the situation in Canada with comparative purpose only. A certain amount of information presented here relies on our research activity in the Metropolitan Archives of Sibiu, where the ecclesiastic correspondence of that time provides very interesting data¹⁸. Thus, the present paper displays the first results of a research project entitled “The Romanian Orthodox Diaspora in North America: Narrative and Epistolary Sources”, coordinated by Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, Ph.D.

From a methodological standpoint our analyses are based upon official data of the Census that ran in the United States in 1860 (8th decennial US Census), 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920. This data, all available on line nowadays,¹⁹ is being interpreted in the light of some reference papers referring to the period that makes the object of our study, the most important being written before the First World War, or shortly after. Our investigation found interesting information in the work *A study of Assimilation Among the Romanians of United States*, published in 1929 by Cristina Avghi Galitzi, a well documented book based on the author’s extended studies about the Romanian communities in the United States. Among other sources of information that we have used, one to mention is Radu Toma’s *Românii în cele două Americi: o experiență etnică și istorică* (*Romanians of the Two Americas: An Ethnic and Historical Experience*) published in 1998, as well as the new data from the ecclesiastic archives and data from the Archive of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Romania from

Bucharest, Collections The Washington Problem vol. 84 and 88, and so-called The 15th Problem, vol. 18 and 24.

In this paper, we shall first present the *push* factors of the first wave of Romanian migrants to America (from 1895 to 1920), and we shall summarize the *pull* factors, as seen through contemporary US census returns and comments of the time.

The process of assimilation concerning Romanian migrants arrived in US was further analyzed by Galitzky and presented by Toma in the light of the some theories regarding this matter, particularly during the First World War: „The Melting-Pot Theory”, „The Americanization Theory”, „The Federation of Nation Theory”, „The Community Theory”.²⁰

Causes of emigration

Certain external conditions greatly favored the outbreak and the consequent extension of the immigration phenomenon. The “migration” of the North-American financial capital to areas of rich natural resources, such as the southern part of the Great Lakes, the continuous lack of workforce, the labor market’s ever high capacity of absorbing the still underdeveloped agricultural areas and the continuously expanding industrial ones, together with a decrease of the immigration from Western Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, became some of the most important external factors that stimulated the transoceanic migration waves, especially from Eastern Europe.

The general railroad and waterway developments together with their relatively low costs were of utmost importance at that time a fact that generated a high mobility of an even greater number of people, a mobility that overcame long distances in a short time span.

Radu Toma pointed out that, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, as the transatlantic companies extended their recruiting networks to the Southern and Eastern part of Europe, the flux of immigrants from these areas was the highest²¹, and this is obvious in the case of the Romanians as well.

Were we to try a general classification of the reasoning behind the Romanian emigration to the New World, we would notice that there were two categories of factors that determined the Romanian emigration: local causes which were demographical, economic, political and social (also called repulsive causes or *push*) and external causes that favoured the emigration to North America (also called attractive causes or *pull*).

The Repulsive Causes or push factors

Repulsive causes in Romania comprise a complex mixture of demographical, economic, political, social and psychological factors that

were interrelated and generated the emigration especially in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The demographic factor happened to be a major one, particularly in Transylvania: there was a rapid growth of the population of this province due to a high birth rate. This demographic boom was recorded in the first half of the nineteenth century²², when the surplus of the younger population in the rural areas – the children of these 19th baby-boomers – had to face high unemployment rates and found a solution in emigration.²³

The majority of the historians consider that the Romanian emigration to America was essentially an economic phenomenon. The main social class from Transylvania, the peasantry, showed major differences at the end of the nineteenth century. The 1895 statistics showed about 884,000 properties that were smaller than 50 hectares. Half of these (442,000) were smaller than 2.8 hectares. The total surface of the properties was of 456,000 hectares. Consequently, the average area of such a property was of one hectare, an area that was not enough for the survival of a rural family²⁴.

Therefore, we may consider that, in Transylvania, since this is the example we are discussing, considering it to be most representative, there were 440,000 poor peasant families. In conclusion, almost 50 per cent of the total number of owners in the rural area only owned 6.5 per cent of the private areas. This actually means that around 1,000,000 people had to rely on the great properties of Hungarian landowners in order to earn a living. They represented the agricultural proletariat and the majority of the rural population²⁵. Theoretically, they were given the possibility to work only for a few months during year on these extended estates – usually for a minimum payment, while for the rest of the year they had to try to survive.

The general agrarian crisis caused by setting low purchase prices for the agricultural products, the severe unemployment rate in the rural areas increased by the technological progress,²⁶ the low income issues and the lack of cash money, the rough fiscal policy, the exaggerate number of high taxes applied in the poor rural areas, the high percentage of debts peasants had towards the banks and the money lenders²⁷, the extremely slow evolution of the industrialization process, and the lack of extended public projects that could absorb the exceeding work force from villages were as many reasons to look for a better place to live in.

Besides the causes of economic nature, the political ones should also be mentioned,²⁸ because these also determined the emigration of the Romanians that lived on the territories that were still under a foreign rule²⁹. The instauration of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1867 represented, for the Romanians from Transylvania, the beginning of a period of major national problems worsened by the severe *Magyarization policies*³⁰. Among the most significant measures taken during the

Magyarization process we mention: the limitation of election rights, the provision of Hungarian at all the levels of the educational system, the censorship of the press, the trials against Romanian journalists, the ban on pro-Romanian cultural and political manifestations etc.³¹

We can also mention the psychological implications determined by the considerable spread of news about America. This brought about an intellectual familiarity with the transatlantic world and led to a serious reduction of the “psychological distance” between the place of departure and the new dwelling place³².

It would be an act of ignorance to consider the demographic, economic and political aspects to be the only repulsive causes that led to the emigration of the Romanians to the United States. The hope of avoiding what would be a downward social mobility was not the only cause that pushed the Romanians to emigrate since there were also other factors that attracted them to America³³.

Attractive causes or pull factors

The appealing economic conditions offered by America, the propaganda for emigration to the other side of the Atlantic of the sailing companies, the recruitment campaigns carried out by immigration companies, the letters sent home by those who had left, the donations they made to churches, schools, newspapers, cultural associations, the land grants given, for example, by the Canadian government, and many more, became positive reasons for emigration to North and South America.

For the United States, the history of the industrial development is made up of gigantic leaps, of periods of unusual prosperity, followed by years of either stagnation or economic crisis. The beginning of the Romanian emigration to the United States is tightly connected to the industrial booming during which there was a stringent need of work force for difficult and challenging jobs. In order to have access to this work force for a low price, the immigration agencies and the sailing companies³⁴ extended their activities in Eastern and Southern Europe, in countries like Poland, Austria, Hungary, Greece, Italy etc. Although, most often, the promises of the agents were not kept, to the Romanian peasant the proposal, as such, offered the chance of escaping poverty. The agents strove to convince the needy that prosperity was expecting them in America, that they would find work and that they would be well-paid³⁵. To reach this purpose, they did not hesitate to use false letters, from so-called co-nationals that had already done well in America, letters saying that an unqualified worker could earn up to \$200 per month, and that the \$3 per day jobs were so many that the only thing the newly-arrived had to do was to choose the job he wanted.³⁶ How fake such statements were, they were about to find out on their own, after landing there.

The mirage of the earnings pictured by the immigration agencies and the sailing companies was sustained by the letters of the Romanians who had landed in North America. The so-called “correspondence” from America, together with the accounts of those who returned home, or of their relatives, played an important role in determining people of all types to leave for America³⁷.

