Ukrainian
People
Places

Krydor

Tarnopol

Haven

Veregin

Chortitza

Lemberg

UKRAINE

BLACK SEA

Bill Barry

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The Ukrainians, Germans, Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors and the names they brought to Saskatchewan

Bill Barry

for

Betty Ann and Fred

Ukrainian People Places

by **Bill Barry**

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Foreword

When *People Places: Saskatchewan and its Names* was published in 1997, I was most proud of its first chapter, dealing with names of First Nations derivation, because it was a subject that had only been dealt with obliquely in earlier writings. Looking back on it I realize that it would not have happened had it not been for the early encouragement of Ken and Jean (Tootoosis) Goodwill and Nick Hossack. Professors Arok Wolvengrey and Jean Okimāsis of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College took a huge interest in my work, and helped me to interpret our First Nations place name heritage. Many other people contributed in greater and lesser ways to other portions of the book as well.

But there were major weaknesses. Interestingly, the most glaring of these centred on the treatment given to place names originating in Ukraine. Over the years I had accumulated a lot of material, largely from local and church histories, but I had yet to find the collaborators who could help me interpret what I had learned for a wider audience.

The breach, eventually, was filled. Bob Ivanochko of the Saskatchewan Provincial Library patiently referred me to many of the references that are cited in the footnotes to this book. John Zrymiak, a former colleague and a retired director of education, spent many hours translating Ukrainian texts and attempting to impart to me some of the intricacies of the language he loves. Victor O. Buyniak, professor emeritus of Slavic languages at the University of Saskatchewan, made very helpful comments on the draft. Gradually it came together.

Although the impetus for this book was largely Ukrainian, I decided to include non-Ukrainian groups in it as well, for two reasons: the additional material helped to justify book format; and the added groups were also rather weakly treated in my earlier writings. Thus *Ukrainian People Places* includes the stories of the German-speaking people who came from Ukraine, among them the Mennonites and Hutterites, along with the Russian-speaking Doukhobors who also passed through Ukraine on their way to Canada.

My decision will not please everyone. Tensions among these groups existed in the old country, and not all of them have dissipated in the new world. Doubtless all five groups believe their

names and their contributions are worthy of unique treatment. Nevertheless, they all have ties to the same patch of our planet, and all their stories are hugely interesting, hopefully to each other as well as to the wider public.

Material on the non-Ukrainian names in this book also benefitted from the input of many interested people. The men and women of the Regina chapter of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia were supportive and helpful, and led me to several sources I had not previously come across. Leonard Doell of the Mennonite Central Committee was generous with encouragement for the project, and he fellow historian William Schroeder gave permission to use maps from their books on Mennonite history. Otto and Florence Driedger of Regina (see p. 73) greatly improved the text by sharing their vast knowledge of their Mennonite heritage with me. Samuel Hofer, the well known Hutterite author, kindly read my material and made helpful suggestions for its improvement.

Jonathan Kalmakoff is a Regina lawyer of Doukhobor descent who is passionately interested in the history of his people, and operates a web site dedicated to their story that is well worth a visit (see p. 126). His kind assistance vastly improved the material in this book on his fascinating forebears.

The technical side is also vital. Unless otherwise credited in the text, the maps in *Ukrainian People Places* were initially developed by Diane Bolingbroke of the Canadian Plains Research Centre, Regina. All maps were modified and adapted with the help of Iona Glabus of Centax Books, to whom this book owes much. Iona, with the help of Margo Embury of Centax, also designed the cover. Tim Novak of the Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB) greatly facilitated the illustrations.

I never cease to be amazed that all of these intricate processes can and do come together, more or less as scheduled. Thank you to you all. As usual, the *People Places* books owe much to many, but the responsibility for any shortcomings rests with the writer alone.

NOTE: Place names in the text which appear in **BOLD** face are current; those which are not bold are extinct or nearly so.

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The Ukrainians

The steppes of eastern Europe were the ancestral homeland for several groups whose desire to find a secure place to develop their agricultural ambitions, to practice their religion, and to live in peace with their neighbours led them to Saskatchewan. Five distinct cultural groups came to this province from the broad arc of the European continent lying between the Wisla and the Volga Rivers, most of which is part of Ukraine today. They differed from each other in major and subtle ways, but the Ukrainians, south Russian Germans, Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors shared a common homeland. They each brought an array of place names to the prairies which reflect both their shared past and their diversity.

The Ukrainians themselves were the largest of the five groups, and their migration to Saskatchewan began in earnest in 1898. Over the next thirty years many thousands came here to make new homes for their families.

Untangling their story is not easy. In the first place, there was no such thing as the state of Ukraine in that era. Part of it was a component of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but most Ukrainians at the turn of the last century lived under the Russian tsars. Following World War I, large chunks of Ukraine were included within the boundaries of the rejuvenated state of Poland. This history makes discerning Ukrainian immigration difficult, sometimes impossible. Immigration officers recorded them on arrival variously as Austrians, Russians, Poles, Ruthenians, Galicians, Bukovynians, Volhynians or Bessarabians – never as Ukrainians!

Further complications arise from language. Ukrainians were the largest bloc of east European immigrants to come to Saskatchewan, hence the largest group for whom the English language was totally foreign – and vice versa. The Cyrillic alphabet of the Ukrainian language bedevilled English speakers.

Thus we have probably fewer Ukrainian names in Saskatchewan than their numbers would warrant. Their total unfamiliarity with the English language often led Ukrainian homesteaders to seek out someone with a good knowledge of it to act as their intermediary in their dealings with Ottawa over post offices, and with Regina regarding schools. A good example

occurred at a rural post office called MITCHELLVIEW (1907-31 and 1938-60) north of Buchanan. Richard Mitchell arranged for the post office and served as postmaster until 1912. He also acted as the first treasurer of the Chechow, Monastyr, Hryhoriw and Olesha school districts! In Mitchell's case, he at least encouraged his Ukrainian neighbours to use Ukrainian names. In many similar cases, the English-speaking go-betweens chose names from their own backgrounds.

It should also be noted here that Ukrainian is far from a monolithic language. There are several regional dialects, and while spellings are standard throughout the country, pronunciations are not. Thus the same name from different parts of Ukraine could have been heard differently by English speakers, and transliterated into varying forms.