However, if we take into account the steadiness of the Romanians, it becomes clear that it was not due to the promises made of the immigration agencies, neither due to the letters sent from the United States by those who had left their fatherland. These wouldn't have meant much if there hadn't been the example of the emigrant who supported his family back home, or who returned home after many years of wandering. The people from the village would be immediately convinced that the United States of America are the salvation. If, before leaving for the United States, their needs were the same as of the ones that remained in the village, once returned home, they would own houses, have enough land, money in the bank and a good material situation, and their social status would also be better than before. Could there be a better way of convincing the others that the letters and the promises are true and make them leave to “the promise land”?³⁸

We may add another cause to the ones mentioned so far – a special one that led to the emigration to Canada. Starting with 1891, that is almost at the same time with the onset of the Romanian emigration, in order to favor the colonization of the central and western areas of the country that were poorly inhabited, the Canadian government allotted land for free or for a symbolic amount of money to those who wished to settle there.³⁹

All these causes, as well as others, that can be known only by them, made the emigrants, the conservative Romanian peasants, leave their homes, travel further than they ever imagined, break up with their families, friends and the rural background that was so familiar to them. It was not a decision to be made lightly, overnight,⁴⁰ but once it was made, nothing would stop them from leaving, neither the tears of the wife, of the children, of the parents, relatives or neighbours, nor the discouragement or the barriers raised by the authorities (the punitive administrative and the anti-immigrationist propaganda: The Law IV/1903 for the limitation of emigration; a new one, The Law II/1909 or “The Law for limitation of emigrations”; propaganda for the return of migrants).⁴¹

Real difficulties were encountered during the process of establishing the number of Romanians that emigrated across the ocean before the First World War. This aspect was noticed by Ioan Iosif Șchiopu in the year 1913. He was aware that it was impossible to establish the number of Romanians that had emigrated to the United States mainly because there was no serious attempt to gather statistical data in this direction.⁴² There were several differences between the numbers that circulated in the

newspapers of that time (from 50,000 to 200,000), mainly because it was "the result of some combinations and counting, that, in most cases, had no solid background".⁴³

Among the causes that made almost impossible to establish an exact number of Romanians that emigrated to the United States, Ioan Iosif Șchiopu mentions: a) the continuous migration of the workers from one city to the other, dictated by the labour market; b) the socio-cultural and religious life of the immigrants being at its beginnings, made it impossible to put together precise statistics, the 80 cultural societies established could hardly register 2,000 members, and about the same number was registered in the 12 orthodox and Greek-catholic parishes; c) the tendency of the Romanians to establish themselves in the great industrial centers in British English, with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, made "any attempt to count the emigrated Romanians impossible to achieve"; d) the most secure source for establishing a statistics is offered by the Reports of the Immigration Commission of the United States⁴⁴. But this data is not complete either for several reasons: 1. The ship registers are based on written and spoken declarations of the travelers; 2. The Hungarian authorities that issued the travelling documents for the majority of the Romanians had the tendency to magyarize their names.⁴⁵

The US statistical reports, because of the low registration numbers, present the Romanians as a special subdivision only starting with the year 1899⁴⁶. Having as a starting point the official data, Ioan Iosif Șchiopu states that in 1899, 96 Romanians entered the United States, in 1900 - 398, in 1901 - 761, in 1902 - 2,033, in 1903 - 4,740, in 1904 - 4,364. Until the year 1903 the reports do not mention the country of origin of the immigrants. The report made in the year 1903 mentions that out of the 4,740 Romanian immigrants 4,173 were from Austro-Hungary, 514 were from Romania and 53 from other countries⁴⁷.

Starting with the year 1905 the number of Romanian immigrants is constantly growing, and, consequently, the official statistics begin to focus more on the Romanian element, registering not only the country of origin, but also the gender, the occupation and the cultural level of the person.⁴⁸ According to the statistics related to the period between 1899 and 1920, a number of 137,682 Romanian immigrants were allowed on US territory, of which 49,206 (35,73 per cent) returned back to their country. The census carried out in the USA in 1920 also shows 29,347 persons born in the USA that had Romanian as a mother tongue "native white of foreign or mixed parentage".⁴⁹ In the year 1920, in the United States there were a number of 102,823 people born on Romanian territory as reconfigured after the First World War.⁵⁰

As far as their religious beliefs, the immigrants were divided into three categories: Orthodox (over 95 per cent),⁵¹ Greek-catholic (1,700 believers) and Baptists (850 believers).⁵² From the *Reports of Immigration*

Commission (Washington, 1911), Christine Avghi Galitzi⁵³ estimated that, out of the Romanians who emigrated to USA up to 1910, 4,9 per cent were from Romania, 86,9 per cent from Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat, and 8,2 per cent from Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and other areas.⁵⁴

Who were the migrants and where did they go?

It is only natural that we should ask ourselves this question. We have anticipated the answer when we presented the causes of the emigration. There are still a few things to consider. From the occupational point of view, between 1899 and 1920, most of the emigrants were peasants (87,5 per cent)⁵⁵, people of no occupational background, and by crossing the ocean they turned into labourers of foundries, mines, railroads companies, car or rubber factories, etc.⁵⁶.

Still, it would be ill-judged to believe that it was only the peasants who chose to emigrate⁵⁷. Although in small numbers, there were also actors, architects, lawyers, engineers, litterateurs, doctors, carvers, bakers, barbers, blacksmiths, book-binders, butchers, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, furriers, masons, hatter, jewelers, sailors, millers, miners, painters, photographers, printers, shoe-makers, upholsterers, clock makers, bankers, merchants, servants, waiters, hotel keepers, etc.⁵⁸

Upon entering the country, the US authorities tested the immigrants in order to show whether they knew how to read and write. According to the results obtained from this test, 35 per cent of the Romanian immigrants, 14 year of age and over, during 1899-1910, could neither read nor write. The percentage of illiteracy decreased to 33.2 per cent from 1911 until 1920, and to 3.5 per cent for the period 1920-1928.⁵⁹

The majority of the Romanians who were admitted to the United States between 1899-1910 settled themselves in the urban areas (90.9 per cent) and only 9.1 per cent of them in the United States rural areas. Being largely unskilled workers they were ready to take any kind of work, provided it was lucrative. It was not, therefore, their traditional occupation but opportunities for work which guided the distribution of the Romanians throughout the United States. They responded to any demand from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coasts so that every state in the Union has some Romanians.

According to official figures published by Washington from the 1920 Census that we consulted⁶⁰, Romanians immigrants concentrated, however, in the middle Atlantic division, which had 54.5 per cent of the entire immigrant population from Romania; the East North-Central Division with 28.5 per cent and the West Nord-Central with seven per cent. Twelve states alone have 91.4 per cent of these immigrants: New York State leading the list with 39 per cent, followed by Ohio with 12.7 per cent, Pennsylvania with 10.9 per cent, Michigan with 6.2 per cent, Illinois with

6.1 per cent, New Jersey with 4.4 per cent, Indiana with 2.7 per cent, California with 2.3 per cent, Minnesota with 2.3 per cent, North Dakota with 1.8 per cent, Montana with 1.6 per cent, Massachusetts with 1.4 per cent; the remainder, 8.6 per cent, being unequally distributed among the other thirty-six states. Three of these states, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, have 53.6 per cent of the total immigration population from Romania. The majority of the Romanians have settled in the great industrial centers. Only seven per cent are in urban districts of 2,500 inhabitants or over; 18.3 per cent are in cities of 25,000 inhabitants or over, and 74.7 per cent settled in twelve cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over.⁶¹

Individual characteristics of immigrants on arrival and “chain” migration

One must mention that, from the gender point of view, the immigrants were not only men, but also women, even if the numbers were lower than the men's,⁶² but this shouldn't be ignored, all the more as they will play an important role in the life of the first Romanian communities from North America. Out of 149,826 Romanian immigrants officially recorded between 1899 and 1928, 83.4 per cent were men and 16.6 per cent were women⁶³.

The predominance of men in the early period of immigration is still more noticeable, the men forming 91 per cent of the total number of arrivals between 1899 and 1910. This is probably due to the temporary or provisional character of the Romanian immigration. It was not so much the hardships encountered by the pioneers, the making of first contacts, the uncertainty of finding immediate employment, which led the men to emigrate alone, as it was their expectation of returning home in the shortest possible time. Only a few Romanian women accompanied the men, their number not exceeding nine per cent of the Romanian immigration up to 1910. But after a period of trial on the men who realized that even in this promised land money-making was not such a rapid process, but necessitated a longer sojourn in the United States, and not wishing to endure loneliness the women began joining the men, in greater numbers. The percentage of women reached 20.7 per cent in decade 1911-1920. In the period 1921-1928 the two sexes were equally represented in Romanian immigration.