Catherine II at the age of 30. It has been pointed out to me that the appellation of "the Great" for Catherine is a western affectation. She certainly was not known as that to her peasants or footsoldiers.
courtesy Ursula's History web site

An additional complication comes courtesy of Catherine II (1729-96), the Russian tsarina. During her long reign beginning in 1762, she went out of her way to invite German people to migrate eastward to the southern parts of her empire, an area that is largely Ukraine today. In those times the steppes were not dissimilar to the Canadian prairies, largely devoid of permanent settlement and peopled by nomadic herders. Germans poured into the area. Among them were the forebears of the Mennonites who were to have such an impact in Saskatchewan in the 1890s and 1900s. There were also significant settlements of German Roman Catholics whose descendants formed the backbone of the homesteading groups in areas including Leader, Humboldt and Tramping Lake, and German Protestants who found their way to Edenwold, Langenburg and elsewhere. These disparate groups of people lived and farmed contentedly in Ukraine for many decades, only leaving when pressure from Catherine's descendants for Russification made them uncomfortable in their settlements.

Thus many of the "Ukrainian" names in Saskatchewan are, in fact, German, brought here by Mennonites, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and others. An example is the BERESINA post office (1899-1920) northeast of Churchbridge. The name was chosen by Adolphe Becker, postmaster to 1903 and a prominent member of the Hohenlohe German Protestant settlement which began in 1895. At the time, Berezyna (meaning "birch forest") was a small community south of the city of Lviv (the name was subsequently changed to Rozdil). In this case, German speakers started with a Ukrainian name, made it their own, and brought it with them to the new world.

Nevertheless, there are quite a few Ukrainian names in our history, including two schools which were named for the country itself. OUKRAINA No. 2402 (1909-56) was west of Krydor, and UKRAINA No. 974 was established south of Canora in 1904. As one would expect in a nation which has a history as the crossroads of eastern Europe, its name has been around for a very long time. It descends from an Indo-European root *(s)krei-* meaning "to separate" or "cut". It evolved to mean "borderland," in the sense of being on the edge of the Roman Empire, and eventually to simply "land" as in the modern Ukrainian word *krai*.

The word Ukraine did not acquire a specific political meaning until the rise of the Cossack state in the central parts of the country in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although officially the Hetman ("leader") state was called the Zaporizhzhian Host, its territory was usually known as Ukraine to Ukrainians and Poles alike. And it was only in the late 18th century, when most of the lands occupied by Ukrainians were brought under the control of the Russian empire, that the name came to mean the entire Ukrainian national territory. Taras Shevchenko, about whom we shall learn more later, played a huge role in defining the nationalism which ultimately resulted in the achievement of the republic of Ukraine in 1991 following the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Ukraine today

Ukraine is a very large country in European terms. More than 52,000,000 Ukrainians live in an area exceeding 600,000 square kms and spanning over 1,300 kms from west to east, a geographic expanse somewhat larger than Saskatchewan turned on its side. Yet, strangely, virtually all the Ukrainians who came to Saskatchewan came from a small area in the southwestern part of the country, sometimes called Ruthenia. That name descends from the Latin *Rut(h)eni* and was originally applied to the Ukrainian and Belarussian peoples of eastern Europe, as distinct from the *Muscovitae* (Russians). In the mid19th century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire designated the term *Ruthenen* as the official name for Ukrainians within that empire. Although the name remained legally current until the collapse of the empire in 1918, the people themselves began to turn away from it around the turn of the century in favour of *ukraintsi*. Nevertheless, the RUTHENIA School District No. 404 southwest of Cudworth (1911-62) paid tribute to the title, and the Ruthenian Farmers Elevator Co. based at Winnipeg built an elevator at Krydor (among other places) in 1917.

The fact that most of Saskatchewan's Ukrainians came from Ruthenia is largely the result of the policies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which southwestern Ukraine was then a part. While it would be a stretch to say that they facilitated emigration, at least the Hapsburg emperors did little to discourage it. The Ukrainian citizens of the Russian tsars, on the other hand, faced hurdles which made it very difficult for them to leave.

The way Ruthenia was governed also had an impact on Saskatchewan place names. Although it was the homeland of the Ukrainians, most government officials were Poles and the lingua franca of politics and government was Polish. It seems that the Austrians found they could do business easier in Polish, since that language uses the Latin alphabet as opposed to the mysterious Cyrillics of Ukrainian. The upshot was that while Ukrainians spoke and thought of places in their homeland in Ukrainian, they were often used to seeing those place names written in Polish. This explains the Polish character of many of the Ukrainian names in Saskatchewan.[1]

Ruthenia consisted of three parts, Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia. Very few people came to Saskatchewan from the latter, which was a part of Czechoslovakia between the world wars. But the other two were vital to the Saskatchewan story.

> *An oblast is an administrative-territorial unit somewhat resembling an English shire or a North American county, except much larger. Ukraine today is divided into 25 oblasts, the smallest of which, Chernivtsi, includes over 8,000 square kilometres with a population approaching a million. A raion is a smaller administrative-territorial unit and, on average, oblasts are divided into about 25 raions each. Raions are generally about the same size as Saskatchewan's rural municipalities, but much more densely populated.*
>
> *Theoretically, oblasts and raions were governed by all-powerful soviets (councils today), but the reality in the Soviet era was that decisions were made by the Communist Party apparatus. Today, as Ukraine works toward a democratic future, oblast and raion governments may attain a status similar to that of Canadian provinces and municipalities.*

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1. The earlier comment on dialectical pronunciations needs to be repeated in this context. While Polish and Ukrainian spellings (when transliterated into English) differ significantly, the pronunciations are often remarkably similar. However, there are differences, sometimes major ones. Thus an English speaking person attempting to transliterate a Ukrainian name might well hear different sounds from a person who spoke Ukrainian only, as opposed to someone also fluent in Polish.

Galicia

Galicia consisted of the modern oblasts of L'viv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivs'ke,[2] along with parts of what is now southeastern Poland. It was the Austrian Crownland of Galizien in German. The far western parts were predominantly Polish and are part of Poland today, as are several border areas which were once overwhelmingly Ukrainian.

The name Galicia is an anglicization of Galizien, which is a German transliteration of the Ukrainian word Halychyna, meaning "the lands of Halych", its one time capital. Halych (Polish Halicz) is a raion centre in northern Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblast on the Dnister River. Although about Melville size today, it was once one of the principal religious and trading centres of Ukraine. Two Saskatchewan schools were named for the town, HALICZ[3] No. 3204 (1914-60) northwest of Wishart, and HALECH[4] No. 1393 (from 1905) near Goodeve, and there is a **HALICZ** cemetery north of Stenen. There is also a **GALICIAN LAKE** just southeast of Meeting Lake.

Halych today

Galicia in the era prior to World War I. Only the raions cited in the text are named on the map. The heavy line is the current border between Ukraine and Poland.

There may be another Saskatchewan connection to the name Galicia. The HALYCRY School District No. 2835 (1911-66) was southwest of Preeceville. The name is obviously Ukrainian but has bedeviled locals and non-locals alike. One story is that Halych (a fairly common Ukrainian surname) was submitted, but that it got botched at the Department. This is possible, although there are no Halych families mentioned in the local history. Complicating matters is the fact that a rural post office opened in the area in 1933 (it lasted until 1960) and took its name from the school. But it was spelled HALYARY! It is possible that the school's name was intended to be Halychy, perhaps a short form of Halychyna, and that its founders intended it to mean "Galician".

Galicia is also the name of an autonomous region of northwestern Spain, a fact that has caused some confusion. The case of the Spanish Galicia is descended from that of the Celtic people, the Gallaeci, who lived there when the region was conquered by Roman legions about 137 BC.

Southern Galicia is the modern oblast of Ivano-Frankivs'ke, named in 1962 to honour the Ukrainian writer and nationalist, Ivan Franko, who we shall meet later on. Prior to that time both the city and the oblast had been known as Stanislaviv, founded in 1662 by the Polish magnate A. Potocki who named it after his son. The STANYSLAVTSI district south of Foam Lake centred on the STANISLOFF No. 3105 school (1906-57) and the Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Nicholas, Bedfordville. Several of the early settlers came from the village of Yamnytsia just north of what was then Stanislaviv.

Several other Saskatchewan names came from Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblast:

- KOLOMYIA No. 1878 (1907-60) was west of Wakaw. Kolomyia is the major city in the southeast on the Prut River. The *kolomyika* is also a lively Ukrainian dance.

- JABLONOW No. 1672 (1906-15, changed to Wroxton) is the Polish form (Jablonów) of the Ukrainian Yabloniv which is an adjectival form of the word for "apple tree".

- JAREMA No. 1731 (from 1907) north of Calder is the Polish form of the name Jeremiah and may have been inspired by the town of Yaremche (Polish Jaremcze), although a number of characters in Ukrainian history and literature also bear the name Yarema.

- TORHOWYCIA No. 2335 (1909-10, changed to Poltava, see p. 26) is from the Ukrainian for "marketplace". Jabloniv, Yaremche and Torhovytsia are all villages neighbouring the city of Kolomyia.

- HORODENKA No. 1845 and SNIATYN No. 1729 were neighbours here in Saskatchewan, both having been founded in 1907 west of Wakaw. Horodenka and Sniatyn are raion centres in the eastern part of Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblast, and Horodenka may mean "a garden centre". Sniatyn was founded as a fortress in the 12th century, and its name may mean "dreamer".

- OZERIANY No. 2722 (1910-35, changed to Carpathian) was south of Cudworth and comes from the Ukrainian for "from the lake". Four places called Ozeriany existed in Galicia at the turn of the last century, but the only one to appear on modern maps was located southeast of Tovmach in Ivano-Frankivs'ke.

- BRENA No. 3605 (from 1915) just northeast of Canora may have been named for Bryn' in western Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblast.

Sign on the outskirts of Ozeriany, Ukraine. The sign in the background reads Borshchiv raion.
photo courtesy Saul Lindenbaum, August 2000, from the Jewish Genealogy web site

- Tiaziv was a village just north of Ivano-Frankivs'ke (Stanislaviv) in the 1890s. The Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Demetrius, Kyziv-Tiaziv, was founded south of Rama in 1907. The local history claims that the strange-looking hyphenated form of KYZIV-TIAZIV developed because the spelling in Canada of Tiaziv became Kyziv, and later both spellings were combined as a hyphenated name for the district. A more likely explanation is that the hyphenated name is a pun or a nickname. *Tiaziv* means "something heavy" while *kyziv* is "short". It is not a long stretch to think that a short and stocky resident of the district inspired the name.[5]

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5. Nothing like Kyziv appears in references consulted by the author. Note too that Rudnyckyj asserts that most of the original settlers came from Oleksyntsi in Borshchiv raion, Ternopil oblast, making the reference to Tiaziv even less likely.

L'viv

L'viv was the major city of Galicia, and the oblast of the same name generated more than a dozen Saskatchewan names. The town of **LEMBERG** (post office 1904-) southwest of Melville bears the German name for L'viv (Polish Lwów). The city was founded in the mid 13th century by King Danylo Halytsky and named in honour of his son, Lev. The term is also the adjectival form of "lion" in Ukrainian.
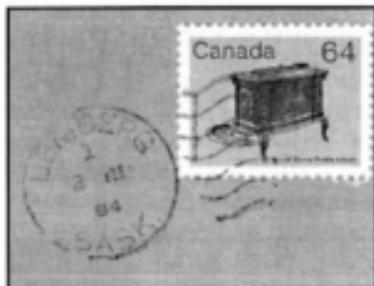
- We have already mentioned the BERESINA post office (1899-1920) northeast of Churchbridge which descended from Berezyna ("birch forest") south of L'viv.

- JANOW No. 2842 (1912-58) was south of Meath Park, as was the JANOW CORNERS post office (1938-65). The most likely source of that name is the former village of Yaniv (Polish Janów) just west of L'viv which was subsequently renamed as Ivano-Frankove, although there were at least three other Yanivs in Galicia at the turn of the last century. The Ukrainian Yan is roughly equivalent to the Polish Jan and the English John, so the name means "John's place".

- Also close to L'viv was the village of Pohoril'tsi (Polish Pohorylce) in Peremyshliany raion to the east, meaning "one who has lost his house through fire". In this case it was the German spelling which inspired the name of POHORLOWTZ[6] No. 2578 (from 1910) southwest of Sheho.

- KAMINKA No. 1632 (1906-52) was at the hamlet of Tway and is from the Ukrainian for a "gravelly place". The name may also commemorate the raion centre of Kamianka-Buz'ka (which was simply Kaminka until 1944) just northeast of L'viv.

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6. All official records give Pohorlowtz, but when the author served as director of education at the Shamrock School Division, there is no doubt it was pronounced locally as if there was an "i" in the last syllable, and that would produce the more likely German spelling of Pohorliwtz.

- The Ukrainian Catholic church of the Holy Eucharist (1928-62, now a heritage property), KULYKIV, north of Invermay, took its name from the town of Kulykiv, Zhovkva (Nesterov) raion, which is west of L'viv towards the Polish border. Kulykiv descends from the Ukrainian *kulyk* meaning "woodcock" (the term can also mean "those who make thatching for a roof"!).

- The village of Zamok was not far from Kulykiv and inspired the name of ZAMOK No. 784 (from 1912) south of Meath Park. The term is Ukrainian for "a castle or fortress".