If we take into account the age of the people that emigrated to the United States, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, 5.8 per cent of them were children under 14, 86.2 per cent were between 14 and 44, and 8.2 were over the age of 45.⁶⁴ In the period 1899-1910 children less than fourteen years of age did not exceed 2.3 per cent of the total of Romanian emigration. The majority of the Romanians, or 92.8 per cent belonged to the age group of 14 to 44, while those of 45 and over represented 4.9 per cent of the total. Between 1911 and 1920, the children

represented 6.8 per cent of the total; the category of 14 to 44 reached up to 80 per cent, and that of 45 and over reached 13.2 per cent.

Radu Toma proposed a hypothesis regarding the marital status of the immigrants. In his opinion, ever since the first years, the Romanian emigration to the United States had a predominantly familial character, meaning that the families emigrated together.⁶⁵ The analysis of the statistical data only partially confirms his hypothesis. Initially, only men emigrated. Eventually, the ones who were married also brought their wives, and the majority of the unmarried ones came back to the country, got married and then left again, this time around together with their wives and children, if they had any.

On the other hand, the great majority of the married immigrants left their wives and children home⁶⁶, a clear sign that their departure was not for good. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, they represented 92.8 per cent of the number of immigrants, and during the second half of the century the percentage reached up to 80 per cent.⁶⁷

What happened with return projects among first generation migrants ?

These immigrants were representative for what the historians called the “one thousand and go” generation⁶⁸ called so because, according to what Policarp Morușca, the first Romanian Orthodox Bishop in the United States said, *no Romanian soul left with the thought of not coming back. The goal was to get a “thousand (of dollars) and the money for the trip”. To pay the debts, to build a house and set up or develop a household.*⁶⁹

Therefore, the first people to emigrate did not leave the country with the intention of settling forever in the United States, but only to earn the necessary money for their needs and for their family. Consequently, their stay in the United States was only temporary, a fact that had important effects on the organization of the social and religious institutions in the United States. From this point of view, in the period before the First World War, the assimilation process was rather effaced. To support this, there are some facts pertaining to the lifestyle of the immigrants and their struggle to organize themselves. We refer here to the fact that the majority of them lived in boarding houses, and the criteria set for the foundation of different aid or cultural associations were almost exclusively of ethnical nature and were meant to preserve the national identity and to keep alive the desire of coming back.

During the First World War, an important change occurs in the options of the Romanian immigrants. Due to the impossibility of coming back in Romania, because of the interruption of the waterway transport between USA and Europe, and because of the significant improvement at the level of income, the Romanians were under a great deal of assimilation pressure. Thus, the 1920 census records an obvious progress in the

assimilation process. This is proved by the marked tendency to naturalization. Out of 102,823 Romanian immigrants, 41.14 per cent (42,225) were already US citizens, and 12,694 (13.6 per cent) had already applied for being naturalized. At the same time, 43 per cent (43,952) of them still kept their Romanian citizenship.⁷⁰ Therefore, it is obvious that the Romanians started buying properties, sent their children to American schools, and the dream of getting back to their country was forgotten. They also organized there their social and religious life and adopted the freedom and democracy ideals of their new country. Starting with this moment, the assimilation process became, for most of them, irreversible.

The Beginnings of the Church Life of the Orthodox Romanians in America

As far as their religious beliefs is concerned the immigrants were divided, as we have already mentioned, into three categories: Orthodox (over 95 per cent), Greek-catholic (1,700 believers) and Baptists (850 believers)⁷¹. The great majority of the immigrants have felt, since the first days of their arrival, the lack of the religious life from back home, particularly on the occasion of religious holidays⁷². Likewise, the lack of some Romanian Orthodox priests who should have been with them in moments of sorrow (burial) or joy (baptism or wedding) was felt strongly by the first immigrants. In these circumstances, as a consequence of the debates held in the dining rooms of the boarding houses where they were living, the immigrants from different towns and cities started to found parishes and to petition the church authorities from Romania to send them priests for their religious needs⁷³. The impetus for the accomplishment of this project was given by the priest Gheorghe Hențea from Ghelar-Hunedoara, who visited America in 1902, and by the mission of the priest Zaharia Oprea from Bandul de Câmpie, mission ordered by the Metropolitan of Ardeal, Ioan Mețianu, in 1904⁷⁴.

The Orthodox Romanians from Canada have been pioneers of the church life. In 1901, they built the first Romanian Orthodox church in North America, and in 1903, they had their first priest, the archimandrite Evghenie Ungureanu⁷⁵.

The first Romanian Orthodox parish in USA was founded in 1904, in Cleveland, Ohio. The parish was founded on August 5th/18th, during the first meeting of the Romanian Club in Cleveland. The first step of this project was the convocation of the Romanians of that town in a meeting, on August 28th, 1904. During this meeting, held in the house of Mihail Bârză, on Herman Street, an appeal was put forward to all Romanians from Cleveland and the surrounding areas, asking them to support this initiative. Two months later, there had been already held a parish council in Cleveland; on October 30th, 1904, the parish petitioned the Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu and to the Metropolitan Consistory of Sibiu,

asking them to approve the parish's foundation, the construction of a church and requesting a very well-trained priest.

The answer of the Consistory was, of course, a favorable one. The answering letter also contained the recommendation that the parish should be organized on the basis of the Organical Status of the Transylvanian Metropolitan Church⁷⁶.

The demand of the Orthodox believers in Cleveland to receive a well-trained priest has been accomplished, for objective reasons, only at the end of 1905, when the first priest of the Romanian Orthodox parish in USA was appointed, Moise Balea a young graduate of Andrei Șaguna Theological Institute.

Shortly after his installation in Cleveland, Moise Balea started a pioneer work, founding several parishes in different towns (South Sharon, Pennsylvania; Youngstown, Ohio; and Indiana Harbor, Indiana)⁷⁷.

The administration of these four parishes and the fulfillment of the religious needs of the believers required a huge effort from the priest Moise Balea. Nevertheless, the results appeared and, in the autumn of the year 1906, the parish in South Sharon had secured a lot for the construction of a church. The parishes in Cleveland and Youngstown had acquired significant amounts of money, and the believers in Indiana harbor succeeded, on November 4th, 1906, in setting the foundation for what was to be the first Romanian Orthodox church in USA⁷⁸.

In the following years, other priests sent by the Metropolitan of Sibiu joined the priest Moise Balea (Trandafir Scorobet, Ioan Tatu, Simion Mihălțan, Ioan Podea etc.). Each of these priests founded new parishes and new churches in these parishes⁷⁹.

The church life of the Romanians was not without tensions and problems. The parishes' foundation and organization generated conflicts. The first parishes had been founded according to the example of the Protestant churches. A constitutive assembly decided the foundation of a parish and, then, it was registered to the law-court as a religious "congregation", having its own organization and governing rules. Most of the time, the priest was at the hand of his believers, who made statutes and regulations of organization and working to their working at their will. On many occasions, these regulations were inconsistent with or even in contradiction with the canons of the church. Between the president of the parish, the laymen and the priest, there were almost always tensions; often the priest was forced to give up. For this reason, some of the priests, after a period of mission in the American parishes, came back to Romania, and thus, the lack of priests became a constant of early church life in.

The more and more ambiguous situation, the Baptist proselytism actions and the increasing number of emigrants determined the Metropolitan Church of Sibiu to decide, at the beginning of the year 1912, the foundation of a deanery under the leadership of the priest Ioan Podea. The main task of this association was to gather the Orthodox parishes,

which were divided by selfish passions, into a central organization structure⁸⁰.

The deanery was to be the expression of the unity of the Romanian ecclesiastical communities and had to facilitate the interparish relations, on the one side, and their relations with the Mother-Church, on the other.

At the same time, the foundation of the deanery was a visible sign that the Metropolitan Church of Sibiu had started to reconsider its attitude toward the character of the church organization of the Romanians in America, admitting that this character became a permanent one.

The first preoccupation of the new Protopresbyter Ioan Podea was to elaborate the statute of the new ecclesiastical association, on the basis of which its juridical personality should be recognized, according to the American juridical usages, and he could be able to exert his authority over 13 to 14 parishes and 4 to 5 priests⁸¹.

The world conflagration that started in 1914 in Sarajevo, in which all the great powers had been quickly involved, had repercussions on the Romanian community in America. After the United States entered the war in 1917, those who had intended to return to Romania could not, due to the adjournment of the trans-oceanic air-liners. Also, the economical prosperity brought by the progress of the American economy changed the plans of many people⁸².