- STAWCHAN No. 1826 (1907-66) was north of Rhein. It was named after Stavchany (Polish Stawczany) in Horodok raion just west of L'viv, and is from the Ukrainian for "of a pond".

- WHITKOW post office (1913-70), WHITKOW School District No. 4508 (1923-51) and WHITKOW HAMLET No. 5118 (1936-69) were all west of Mayfair. The name was suggested by Michael Kozlowski and is an anglicized version of the Polish spelling of the Ukrainian village of Vytkiv north of L'viv.

The Whitkow elevator still stood in 1987, even though CPR abandoned the rail line in 1975.
photo by the author

- MOSTETZ No. 1734 (from 1907) was northwest of Calder. The name comes from Mostyska, a raion centre west of L'viv near the Polish border. At the turn of the century this town's name was spelled as Mostyshche. There was a German Lutheran settlement there, and Mostetz appears to be the German rendition. The Ukrainian means "a small bridge".

- SOKAL No. 1955 (1908-59) and the SOKAL post office (1912-56) were west of Wakaw. Sokal is a city and raion centre on the River Buh whose name is a derivative of the Ukrainian for "falcon" or "hawk".

A Ukrainian settler's home under construction in the Sokal/St. Julien area, 1910.
SAB R8231-2

- SAMBOR No. 4057 (1918-60) northeast of Dysart was named for the home of Henry Sigmond Schneider (1886-1962) who arrived in 1905 to farm NE26-23-15-W2. Sambir (Ukrainian for "purple willow", Polish Sambor) is a raion centre on the Dnister River in southwest L'viv oblast. There were several German settlements in the area. SAMBURG was a rural post office (1913-69) south of Meath Park which may have been the German name for the same place. The Ukrainian Catholic church of St. John the Baptist was nearby, and John Denesyk was the postmaster from 1913 to 1959, a remarkable 46 years.

The market at Stryi, 1919, from an old postcard
courtesy Chuck Liebow via Rootsweb.com

- STRYJ No. 3201 (1914-58) was north of Goodeve. This is the German/Polish name for Stryi, meaning "uncle", a city and raion centre in southern L'viv oblast. The German Lutherans who settled in the Rothbury area north of Churchbridge around the turn of the century also called their district STRYJ.

- The Ukrainian Catholic church of St. Elias, Stove Creek, was built in 1924 and closed probably not more than a decade later. The parishioners called their district between Kelvington and Endeavour BYRTNYKY, after one of the four places called Bortniki (in Polish) in turn-of-the-century Galicia, three of which were in L'viv oblast.

Finally, one of a tangled tale from L'viv. Ordiv (Polish Ordów) was near Stoianiv in Radekhiv raion at the extreme northern edge of L'viv oblast, and people from that village founded the OROLOW School District No. 2392 in 1909. Ordiw was the submitted name but, given the vagaries of interpreting handwriting, the Department of Education read the "di" in the middle as "olo", and no one ever bothered to correct their mistake! Holy Trinity Roman Catholic church, Orolow, was at NW22-42-8-W3 south of Krydor until it closed in 1984, and the cemetery is kitty-corner at SE28. The Orolow hall, also known as TESHLIUK'S after the owner of the site, opened in 1953 at SW26-42-8-W3 adjoining the Descent of the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic church and cemetery. And the OROLOW post office served the district from 1937 to 1969.

Ternopil

More names came to Saskatchewan from Ternopil oblast than any other part of Ukraine. This stands to reason given that it is the most intensely agricultural part of the country, and remains the most rural of Ukraine's oblasts today. The hamlet (post office 1914-78, former CN siding) of **TARNOPOL** is east of Wakaw and comes from the Polish spelling for Ternopil, meaning "a bramble, or brier field". TARNOPOL No. 2579 opened in 1910.

Our Lady of Pochaiv, Ternopil

Two of Ternopil's raions, Borshchiv and Buchach, are the most heavily represented among our names. BORSHCHIV is the locality centring on the Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Peter and Paul (from 1907) south of Prud'homme. And BORSZCZOW No. 2358 (1909-63) was north of Aberdeen. Borshchiv (Polish Borszczów) town and raion are in southeastern Ternopil oblast. The root of the name is the same as that for *borshch*, "beet soup".

Also from Borshchiv raion:

- OLEKSINCE No. 3455 (1914-pre68) was southwest of Buchanan, and is the Polish spelling of Oleksyntsi ("belonging to Alex").

- OLESHA No. 2306 (1909-66) "Olga's place" was also southwest of Buchanan.

- OZERANKO was the name of a district south of Prud'homme settled in 1912. The name may come from the Ukrainian for "small lake".

- The first Ukrainian settlers west of Alvena arrived in 1902 and established LANIWCI No. 2300 (1909-59). The Ukrainian Catholic church of the Ascension and cemetery are at SW1-41-2-W3. The parish was founded in 1906, and the district was also served by the LANIWCI post office (1939-67). Lanivtsi is a small place, just north of Borshchiv, whose name comes from the Ukrainian word *lan* meaning "grainfield" + *ivtsi* for "people of". While some of the early settlers came from the Ukrainian Lanivtsi, more were from Torhovytsia (see p. 16) in Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblast. In any case the name was appropriate in that together they established a new settlement consisting of "people of the grainfields".[7]

*The Ukrainian Catholic church of the Ascension, Laniwci, in 1988.
photo by the author*

7. Prof. V. O. Buyniak of the University of Saskatchewan provided me with a map of Borshciv raion along with information on the origin of the settlers of Laniwci (private communication with the author, 1999). The Lanivtsi Prof. Buyniak identified does not appear in Lenius' exhaustive gazetteer of Galicia (see fn. 16).

- PANIOWCE was the intended name for what became SWAN PLAIN No. 291 (1911) north of Norquay. The dominantly Ukrainian homesteaders elected three English-speaking settlers to the first board so that they could communicate with the government. It seems that those august gentlemen took it upon themselves to change the name without reference to the ratepayers. Panivtsi Zelene (Polish Paniowce Zielone) was located in Borshchiv raion, and the name means "little lords".

- VERBOSKA No. 1737 (1913-55) was on the Manitoba border north of MacNutt. The name is Ukrainian for an "area of willows" and comes from the village of Verbivka (Polish Wierzbówka).

- WOLKOWETZ No. 1730 (from 1907) was east of Sheho. Either of two places in Borshchiv raion could have inspired the name: Volkivtsi K. Borshcheva, or Volkivtsi K. Zvenyhoroda (Polish Wolkowce). The names mean "the Volkivtsi at Borshchiv" and "the Volkivtsi at Zvenyhorod" respectively.

- SKALA No. 2712 (1910-61) west of Cudworth is Ukrainian for "cliff or rock" and probably comes from Skala-Podil's'ka in Borshchiv raion. The full name of that community means "cliff in the low place".

Buchach town and raion are in southwestern Ternopil oblast, west of Borshchiv. The name first appears in the historical record in 1397 when the place was part of the estates of the Buczacki family, explaining its Polish name, Buczacz. Saskatchewan's **BUCHACH** district centres on the Ukrainian Catholic church of the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary (from 1913) near Hazel Dell.

Also from Buchach raion:

- BOBULYNCI was a locality centring on the Ukrainian Catholic parish of the Transfiguration southwest of Rose Valley, and several of the early settlers came from Bobulyntsi in Buchach raion.

- CHECHOW No. 2252 (1908-61) was west of Preeceville. The Ukrainian Catholic church of the Holy Ghost, CHEKHIV, dates from 1906 at SE28-34-6-W2. Some of the earliest settlers came from the village of Chekhiv (Polish Czechów) near Monastyryska, Buchach raion. In Ukrainian the term means "a person from the Czech region".

- HRYHORIW No. 2390 (1909-64) was south of Preeceville. The Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Demetrius, Hryhoriv, was located at SE4-34-6-W2 in RM 334. Hryhoriv was in Buchach raion, also near Monastyryska. The first settlers arrived from there in 1902.

Harvest celebrations at Hryhoriw, 3 October 1937 SAB RB10101

- KOWALOWKA No. 1739 (1908-61) was northeast of Canora, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Transfiguration, Kovalivka, is located at SW1-32-5-W2. The name comes from the Ukrainian *koval* (Polish *kowal*) meaning "smith", resulting in "blacksmith shop". It probably honours Kovalivka (Polish Kowalówka), Buchach raion.

- The Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Nicholas, UHRYNIV, was at NW12-43-8-W3 south of Krydor from 1918. It was also known as BILYA PARCHOMY after the landowner who donated the site. A new church was built in 1929, and the Uhrynow hall was built at SW11-43-8-W3 the following year. It was often called SMALL'S since it was located on land owned by Ivan Small. The hall burned in October 1952, and three years later a former Russian church from north of Krydor was purchased and moved to a new site at NE11-43-8-W3. Usage gradually declined and it was sold in 1974. UHRYNOW No. 2405 (from 1909) was nearby. There were no fewer than nine places in Galicia which might have inspired the name, but the likeliest seems to be Uhryniv (Polish Uhrynów) between Buchach and Pidhaitsi in south-western Ternopil oblast.

The Uhryniv (Ukraine) choir.
The teacher, Luka Sych, in the front row, immigrated to Canada in 1923.
Ukrainian Museum of Canada

Names which came to Saskatchewan from other parts of Ternopil oblast are:

- ANTONIWKA was a locality just north of Canora centred on the Ukrainian Catholic parish of the Assumption. Antonivka, meaning "Anton's place", was the home of some of the early settlers. It was located in Chortkiv raion in the south between Borshchiv and Buchach.

- PROBINZA No. 1724 (1907-21, name changed to Geddes) northeast of Wroxton was named after the village of Probizhna, also in Chortkiv raion.

- HUSIATYN No. 791 (1912-45, changed to Claytonville) south of Meath Park was named after Husiatyn, a raion centre in southeastern Ternopil oblast which dates from the 12th century. The name appears to have something to do with "geese".

- VASLOUTZ No. 2642 (1910-56) south of Buchanan was named after a village given as Wasliw in one local history. Vaslovetz in another. In Ukrainian the term means "William's" and Vasyl'kivtsi (Polish Wasylkowce) near Husiatyn seems the most likely source. The school's name is likely the German form.

- There are several places in Ukraine whose names resemble that of MONASTYR No. 2328 (1909-67) north of Buchanan. The word is the Ukrainian for "monastery". The most likely source is the raion centre of Monastyryska in southwestern Ternopil oblast.

- DOBROWODY (1916-32 and 1939-50) was a rural post office northeast of Rama in a mixed Polish/Ukrainian settlement. Joseph Bugeira was the only postmaster, leaving one to wonder why he took seven years off. Mr. and Mrs. Bugeira helped to plan and build the Roman Catholic church of St. Peter and Paul in 1906 (idle since 1985). The Ukrainian Catholic church of the Nativity is nearby. The post office took its name from DOBROWODY No. 2637 (from 1910), which in turn was named for Dobryvody (Polish Dobrowody) in Pidhaitsi raion, southwest Ternopil oblast. The name means "good water".

- SCALAT No. 1623 (from 1906, split into East and West Scalat No. 4681 in 1926) was southeast of Canora. The name is from the Ukrainian for "a place where there are rocks or cliffs" honouring the village of Skalat southeast of Ternopil. The remnants of its 17th century castle are a tourist attraction today.

- OKNO No. 3894 (from 1917), south of Sheho, is said to come from the Russian/Polish *okno* for "window" meaning "a new light in a new world". Just as likely a source is the village called Okno just south of Skalat.

- There are ten villages in turn-of-the-century Galicia called Krasna or Krasne, which is derived from the Ukrainian for "beautiful", but the one southeast of Skalat inspired the name of the KRASNE rural post office (1913-43) west of Wishart. The Ukrainian Orthodox church of St. Ivan Bohoslov (St. John the Theologian), Krasne, and cemetery and hall, are at NW13-30-16-W2. There was also a school named KRASNE No. 3058 (1913-26, changed to Roseberry) south of Hafford, and another called KRASNY No. 1121 (from 1912) southwest of Sheho.[8]

- ZALISCHYKY No. 2961 (1913-54) was south of Wakaw. Zalishchyky is a resort town and raion centre on the Dnister River in far southern Ternopil oblast, which had been the

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8. See also Krassna under German names.

home of Karl and Gabriel Holinaty, and Max Towstego. Bronze Age relics have been discovered at Zalishchyky which lies at the intersection of several historical trade routes.

- TORSK No. 1713 (from 1907) was east of Calder, and was named for Tor'ske, a village not far from Zalishchyky.[9]

- ZBARAZ No. 2403 (1909-56) was just south of Krydor and comes from the raion centre of Zbarazh (Polish Zbaraz) just northeast of the city of Ternopil.