People started to earn more money, and this fact had consequences in the church life, too. New parishes had been founded and more churches had been built, but the majority of them had no priest, because of the impossibility of sending them from Romania. Six new parishes had been added to the 16 parishes founded before the war under the jurisdiction of the deanery led by Ioan Podea. If we count the parishes founded in Canada, we observe that there were 30 Romanian Orthodox parishes in North America at the end of 1918.

The year 1918 represents the manifestation of the cohesion between clergy and believers. The reason of this manifestation was the engagement in the fight for the state unity of the Romanians. The press campaign, the protest manifestations against the Hungarian propaganda, the memoirs addressed to the American authorities, the refusal to conscript themselves in the Austrian Hungarian army, all were actions which supported the efforts of the brothers from the mother-country.

On February 24th, 1918, in an assembly gathered in Youngstown, Ohio, those 13 Orthodox priests from the USA, together with 57 lay representatives, in the name of the 150,000 Romanians who lived in America at that time, fulfilled what the historiography called "the union before union". As an expression of the unanimous will, a solemn act, called "Charter for the Submission and the Dedication of the Rumanian Orthodox Church in the United States to the Holy Metropolitan See at Bucharest" has been elaborated and signed. In essence, this act stipulated the

renunciation to the canonical jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Church of Sibiu at the submission to the one of the Metropolitan Church of Ungro-Vlahia. This act of church union of the Transylvanian Orthodox Romanians, emigrated over the ocean, with their brothers from Romania, anticipated the political union of all Romanians, being the expression of the national and church ideals which had preoccupied the Romanians for centuries⁸³.

This act was also important for the fact that it put forward the idea of the foundation of a Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in America. In fact, this idea became reality; on the basis of the decision and of the act above mentioned, the Protopresbyter Ioan Podea applied for the recognition by the American authorities of the new-founded Episcopate, to the Secretary of State in Columbus, Ohio, on August 22nd, 1918. A few days later, on August 27th, the Secretary of State in Columbus, Ohio, issued the act of recognition.

Assimilation process and theoretical debates in the 1920s

The modification of the immigrant's characteristics has been variously referred to as: social adaptation adjustment, or Americanization. Perhaps the best current terminology is „assimilation”. According to Julius Drachsler, the general public concept of assimilation is that of a process of modification of the characteristics of the immigrant to accord with prevalent American types, psychology, customs and institutions usually by superimposing American manners plus American ideas upon those of the immigrant⁸⁴.

The question of assimilation has been and it continues to be one of controversy. Ardent advocates of the environmental influence in modifying racial characteristics have advanced two related theories regarding assimilation. The first one, better known as the *Melting-Pot* theory, considers the United States as God's crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming. E. R. Lewis, extending Israel Zangwill's idea⁸⁵, said: “We believed America was the great caldron where all races would be commingled and out of the fusion would come a new race, stronger, more virile, than any which went into the mixture. A clean, fine, strong superman would be evolved.”⁸⁶

Similar in its fundamental principle but quite different in the results desired is the *Americanization* theory. It also subscribes to the total modification of the immigrant by the new environment. But instead of letting the fusion of cultural traits take place under the mere play of chance, it would force all modification to conform to a given model, the Anglo-Saxon type. It advocates that all immigrants should obliterate in the shortest time possible their old characteristics and adopt the standards of life and ideals of the Anglo-Saxons. The main point, according to Isaac B. Berkson⁸⁷ is that all newcomers from far lands must as quickly as possible

divest themselves of their old characteristics, and through intermarriage and complete taking' over of the language, customs, hopes, aspirations of the American type, obliterate all ethnic distinctions.⁸⁸

Casting aside the environmental influence, the *Federation of Nationalities and the Community* theories, in opposition to the Melting-Pot and Americanization theories, stress the force of heredity and the perpetuation of the cultural heritage. The *Federation of Nationalities* theory insists particularly upon the retention of the cultural characteristics of each racial group within the American commonwealth by the preservation of the purity of the race. Horace M. Kallen, who has been the exponent of this theory, says: „What is inalienable in the life of mankind is its intrinsic positive quality – its psychological inheritance. Men can change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent: they cannot change their grandfathers”⁸⁹.

This theory is based upon the conception that the fullest development of each individual must come along of the pattern which has been evolved out of the experience of his racial group, and is handed down by the continuance of the cultural institutions such as the church, the school, the literature, etc. In order to preserve the culture of each racial group within the Union it would be necessary to resort to endogamy and to have every one of them congregate in a political unit with a certain autonomy in regard to religious and educational matters. In other words, the „Federation of Nationalities” theory conceives of a United States of America similar to the Swiss Republic, where the French, the Germans and the Italians have kept their respective cultural heritage without hampering the national unity of the Swiss Confederation, with the sole difference that the official language of the American „democracy of nationalities” would remain English, while in Switzerland the three languages are equally recognized as official. According to this theory the American culture would be the sum of all the cultures existing within the boundaries of the Union.

The *Community* theory of assimilation is that which conceives of a partial assimilation of the individual by his environment and of a partial retention of his cultural inheritance. It differs from that of the „Federation of Nationalities” in that it emphasizes culture instead of race, culture being, according to Kallen,⁹⁰ „the raison d'etre of the preservation of the life of the group.” For Isaac B. Berkson, “The integrity of the Jewish family, therefore, becomes *sine qua non* to any preservation of Jewish life, and intermarriage tending to disrupt the group becomes logically impossible for those who wish to preserve the cultural values of the ethnic minority as vital living forces.”⁹¹

Unlike the „Federation of Nationalities” theory, it does not require the segregation of the immigrant group neither its consequent local political autonomy. It emphasizes the aesthetic, cultural and religious inheritance rather than racial, and favors the maintenance of the

„complementary schools”, teaching the mother tongues, as the main agency for safeguarding ethnic cultures. It accepts the co-existence of two allegiances: to the cultural life of the ethnic group and to American life in all its aspects, but from the standpoint of national unity this double allegiance is undesirable. It tends to perpetuate beyond the first generation of immigrants. According to Robert E. Park, the “marginal man”, a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples”⁹² was subject to [...] “spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and *malaise*”.⁹³ However, the evils of double allegiance are lessened by the spread of the English language through the public schools. Even with the continuous influx of new immigrants belonging to the same ethnic stocks, the allegiance to two different cultures cannot be perpetuated beyond a certain number of generations, because there is a deep social and economic difference between the newly arrived immigrants and those who had been established in the United States for a longer period and who had been modified by the influence of the environment. The ties of a common origin are less strong among them, while the common advance and achievements of either the second or third generation of Americans of diverse origins has a cementing effect.

In order to retain the cultural values of the ethnic groups and to enable them to make a continuous contribution to American culture, Berkson suggests the maintenance of racial purity by avoiding intermarriage, not out of clannishness or racial considerations, but for the mere sake of preserving the cultural heritage of each group. But it is beyond the power of social control to check amalgamation when the general public opinion of the „Community” theory interpret it as the „Building of a Synthetic Civilization that shall bear the imprint of the genius of many peoples”⁹⁴ and consider intermarriage a test of assimilation, a means to bring about the merging of different heritages into a unified culture.

These theories are at a disadvantage in that they emphasize the influence either of the environment or that of heredity, without fully taking into consideration the fact that assimilation is not a one-sided process which requires only on the part of the immigrant „the abandonment of one set of mores and the adoption of another”⁹⁵ but rather a reciprocal contribution on the part of the „old” and the „new” immigrants to the building-up of an American culture.

The principle of assimilation can be stated quite simply. When two peoples of divergent cultures come into contact as a result of immigration, the culture of the alien group is modified by that of the native population. This is most noticeable when the immigrant group consists largely of peasants and laborers seeking to improve their condition. This modification is a persistent process in spite of the organized effort on the part of the immigrant to preserve his or her own traditional culture and

mores and to resist the influence of the new culture slowly percolating through the media of education, language and social conditions. This modification is not total but partial, as many cultural traits survive which do not clash with the new environment. The final result, however, is the blending of the immigrant traits with the salient characteristics of the native culture, so as to give rise to a new culture, distinctive in character, which is enriched by the contributions of different ethnic stocks. The process of assimilation is very complex. Lapouge describes it in a very graphic way, as a slow „social capillarity”⁹⁶ which implies: the modification of some immigrant traits, the retention of the more aesthetic values of the cultural heritage, and the adoption of new habits. It is far from being, as some writers have contended, a process of „denationalization and re-nationalization”⁹⁷, as not all of the national characteristics of the immigrant need disappear. It comprises three stages: economic, cultural and ethnic assimilation.