Other Galician Names

Several names were brought to Saskatchewan from parts of Galicia which are now in Poland. Jaroslaw (Ukrainain Yaroslav) is the principal city in the southeastern part of that country, just a few miles west of the Ukrainian border west of L'viv. Historically a part of Galicia, it was named for Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv. Due to the forced deportation of Ukrainians before and after World War II, the area is now solidly Polish. The city inspired the name JAROSLAW No. 2487 (from 1909) southwest of Yorkton. A similar derivation can be ascribed to the NEW YAROSLAU settlement northeast of Yorkton, also known as Crooked Lakes, which began in 1897. The community of Yaroslaw, Manitoba, had been formed the previous year (Yaroslau is the German spelling).

Others include:

- Adamivka was a small village north of Jaroslaw whose name means "Adam's place". ADAMIWKA No. 1994 (1908-67+) was southeast of Rosthern, an area also served by the Ukrainian Catholic church of the Descent of the Holy Ghost (1927), which has now been designated a heritage property. The district was also known as KOLO KAMINS'KYKH after the pioneering Kaminsky family whose name derives from "stone".

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9. Interestingly, *torsk* is also the Norwegian for "codfish"!

- RADIMNO No. 2682 (from 1910) was southeast of Willowbrook and comes from the Ukrainian for "one who is happy or pleased". The former Ukrainian village of Radymno was just southeast of Jaroslaw and almost certainly the source of the name.

- Similarly, the most likely source of the name of CZERNAWKA No. 1712 (from 1907), north of MacNutt, was the former village of Cherniavka (Polish Czerniawka) near Radymno, now in Poland but very near the Ukrainian border.

- WALAWA was a rural post office (1912-16) west of Theodore which took its name from the village of Valiava near Peremyshl on the Polish-Ukrainian border south of Jaroslaw.

- BEREZIW No. 3030 (1913-16, changed to Slawa) was south of Halford and was named for the Galician district of Bereziv meaning "birch place". Although significant numbers of Ukrainians once lived there, it is now the Brzozów district of southeast Poland.

- MALONECK was a rural post office (1911-64) northeast of Pelly, and the school of the same name (No. 3669) got going in 1916. Perhaps Malynivka (Polish Malinówka) near Beresiv influenced the name selection. The name could be from the Ukrainian for "one who paints or draws", or even "a place of raspberries"!

- HOROSZIWCI No. 2433 (1909-19, changed to War End) was west of Theodore. This is probably from the one time Ukrainian village of Horokhivtsi (which was just south of Peremyshl', now Przemysl, southeast Poland. The Ukrainian *horokh* and the Polish *groch* mean "pease".

- BOGUCZ No. 1743 (1907-59) was southeast of Canora. There were several Polish Galician places with similar names such as Boguchwala, Boguciec, Bogusza, etc., which might have inspired the name. The latter seems most likely – Bohusha (Polish Bogusza) was southeast of Nowy Sacz in southern Poland not far from the Slovak border, an area which once had a significant Ukrainian population. These names are derivatives of the Polish for "God", *Bóg, Boga* – the Ukrainian equivalents are *Boh, Boha*.[10]

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10. See also Bogdanovka under Doukhobor names.

Two Galician rivers also begat Saskatchewan names. WISNIA No. 2870 (1913-61) southeast of Veregin was after the Vyshnia River which drains the west central portion of L'viv oblast into the Wisla River, which in turn inspired WYSLA No. 4106 (from 1918) southwest of Canora. Vysla is the Ukrainian name for Poland's Wisla River, which is often called by its Latin name, the Vistula.

Galicia and Bukovyna today

Bukovyna

Bukovyna (meaning "land of the beech trees") was another historical province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in what is now southwestern Ukraine and northern Romania. In the 18th century, it was a sparsely populated area containing about 60,000 people. The Empire encouraged in-migration, and by World War I, a polyglot mixture of 800,000 people made Bukovyna their home. The majority were Ukrainians and Romanians, but there were also significant populations of Poles, Hungarians, Germans and Jews.

The Austrian Crownland of Bukovina (the German form) included what is now Chernivtsi oblast. BUKOWINA was a rural post office (1928-34) south of Yellow Creek, named by John Fessiuk, the first postmaster, who came from the province. There was also a BUKOWINA School District No. 2012 (1908-62) southeast of Wakaw.

Other Bukovynian names include:

- CZERNOWIZ No. 2341 (from 1909) was north of Theodore. This is from the German spelling (Czernowitz) of what is now Chernivtsi, the historical capital of the oblast of the same name.

- KITZMAN No. 2400 (1909-66) was northeast of Rhein, and LUZAN No. 255 (1911-68) was south of Veregin. They were named for communities just northwest of the city of Chernivtsi, the raion centre of Kitsman (Kicman') and the village of Luzhany.

- The town of Toporivtsi (Polish Toporowce) just northeast of Chernivtsi probably inspired the name of TOPOROWCE No. 1666 (1906-15; changed to TOPOROUTZ No. 1666, 1915-19; changed to Chaucer) just north of Calder. This appears to be the German form of the place name Toporivtsi, which is also a Ukrainian term describing a person wielding a small hatchet called a *topor*.

- Further north is Zastavna raion which sent two names to Saskatchewan, VERENCZANKA No. 264 (1911-19, changed to New Canadian) east of Rhein and WASILEFF No. 1692 (1906-19, changed to Yemen) west of Insinger. Verenchanka is a village just west of the town of Zastavna, and Vasyliv ("William's") is a village on the Dnister River in the most

Bukovyna prior to World War I

northern part of Chernivtsi oblast. It is one of the oldest settlements in Bukovyna, first appearing in the historical record in 1230.

- BRIDOK No. 1765 (from 1907) south of Canora is the diminutive of the Ukrainian *brid* meaning "ford" and is said to be after the village of Bridok, Bukovyna province. Although such a place does not appear in current references, an old German map of Bukovyna shows a place called Brodoc near Vasyliv. It may fit the bill.

- MAMORNITZ No. 2266 (1909-62) was southwest of Buchanan, and the Mamornitz Ukrainian Orthodox church, dating from 1910, was at the same location. The village of Mamornytsia in Chernivtsi oblast was the home of several early settlers. Its name is a derivative of the Ukrainian for "grandmother".

Two rivers in Bukovyna also inspired Saskatchewan names. The Cheremosh River forms the boundary between the historical provinces of Bukovyna and Galicia, and is the modern border

The inscription reads "Bukovynian archbishop visits Samburg — 1919".
National Archives of Canada

between Chernivtsi and Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblasts. Several of the early settlers of CHEREMOSZ No. 4004 (1918-64) north of Endeavour had lived along the banks of the Cheremosh. And the name of SERATH hamlet (post office 1910-70) south of Raymore was suggested by Jacob Huber after "his home district in Austria". This is most likely a reference to the town of Seret (Romanian Siret) on the Seret River, which is a tributary of the Danube. The town is now in northern Romania just a few kilometers from the Ukrainian border, and was once a county administrative centre in south Bukovyna.[11]

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11. Another Seret River almost bisects Ternopil oblast on its way to the Dnister River.