The economic or technical assimilation necessitates changes such as races have undergone when they passed from agricultural to industrial occupations, from the status of itinerant day-laborers and unskilled workers to that of stable wage-earners whose quality of work assures permanence of employment. Generally it is an adjustment more common to the first generation because it implies no psychological conflict. It requires only the formation of new habits which create satisfaction rather than conflict. It is very important from the standpoint of social economy and social progress because it helps the individual immigrant to raise his standards of living and to secure the means for a better education of his or her children. However, the chief result of the economic and technical assimilation lies in the outward conformity of the immigrant to the general modes of living prevailing in the new environment, since his economic improvement enables him to enjoy comforts which are considered indispensable to the average American worker.

Cultural assimilation calls for adoption by the immigrant of such cultural traits that are characteristic to the new environment and the modification of old customs which are not in harmony with it. It implies mastery of the English language by the immigrant, the embodying in his own life of the principles of American democracy, participation in national experiences which give rise to the same psychological reactions as is the case before a common danger, a common calamity, a common joy. This process is more difficult to achieve because it requires a psychological readjustment on the part of the immigrant which may cause conflict, as it necessitates the elimination of some of the old mores, the formation of new habits, and the retention of part of the old cultural heritage side by side with the more progressive institutions of the new culture. It includes a variety of achievements from the building-up of ethnic organizations, through which the immigrant indirectly becomes familiar with American ideals, to the free utilization of American institutions; from the simple

understanding of English to its exclusive use; from mere acquaintance with the American scale of values - moral, social and aesthetic - to their daily application to life. It is obvious that with so many subtle changes involved in cultural assimilation a long period of years is needed for its completion, and consequently the first generation seldom achieves it absolutely.

Ethnic assimilation is secured through intermarriage, either between immigrants of different ethnic stocks or between immigrants and natives. It may ease, when the differences arising from maladjusted conjugal conditions are not too striking, the adjustment of parents, and more especially of their children, to the traditions and standards of the new environment. In order to avoid the friction which may arise from the difference in cultural backgrounds, each parent is likely to find in the culture of his country of adoption the common ground for understanding in every-day family relationships and in social contacts with the community. There is no definite place for intermarriage in the immigrant's evolution. Marital contracts are chiefly personal matters which apparently conform to no fixed law. Sometimes immigrants of the first generation even contract mixed marriages, while members of the third generation may continue to marry people of their own descent. Drachsler has pointed out, however, that there is a tendency among the second generation to intermarry more rapidly than among the first⁹⁸ and that the process of assimilation is precipitated through racial amalgamation.⁹⁹

Conclusion

Many new theories has been developed, since the debates on immigration models and formation of identities in the New World which marked the 1920s. Taking into account all these aspects, we can say together with Alexandru Nemoianu that the main feature of the first Romanian-American immigrants was the amazing capacity of adapting to the new world, without losing their ethnic and cultural heritage, and succeeding with the perpetuation of the "Romanian way of living".¹⁰⁰ This capacity to adapt to new conditions was a sign of their health and social vitality. The Romanians settled in the new world at the beginning of the century were not very educated, but this lack of education was fully compensated by a rich and diverse life experience. The majority of the men had done their military service in the imperial army, had already traveled and worked abroad and had the experience of working in the cities of the Empire. Also, many of them knew how to speak foreign languages, even if not very well, and almost all of them had a mentality of free people¹⁰¹ used when confronting with the difficulties of life, and these qualities, together with the capacity and willingness to work hard, became premises for their success in the New World.

They also organized there their social and religious life and adopted the freedom and democracy ideals of their new country. Starting with this moment, the assimilation process became, for most of them, irreversible.

At the beginning of the Church life organization process there stood the motivation given by the conviction that „the Romanians will always be here”, and that the assimilation process is irreversible. From this perspective, the Church life organization and the affirmation of the religious identity has been perceived as a keeping form of the ethnic identity. The Church has also occurred as a coagulant factor of social life.

Notes:

¹ *Acknowledgments*: The present research has been conducted with the support of CNCSIS (Romanian National Council for Scientific Research in Higher Education) in the project ID_2422 entitled “The Romanian Orthodox Diaspora in North America: Narrative and Epistolary Sources” (project director: Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, Ph.D., University lecturer). The authors wish to express their appreciation of the encouragements and help they received from Prof. dr. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France) and Prof. dr. Béatrice Craig (University of Ottawa, Canada).

² The economic and social characteristics of the European emigration across the ocean can be studied for example in the work of Richard A. Easterlin, “Immigration: economic and social characteristics,” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press and Harvard University Press, 1994), 476-86.

³ For details regarding the history of the political background of the United States see William S. Bernard, “Immigration: History of U.S. Policy,” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press and Harvard University Press, 1994), 486-95.

⁴ Details about the “old immigration” and the “new immigration” as well as the description of the experiences lived by the emigrants in America can be found in the work of Carl Wittke, *We who built America*, (The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967).

⁵ Dumitru Vâtcu & Gabriel Bădăraș, “Political implications of the Romanian Emigration to America up to 1918,” *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 3-4 (1992): 255.

⁶ C. James Patterson, “The Persistence of White Ethnicity in Canada: The Case of the Romanians,” *East European Quarterly*, 4 (1986): 493-4. This paper, despite some flaws, displays quite detailed information on Romanians settled into Canada.

⁷ The official information regarding the countries of origin of the immigrants are only mentioned after 1821. Before 1821 the only countries of origin of the European immigrants mentioned in US official data are: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Russia and Poland, Spain and Portugal, Switzerland. Austria and Hungary are mentioned only after 1850. For sure the first Romanian immigrants were recorded as coming from other European countries or from countries where they embarked, chiefly Germany and Italy. See *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1,*

1880), ed. Francis A Walker, Chas. W. Seaton, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 458-463,

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1880.html>

⁸ In the case of Romanians who emigrated from Bukovina, some information are available within telegrams or very brief news published in newspapers such as "Patria" or "Deșteptarea", but they scarcely give information on the cities or villages of origin and those where they settled in.

⁹ Vâtcu & Bădărău: 256. In the US 1870 census, Austria and Hungary are mentioned as separate countries of origin for emigrants arriving to the United States. See *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Ninth Census (June, 1, 1870)*, Vol. 1, ed. Francis A. Walker, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 337 and 340. <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1870.html>. Same information is repeated in *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*, ed. Francis A Walker, Chas. W. Seaton, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 463, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1880.html>.

¹⁰ Radu Toma, *Românii din cele două Americi: o experiență etnică și istorică*, (București: Globus, 1998), 42-3.

¹¹ Șerban Drutzu & Andrei Popovici, *Românii în America* (București: Cartea Românească, 1926), 235.

¹² Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910* (New York, 1914), 89 and 166.

¹³ Data regarding the Jewish emigration can be found in the work of Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States*; D. M. Hermalin, *The Romanian Jews in America* in *The American Jewish Year Book* (New York, 1902), 88-103; Drutzu & Popovici, "Românii în America"; Vâtcu & Bădărău: 255-60, among other studies.

¹⁴ Vâtcu & Bădărău: 256 ff. See *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Ninth Census (June, 1, 1870)*, Vol. I, ed. Francis A. Walker, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 513 and 526.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1870.html>. Important information available on this topic at Paul Johnston, *The History of the Jews*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2001), 366.

¹⁵ Vâtcu & Bădărău: 256-59.

¹⁶ Samuel Joseph and D. M. Hermalin, proposed in several studies a figure of 19,756 Jews that emigrated from Romania to USA between 1881 and 1900. This number is larger than the level presented by the American official reports (19,109). Vâtcu & Bădărău: 259. See D. M. Hermalin, 88-103.

¹⁷ The same date is mentioned by Iancu Roman in his work *Românul în străinătate*, (New-York: Biblioteca Română, 1910), 5.

¹⁸ See also Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, *Românii ortodocși din America. Documente*, vol. 1, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010).

¹⁹ <http://www.census.gov/>

²⁰ Details about these theories of assimilation as well as the description of them can be found in the work of James Henry, *The American Scene* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968); R.E. Park, E. Burges, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); C. Hirschman, "America's Melting Pot Policy Reconsidered," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9 (1983): 397-423; E. R. Barkan, "Race, religion and nationality in American society: A model of ethnicity- From contact to assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 14

(1995): 38-101; R. Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History," *American Historical Review*, 100 (1995): 437-72; Richards Alba, V. Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *International Migration Review*, 4, (1997): 826-74 among other studies.

²¹ Toma, 17.

²² I. Adam, I. Pușcaș, *Izvoare de demografie istorică*, vol. II, secolul XIX-1912, *Transilvania* (București, 1987); T. Morariu, *Entwicklung der bevölkerungsdichtigkeit Siebenbürgens während der Jahre 1840-1930* (București, 1940); Ioan Bolovan, Dumitru Suci, Mihai Racovițan, Onisifor Gibu, Gelu Neamțu, Nicolae Cordoș, Liviu Botezan, Dumitru Firoiu, *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. II (Cluj-Napoca, 1997), 1-174.

²³ A close analysis of these aspects can be followed in the work of Radu Toma, 18-9. Also see Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Paula Bolovan, "Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities (I)," *Transylvanian Review*, 17, 4 (Winter 2008): 15-40; Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. "Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities" (II), *Transylvanian Review*, vol. 18, 2 (Summer 2009): 133-45; Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. "Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities" (III) *Transylvanian Review*, vol. 18, 3 (Autumn, 2009): 67-80; Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. "From Tradition to Modernization. Church and the Transylvanian Romanian Family in the Modern Era", *Journal for the Study of Religions & Ideologies*, vol. 7, issue 20 (Summer, 2008): 107-33; Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania între Revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea din 1918. Contribuții demografice* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000); Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și la începutul secolului XX. Realități etno-confesionale și politici demografice* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000); Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania în epocile modernă și contemporană. Studii de demografie istorică* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002); Ioan Bolovan, Corneliu Pădurean, *Populație și societate. Studii de demografie istorică a Transilvaniei (sec. XVIII-XX)* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003).

²⁴ Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Paula Bolovan, "Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities (I)," *Transylvanian Review*, 17, 4 (Winter 2008): 15-40.

²⁵ Stelian Popescu, "Emigrația română în America de Nord până la primul război mondial," *Acta Musei Apulensis-Apulum*, 15 (1977): 482.

²⁶ The impact of layoffs upon emigration is studied by I. I. Gârbacea, *Șomajul în Ardeal și emigrarea* (Cluj-Napoca: Tipografia Cartea Românească S.A., 1925).

²⁷ Also see Ion Georgescu, "Migrațiunile," *Economia națională*, 13, 16, (April 24, 1889): 350-52.

²⁸ The political causes are presented in detail by Stelian Popescu: 482-483; Vâtcu & Bădăraș: 260-63; Gerald Bobango, *The Romanian Episcopate of America: The First Half Century 1929-1979* (Jackson, MI: Romanian-American Heritage Center, 1979), 3; Drutzu & Popovici, 28-30; Gelu Neamțu, *În America, pentru unirea Transilvaniei cu România* (Cluj-Napoca: S. C. Dagerom Impex SRL, 1997), among other studies.

²⁹ In 1699, Transilvania became a territory of the Habsburg's Empire, following the Austrian Empire victory over the Turks. The Habsburg's Empire rapidly expanded area of influence occupying between 1718-1739 Oltenia (an important part of Wallachia) and, between 1775 and 1918, the north-western part of Moldavia, later called Bukovina. In these territories, Romanians were in the situation of being second-class citizens or even non-citizens. Their religion and The Greek-Orthodox

Church was subjected to ecclesiastical laws which intended to convert the Orthodox population into a Roman-Catholic one because it was considered that Catholics were better citizens loyal to the Throne. From a confessional standpoint, we don't have a rigorous Romanian version of the research regarding the Austrian Bukovina. If the Roman-Catholic and Evangelical communities have an objective format of historical research, especially coming from the German historians, for the Romanians, the only resources of information are the works published by Simion Rely: *Începuturile catolicismului austriac în Bucovina. Studiu istoric bisericesc din trecutul Bucovinei după acte și documente* (Cernăuți, 1928); *Politica religioasă a Habsburgilor față de Biserica ortodoxă-română în secolul al XIX-lea în lumina unor acte și documente inedite din arhiva Curții imperiale din Viena* (Cernăuți, 1929); *Propaganda catolică împotriva Bisericii ortodoxe în Bucovina (După acte și documente)* (Cernăuți, 1928). See also: D. Onciulescu, *O încercare de catolicizare a Bucovinei (cu anexe documentare)* (Cernăuți, 1939). Of course we cannot ignore the works of Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bisericii din Bucovina și a rostului ei național-cultural în viața românilor bucovineni* (București, 1916), with a second edition in 2003, and *The History of Bukovina* (Bucharest, 1991). Very interesting information and an exquisite interpretation of the confessional events in Bukovina is done by Costantin Ungureanu in his paperwork entitled *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918). Aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* (Chișinău: Editura Civitas, 2003). With regards to the history of this province, extremely useful is the work of Mihai Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei, vol. I, De la administrația militară la autonomia provincială* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 1993) accompanied by a rich bibliography regarding this problem; Ștefan Mihai Ceașu, *Bucovina Habsburgică de la anexare la Congresul de la Viena* (Iași: Fundația Academică A.D. Xenopol, 1998) and *Un iluminist bucovinean: boierul Vasile Balș (1756-1832)* (Iași: Junimea, 2007); Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918): aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* (Chișinău: Editura Civitas, 2003); Ioan Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina 1862-1914* (Suceava: Editura Cuvântul nostru, 2003); Marian Olaru, *Mișcarea Națională a românilor din Bucovina* (Rădăuți: Editura Septentrion, 2002).

³⁰ An excellent political analysis is encountered in the work of Pr. Prof. Dr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Politica Statului Ungar față de Biserica Românească din Transilvania în perioada dualismului 1867-1918* (Sibiu, 1986). For details see also the rich bibliography comprised here.

³¹ Toma, 21-2. We have details also in the work of Gelu Neamțu, *Procese politice de presă antiromânești din epoca dualismului austro-ungar 1868-1890* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Societății Culturale Pro Maramureș „Dragoș Vodă”, 2004).

³² Toma, 22-3.

³³ Bobango, 1.

³⁴ The sailing companies greatly developed the transportation capacity across the ocean at the beginning of the twentieth century, and taking third class passengers to America became a priority for their representatives. This is the reason why they actively got involved in convincing people to emigrate.

³⁵ Drutzu & Popovici, 29.

³⁶ Bobango, 1.

³⁷ Roman, 5; Ioan Iosif Schiopu, *Românii din America. O călătorie de studii în Statele Unite* (Sibiu: 1913), 28-34. For concrete examples see: John Nasea sr., “The Story of My Life”, *Romanian American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, 3 (1984): 2-4;

Theodore Andrica, "A Journey to America", *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, 2 (1993): 18-9; ș.a. .

³⁸ Drutzu & Popovici, 30.

³⁹ C. James Patterson: 493-94.

⁴⁰ Bobango, 1.

⁴¹ The effect of the phenomenon determined the authorities to take a series of anti-immigration measures especially after 1894, when this phenomenon has reached the maximum point. However, the punitive administrative and the anti-immigrationist propaganda that encountered great support did not have the effects they hoped for. For details regarding the legislative and administrative measures of emigration see Toma, 27-32. The main standpoints found in the written press of that time are gathered by Aurel Sasu, *Comunitățile românești din Statele Unite și Canada* (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2003), 16-24.

⁴² The same reality is illustrated by the data found in the Metropolitan Archives of Sibiu, where a good amount of the ecclesiastic correspondence of that time is kept. See also Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, *Românii ortodocși din America. Documente*, vol. 1, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010).

⁴³ Șchiopu, 7.

⁴⁴ Some volumes are available online on www.archive.org, like the 41 volumes for the years 1907-1910, or for the year of 1911, on <http://www.archive.org/>.

⁴⁵ Șchiopu, 7-9.

⁴⁶ *Twelfth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1900*, vol. I, ed. William C. Hunt, 735.