Other Ukrainian place names

Despite the fact that almost all Saskatchewan Ukrainians came from Galicia and Bukovyna, other names from Ukraine did find their way into our toponymy. STEPPES, for example, was a Canadian Pacific siding between Carlyle and Manor. The term was originally applied to the grasslands of southern Ukraine and has been generalized to apply to any natural grassland with a temperate, semiarid climate. While Canadian Pacific was not always known for selecting the most appropriate names, this one fits like a glove given the similarities between the Canadian prairies and the steppes of Ukraine.

Rus is a Slavic term meaning "empire or kingdom" and is especially applied to the 11th- and 12th-century kingdom of the Kyivan (Kievan) Rus', one of the earliest Ukrainian states. This "great historic Ukrainian name" (local history) was suggested by John Hawrysh for RUS No. 2584 (1910-60) south of Halford.

The Karpaty (Carpathian) Mountains of east central Europe extend from south Poland through Slovakia and into Ukraine and Romania. CARPATHIAN No. 2722 (1935-60, formerly Ozeriany) was south of Cudworth. The mighty rivers of Ukraine also found their way onto our map. DNEIPER was a rural post office (1938-70) north of Rhein, and the Ukrainian Catholic church of the Transfiguration, DNIPRO, was built in 1931 at SW34-28-2-W2. Both names honour the Dnipro River in central Ukraine. DNEISTER was also a rural post office (1907-13, name changed to Hamton Station), this time northeast of Ebenezer, and DNISTER No. 1635 (from 1906) was just southwest of Canora. Both were named for the Dnister River, the principal waterway of west Ukraine. In the latter case, the name was suggested by the Stratychuk family who had lived by the Ukrainian river.

The Dnister River near Halych

KYJIW No. 1728 (1907, changed to KIEV in 1932) was north of Alvena and, obviously, honours the capital of Ukraine. The name KIEV was also used for a district southwest of Rose Valley centring on a Ukrainian Orthodox church. Kyiv is the proper Ukrainian transliteration, and is pronounced remarkably like the word "cave." POLTAWA No. 1910-57, changed to Carpenter), formerly Torhowycia, was northeast of Cudworth. The city of Poltava is the capital of an oblast of the same name in eastern Ukraine, and a surprising one to find on Saskatchewan's map since very few Ukrainians came here from that part of the country. Perhaps the name was used because Poltava, Ukraine, is home to at least four agricultural schools and an experimental farm.

PODOLE No. 3227 (from 1914) northeast of Prince Albert and PODOLIA No. 2384 (from 1909) northeast of Arran have a common derivation. Podilia (Podolia) is an historical-geographical region of the southwestern Ukraine lying to the east and northeast of the Dnister River. The name comes from the Ukrainian for "lower."

SICH No. 3454 (1914-60) was west of Blaine Lake. "The name Sich comes from the historical Kozak era [and] refers to the fortified cossack settlements on the banks and islands of the Dnipro River."[12] The Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Michael, Krydor Sich, was located nearby at NW12-45-8-W3. The church was built in 1934 and closed in the early 1970s. The Sich hall was built at SE2-45-8-W3 in 1939.

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[12] J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin* (Winnipeg: 1957, in Ukrainian).

Some Ukrainians, famous and otherwise

A good many Saskatchewan names honour historic Ukrainians. An excellent example is the **ST. VOLODYMYR UKRAINIAN PARK**, a 154 acre campground with recreational facilities established south of the city in 1959 by the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Saskatoon. The rustic church on the site was dedicated to St. Volodymyr the Great of Kyiv (956?-1015), Grand Prince of the Kyivan Rus' from 980. Volodymyr became a Christian in 987, largely to consolidate his hold on power, and Ukraine was rapidly Christianized thereafter. There is also a **ST. VOLODYMYR** separate school and nursing home in Saskatoon, and the VLADIMIR School District No. 2193 (from 1908) west of Alvena probably has the same derivation.

MOHELA No. 3971 (from 1917) was northeast of Canora. "*mohyl-*" is a frequent component of Ukrainian place names, and perhaps the village of Mohyliany just north of L'viv inspired the choice. In Ukrainian the term could mean a burial mound, a grave, a sepulchre, or a tomb. However, it is more likely that the source of the name was Petro Mohyla (1597-1647), the Ukrainian metropolitan who was a major figure in the history of Orthodoxy in Ukraine. His name inspired that of the **MOHYLA UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE** at Saskatoon, which was founded in 1916 as a non-sectarian residence for Ukrainian students attending educational institutions in the city. In 1918, Nykyta Budka, a Ukrainian Catholic bishop recently beatified by Pope John Paul II, pressured the institute to Catholicize. According to the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, this turned out to be a pivotal step in the formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada,[13] with which the institute has since been affiliated. The Mohyla Institute was the original home of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, now located on Spadina Crescent. Over the years the Institute has been actively involved in cultural pursuits, including the accumulation of a large library, as well as maintaining its residential function.

Ivan Mazepa (1639-1709) was the Cossack hetman (leader) of the Zaporizhzhian host from 1687 until his death. He was the

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13. Originally the Ukrainian Autocephalous (Greek) Orthodox Church of Canada.

Taras Shevchenko monument on Prospekt Svobody (Freedom Avenue), L'viv.
photo by Larry Kozak, from the city of L'viv web site

subject of an epic poem by Lord Byron (1819) and a symphony by Liszt (1854). MAZEPPA No. 2860 (from 1913), named in his honour, was southeast of Canora.

Saskatchewan's Ukrainians have shown a particular penchant for honouring countrymen who distinguished themselves in the arts. TARAS No. 4880 (from 1930) was north of Gronlid and was named for Taras Shevchenko (1814-61), artist, poet and national bard of Ukraine. Shevchenko has a uniquely important place in Ukrainian history. Although he spent much of his life in exile in the east, he paved the way for the development of modern Ukrainian literature. His art and poetry contributed greatly to the evolution of national consciousness among Ukrainians that is felt to this day.