⁴⁷ *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, vol. 1 – *Population*, ed. William C. Hunt, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 782

⁴⁸ Șchiopu, 10.

⁴⁹ Original complex data is found in *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, vol. 2 – *Population*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), ed. William C. Hunt, 973, available on line: <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html>.

⁵⁰ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, vol. 2 – *Population*, ed. William C. Hunt, 694.

⁵¹ For a detailed presentation of the history of the church life of the Romanians in America see Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română din America - parte a Ortodoxiei americane*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007).

⁵² Christine Avghi Galitzi, *A study of Assimilation Among the Roumanians of United States*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929). It is a documented book based specially on sociological studies carried out by the author especially in the Romanian colony established in Chicago.

⁵³ Galitzi, 41-2.

⁵⁴ Galitzi, 25. The data is confirmed by the American statistics. See *Abstract of Reports of Immigration Commission*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), vol. 1, 349-50.

⁵⁵ Galitzi, 38.

⁵⁶ *Abstracts of Reports of Immigration Commision*, vol. 1, 361. Galitzi, 38.

⁵⁷ Gheorghe I. Florescu notices that from the territories that belonged to Romania at the beginning of the twentieth century there were less peasants that emigrated. Gheorghe I. Florescu, "Românii în Statele Unite și Canada", in *Politica*

externă comunistă și exil anticomunist. *Anuarul Institutului Român de Istorie Recentă*, vol. 2, (Iași: Polirom, 2003), 339.

⁵⁸ Drutzu & Popovici, 127-29.

⁵⁹ R. L. Garis, *Immigration Restriction*, (New York: 1927), 104 and 111. Compiled from *Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration*. See also *Abstracts Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 1911, vol. 3, 83.

⁶⁰ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, vol. 2 – *Population*, ed. William C. Hunt, 897-8, see on line:

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html>.

⁶¹ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, vol. 2 – *Population*, ed. William C. Hunt, 892, see on line:

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html>

⁶² For details see Galitzi, 32-33.

⁶³ Galitzi, 32-33 ff.

⁶⁴ Galitzi, 35-36 ff. Here we find a complex analysis of different temporal segments and of indicators referring to number, sex, age, civil status, occupation, degree of education, confessional belonging, etc.

Data are also available on line:
<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html>.

⁶⁵ Toma, 10-12.

⁶⁶ Bobango, 4.

⁶⁷ Galitzi, 35-36.

⁶⁸ See Alexandru Nemoianu, "An example and a source of inspiration: The generation *Mia și drumul*", *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, 1, (2002): 9.

⁶⁹ Policarp Morușca, "Românii din America", in *Omagiu Înalt Prea Sfinției Sale Dr. Nicolae Bălan, Mitropolitul Ardealului*, (Sibiu: 1940), 601.

⁷⁰ Toma, 107-8.

⁷¹ Galitzi, 41-2.

⁷² Policarp Morușca, "Biserica Ortodoxă Română în America", *Calendarul-Almanah Solia*, 1936: 133-4.

⁷³ For a detailed presentation of the history of the church life of the Romanians in America see Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română din America*.

⁷⁴ All documents about the mission of Zaharia Oprea can be find in Archives of the Archdiocese of Sibiu (Hereafter AAS), file III 453-904, nr. 7343, 8369; file III 325-904, nr. 4946, 7981, 7987 and file III 708-904, nr. 253, 972, 13696, 13917. See also Gârdan, *Românii ortodocși din America*, pp 105-72 .

⁷⁵ Gârdan, *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română din America*, 117-23;

⁷⁶ All documents about this problems can be find in AAS, file III 708-904, nr. 3156, 5372, 12774, 12774 bis and so on. See Gârdan, *Românii ortodocși din America*, pp 105-95 .

⁷⁷ See Moise Balea's report to Metropolit of Sibiu 8th february 1906, AAS, file III, 708-904, nr. 1531, See Gârdan, *Românii ortodocși din America*, pp 195-204.

⁷⁸ Gârdan, *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română din America*, 142-164.

⁷⁹ Bobango, 18-42.

⁸⁰ AAS, file III, 322-1912, nr. 3290, 3290 bis, 4281, 4282, 4282 bis, 6941.

⁸¹ Gârdan, *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română din America*, 165-75.

⁸² Alexandru Nemoianu, "Aspects regarding the Romanian-American's Process of Adaptation after WWI", *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, 5, (1992): 22-23. Galitzi, 159-69.

⁸³ Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, "The Petition of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in United States of North America to President Woodrow Wilson", in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. 19, 3, (Autumn 2010): 108-121.

⁸⁴ J. Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation, the blending of immigrant heritages in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920); Galitzi, 156-157.

⁸⁵ I. Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*, (New York: 1909) 37; E.R. Lewis, *America, Nation or Confusion? A study of our immigration problem*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928) 114. Galitzi makes use of an extended bibliography, especially referring to: H. P. Fairchild, *The Melting Pot Mistake* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1926); H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, 1923); J. Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation* (New York, 1920); E. R. Lewis, *America, Nation or Confusion* (New York, 1928); I. B. Berkson, *Theories of Americanization* (New York, 1920); H. J. Bridges, *On Becoming an American* (Boston, 1919).

⁸⁶ Galitzi, 157.

⁸⁷ I.B. Berkson, *Theories of Americanization: a critical study, with special reference to the Jewish group* (New York: Columbia University, 1920), 108.

⁸⁸ Galitzi, 158.

⁸⁹ H.M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States*, (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1924), 122.

⁹⁰ Kallen, 122.

⁹¹ I.B. Berkson, 108.

⁹² R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 33, (May, 1928): 892.

⁹³ Park, 893.

⁹⁴ J. Drachsler, 238.

⁹⁵ H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*, (New York, Macmillan, 1913), 403.

⁹⁶ Georges Vacher de Lapouge, *Les Selections Sociales, cours libre de science politique professé à l'Université de Montpellier (1888-1889)*, (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1896), 344.

⁹⁷ H. P. Fairchild, *Melting Pot Mistaken*, (Boston: 1926), 154.

⁹⁸ Drachsler, 108.

⁹⁹ Galitzi, 156-169.

¹⁰⁰ Alexandru Nemoianu, "Two Original Romanian-American Literary Documents", *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, 5, (1997): 20-21. This author is an active defendant of the heritage and traditions of Romanian Orthodoxy in America.

¹⁰¹ For some observations regarding the psychology of the immigrants see Philip E. Mosely, "Lumea psihologică a unui „american” din Șanț, Bistrița, Romania", *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*, 1, (2002): 22-24.

References:

Abstract of Reports of Immigration Commission. vol. 1 and 3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

Adam, I. and I. Pușcaș. *Izvoare de demografie istorică*. vol. II, secolul XIX-1912. *Transilvania*. București, 1987.

Alba, Richars and V. Nee. "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration." *International Migration Review*. 4, (1997): 826-74.

Archives of the Archidiocese of Sibiu. file III 453-904, file III 325-904, and file III 708-904.

Andrica, Theodore. "A Journey to America". *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*. 2 (1993): 18-9.

Barkan, E. R.. "Race, Religion and Nationality in American society: A model of ethnicity- From contact to assimilation." *Journal of American Ethnic History*. 14 (1995): 38-101.

Berkson, I.B.. *Theories of Americanization: a critical study, with special reference to the Jewish group*. New York: Columbia University, 1920.

Bernard, William S.. "Immigration: History of U.S. Policy". in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. ed. Stephan Thernstrom, 486-95. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press and Harvard University Press, 1994.

Bobango, Gerald. *The Romanian Episcopate of America: The First Half Century 1929-1979*. Jackson, Mi: Romanian-American Heritage Center, 1979.

Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. „Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities (I)". *Transylvanian Review*. vol. 17, 4 (Winter 2008): 15-40.

Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. "Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities" (II). *Transylvanian Review*. vol. 18, 2 (Summer 2009): 133-45.

Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. "Transylvania until World War I: Demographic Opportunities and Vulnerabilities" (III) *Transylvanian Review*. vol. 18, 3 (Autumn, 2009): 67-80.

Bolovan, Ioan and Sorina Paula Bolovan. "From Tradition to Modernization. Church and the Transylvanian Romanian Family in the Modern Era". *Journal for the Study of Religions & Ideologies*. vol. 7 issue 20 (Summer, 2008): 107-33.

Bolovan, Ioan, Dumitru Suciu, Mihai Racovițan, Onisifor Gibu, Gelu Neamțu, Nicolae Cordoș, Liviu Botezan, Dumitru Firoiu. *Istoria Transilvaniei*. vol. II. Cluj-Napoca, 1997.

Bolovan, Ioan. *Transilvania între Revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea din 1918. Contribuții demografice*. Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000.

Bolovan, Ioan. *Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și la începutul secolului XX. Realități etno-confesionale și politici demografice*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000.

Bolovan, Ioan. *Transilvania în epocile modernă și contemporană. Studii de demografie istorică*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002.

Bolovan, Ioan and Corneliu Pădurean. *Populație și societate. Studii de demografie istorică a Transilvaniei (sec. XVIII-XX)*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003.

Bridges, H. J.. *On Becoming an American*. Boston, 1919.

Ceaușu, Ștefan Mihai. *Bucovina Habsburgică de la anexare la Congresul de la Viena*. Iași: Fundația Academică A.D. Xenopol, 1998.

Cocuz, Ioan. *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina 1862-1914*. Suceava: Editura Cuvântul nostru, 2003.

Drachsler, J.. *Democracy and Assimilation, the blending of immigrant heritages in America*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.

Drutzu, Șerban and Andrei Popovici. *Românii în America*. București: Cartea Românească, 1926.

Easterlin, Richard A.. "Immigration: economic and social characteristics," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. ed. Stephan Thernstrom. 476-86. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press and Harvard University Press, 1994.

Fairchild, H. P.. *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*. New York, Macmillan, 1913.

Fairchild, H. P.. *Immigration*. New York, 1923.

Fairchild, H. P.. *The Melting Pot Mistake*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1926.

Florescu, Gheorghe I.. "Românii în Statele Unite și Canada", in *Politica externă comunistă și exil anticomunist. Anuarul Institutului Român de Istorie Recentă*. vol. 2, 325-361. Iași: Polirom, 2003.

Galitzi, Christine Avghi. *A study of Assimilation Among the Roumanians of United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.

Garis, R. L.. *Immigration Restriction*. New York: 1927.

Gârbacea, I.I.. *Șomajul în Ardeal și emigrarea*. Cluj-Napoca: Tipografia Cartea Românească S.A., 1925.

Gârdan, Gabriel-Viorel. *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română din America - parte a Ortodoxiei americane*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007.

Gârdan, Gabriel-Viorel. *Românii ortodocși din America. Documente*. vol. 1. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010.

Gârdan, Gabriel-Viorel. "The Petition of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in United States of North America to President Woodrow Wilson". *Transylvanian Review*. vol. 19, 3, (Autumn 2010): 108-121.

Georgescu, Ion. „Migrațiunile”. *Economia națională*. 13, 16, (April 24, 1889): 350-52.

Henry, James. *The American Scene*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968.

Hermalin, D. M.. "The Romanian Jews in America" in *The American Jewish Year Book*. 88-103. New York: 1902.

Hirschman, C. "America's Melting Pot Policy Reconsidered." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 9 (1983): 397-423.

Hunt, William C., editor. *Twelfth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1900*. vol. 1. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Hunt, William C., editor. *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*. vol. 1. *Population*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913.

Hunt, William C., editor. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*. vol. 2. *Population*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922
<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html>.

Iacobescu, Mihai. *Din istoria Bucovinei*, vol. 1. *De la administrația militară la autonomia provincială*. București: Editura Academiei Române, 1993.

Johnston, Paul. *The History of the Jews*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2001.

Joseph, Samuel. *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*. New York, 1914.

Kallen, H.M.. *Culture and Democracy in the United States*. New York: Transaction Publishers, 1924.

Kazal, R.. "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History". *American Historical Review*. 100 (1995): 437-72.

Lewis, E.R.. *America, Nation or Confusion? A study of our immigration problem*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928.

Morariu, T., *Entwicklung der bevölkerungsdichtigkeit Siebenbürgens während der Jahre 1840-1930*. București, 1940.

Morușca, Policarp. "Românii din America". in *Omagiu Înalt Prea Sfinției Sale Dr. Nicolae Bălan. Mitropolitul Ardealului*. 601-609. Sibiu: 1940.

Morușca, Policarp. "Biserica Ortodoxă Română în America". *Calendarul-Almanah Solia*. 1936: 133-4.

Mosely, Philip E.. "Lumea psihologică a unui „american” din Șanț, Bistrița, Romania". *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*. 1, (2002): 22-24.

Nasea sr., John. "The Story of My Life", *Romanian American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*. 3 (1984): 2-4.

Neamțu, Gelu. *În America, pentru unirea Transilvaniei cu România*. Cluj-Napoca: S. C. Dagerom Impex SRL, 1997.

Neamțu, Gelu. *Procese politice de presă antiromânești din epoca dualismului austro-ungar 1868-1890*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Societății Culturale Pro Maramureș „Dragoș Vodă”, 2004.

Nemoianu, Alexandru. "Aspects regarding the Romanian-American's Process of Adaptation after WWI". *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*. 5, (1992): 22-23.

Nemoianu, Alexandru. "Two Original Romanian-American Literary Documents". *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*. 5, (1997): 20-21.

Nemoianu, Alexandru. "An example and a source of inspiration: The generation *Mia și drumul*". *Romanian-American Heritage Center Information Bulletin*. 1, (2002): 9.

Nistor, Ion. *Istoria Bisericii din Bucovina și a rostului ei național-cultural în viața românilor bucovineni*. București, 1916.

Nistor, Ion. *The History of Bukovina*. Bucharest, 1991.

Olaru, Marian. *Mișcarea Națională a românilor din Bucovina*. Rădăuți: Editura Septentrion, 2002.

Onciulescu, D.. *O încercare de catolicizare a Bucovinei (cu anexe documentare)*. Cernăuți: 1939.

Park, R.E. and E. Burges. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Park, R. E. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man". *The American Journal of Sociology*. vol. 33, (May, 1928): 881-93.

Patterson, C. James. "The Persistence of White Ethnicity in Canada: The Case of the Romanians". *East European Quarterly*. 4 (1986): 493-500.

Păcurariu, Mircea. *Politica Statului Ungar față de Biserica Românească din Transilvania în perioada dualismului 1867-1918*. Sibiu, 1986.

Popescu, Stelian. "Emigrația română în America de Nord până la primul război mondial". *Acta Musei Apulensis-Apulum*. 15 (1977): 479-96.

Rely, Simion. *Începuturile catolicismului austriac în Bucovina. Studiu istoric bisericesc din trecutul Bucovinei după acte și documente*. Cernăuți: 1928.

Rely, Simion. *Politica religioasă a Habsburgilor față de Biserica ortodoxă-română în secolul al XIX-lea în lumina unor acte și documente inedite din arhiva Curții imperiale din Viena*. Cernăuți: 1929.

Rely, Simion. *Propaganda catolică împotriva Bisericii ortodoxe în Bucovina (După acte și documente)*. Cernăuți: 1928.

Roman, Iancu. *Românul în străinătate*. New-York: Biblioteca Română, 1910.

Toma, Radu. *Românii din cele două Americi: o experiență etnică și istorică*. București: Globus, 1998.

Sasu, Aurel. *Comunitățile românești din Statele Unite și Canada*. Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2003.

Șchiopu, Iosif. *Românii din America. O călătorie de studii în Statele Unite*. Sibiu: 1913.

Ungureanu, Costantin. *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918). Aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale*. Chișinău: Editura Civitas, 2003.

Ungureanu, Constantin. *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918): aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale*. Chișinău: Editura Civitas, 2003.

Vacher de Lapouge, Georges. *Les Selections Sociales, cours libre de science politique professé à l'Université de Montpellier (1888-1889)*. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1896.

Vâtcu, Dumitru and Gabriel Bădăraș. "Political implications of the Romanian Emigration to America up to 1918". *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*. 3-4 (1992): 255-73.

Walker, Francis A.. *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Ninth Census (June, 1, 1870)*. Vol. 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1870.html>.

Walker, Francis A. and Chas. W. Seaton, editors. *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1880.html>

Zangwill, I.. *The Melting-Pot*. New York: 1909.