LARISA No. 5186 (1943-62) was west of Wishart, and LESIA UKRAINKA hall was across the road from the school at SW35-29-16-W2. Both names honoured the Ukrainian poet, Lesia Ukrainka (1871-1913), pseudonym of Larysa Kosach-Kvitka. Ukrainka was a published poet at the tender age of nine, a prolific translator, and a playwright whose poetic dramas

Bust of Lesia Ukrainka
Canadian Museum of Civilization

were widely loved. She suffered from tuberculosis her entire life and travelled widely in search of a cure. She died in Georgia in the Caucasus at the age of 42 on her way home from a sanatorium in Egypt. Ukrainka was significantly influenced by her uncle Mihailo Drahomaniv (M. Drahomanow, 1841-95) for whom DRAHOMANOW No. 2501 (1909-62) southeast of Prud'homme was named. Drahomaniv was a scholar and ethnographer who was forced to practice his craft in such places as Sofia, Bulgaria, and Geneva, Switzerland, because of the suppression of the Ukrainian language by the Russians.

KVITKA was a rural post office (1930-31) south of Jedburgh. Its name may have honoured Hryhori Kvitka-Osnovianenko (Gregory Kvitka, 1778-1843), Ukrainian novelist, playwright and short story writer, or perhaps Lesia Ukrainka (see above). The word also means "flower, or blossom" in Ukrainian.

LYSENKO No. 494 (from 1921) was at Insinger and may have been named for Mykola Lysenko (1842-1912), a prolific Ukrainian composer, conductor and ethnomusicologist. Lysenko was at the centre of cultural life in Kyiv in the late 19th century. He wrote several operas, many works for the piano, and collected and arranged hundreds of Ukrainian folk songs. He may be best remembered for setting the poetry of Taras Shevchenko, particularly the Kobzar collection, to music. Denys Sichynsky (1865-1909) was a member of the next generation of Ukrainian composers and conductors who followed in Lysenko's footsteps. He died just as SICZYNSKI No. 2513 (from 1910) near Meacham was being formed, and the name may have been selected in his honour. The term also denotes someone from Sich in Ukrainian (see p. 35).

The IVAN FRANKO Co-operative Association was established north of Borden during the 1930s. Its name honoured Ivan Franko (1856-1916). Ukrainian writer and nationalist, who published his first poetry and a novel at the age of 19. He was also a journalist and was jailed several times for socialist propagandizing. Eventually he turned his back on Marxism, indeed on politics in general, and spent the rest of his life as a writer and editor. EVAN FRANKO hall southeast of Nipawin came from the

Ivan Franko as portrayed on a Ukrainian stamp in 1995.

same source, as did FRANKO No. 1740 (from 1907) just east of Canora. As noted earlier, the modern city and oblast of Ivano-Frankivs'ke were renamed in its honour in 1962.

Osyp Oleskiv (Dr. Josef Oleskow, 1860-1903) was an advocate of emigration from Ukraine to Canada. Oleskiv, an agronomist and a professor at a teachers' seminary in L'viv, visited Canada in 1895 and wrote a pamphlet extolling Canada as a destination for his compatriots, particularly as opposed to Brazil. Numbers of Ukrainians were being lured to Brazil at the time as cheap plantation labour. Oleskiv was strongly opposed to such emigration, believing that his countrymen could not survive tropical heat. His pamphlets were distributed by the Prosvita Society through its network of halls and libraries in Ukrainian-speaking areas of eastern Europe. Although Oleskiv was pivotal in organizing the first wave of Ukrainian emigrants to Canada in the late 1890s, events overtook him. Several of his projects to smooth the path of the settlers were never implemented, and Oleskiv withdrew from the process altogether to become the director of a teachers' college at Sokal. OLESKOW No. 540 (1908-62) was north of Rhein.[14]

The **MICHAEL HRUSHEWSKI** hall only existed for a short time in the Stanyslavtsi district south of Foam Lake. It was built in 1924 but burned just six years later, and was named for a famous Ukrainian historian, Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi (1866-1934).

Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, historian and president of the short-lived Ukrainian republic in 1918, as pictured on a Ukrainian stamp in 1995.

Two Saskatchewan schools were named for Ukrainian school trustees. ZAYACZ No. 3416 (1914-21, changed to Liberal) north of Calder was named for A. Zayacz, whose surname is also the Ukrainian for "hare or rabbit". FOSTI No. 1700 (from 1906) south

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14. Alternatively, the Oleskow school may have been named for Olesko, a small village about 50 km east of L'viv in Zolochiv raion. Olesko castle has been restored and now houses an impressive gallery of Ukrainian art. There was also a turn-of-the-century village named Oleshkiv (Polish Oleszków) in Tovmach raion just east of Ivano-Frankivs'ke.
    Note that Pierre Berton gives a vivid portrait of Dr. Oleskiv in *The Promised Land* (Toronto: 1984), pp.1-6,43-45.

Thatched roofs in the Fosti district, 1919
SAB RA4811

of Sheho honoured John Fosti, the first board treasurer, who held that post at least until 1919. Also in the education sphere, **BISHOP ROBORECKI** separate school in Saskatoon was named to honour Andrii Roboretsky (Roborec'ky) (1910-82) who became the first bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Saskatoon in 1956.

Three Ukrainian postmasters wound up with offices named for themselves. DROBOT (1909-55), north of Theodore, was named for Thomas Drobot, postmaster to 1917 and treasurer of both the Dobronoutz and Mamornitz school districts. KENASCHUK was a short-lived post office just to the east of Drobot. It only had two postmasters, George (1928-29) and Steve (1929-31) Kenaschuk. The ROBERT post office (1905-10) was north of the community that replaced it, Duff, and was named for Robert Fenske, its only postmaster.

Of the many names honouring Ukrainian pioneers, only one survives and it is also the only one to honour more than one homesteader. **KRYDOR** is a village (post office 1911-86) west of Blaine Lake which was named for Peter Krysak and Teodor Lucyk, prominent Ukrainian pioneers in the area. Krysak was the first postmaster and the district was often called OZERO, Ukrainian for "mirror", inspired by a small lake on Krysak's homestead, prior to the opening of the post office. The village of Krydor is perhaps best known as the birthplace of Dr. Stephen Worobetz, the first Saskatchewan lieutenant governor of Ukrainian ancestry. Indeed, the cemetery just west of Krydor was called VOROBCEVE

after the ancestor of Dr. Worobetz who donated the site for the Ukrainian Catholic church of St. Demetrius in 1910.

Several other interesting locality names could be found in the Krydor-Hafford area:

- The IVAN FRANKO National Home was built on Yurko Belyk's land in 1920, across the road from the Assumption of St. Mary Ukrainian Orthodox church north of Borden. The hall burned in 1931. It was often referred to as BELYK'S, and was also the location of the Redberry Park post office.

- BILYA PARCHOMY, Ukrainian for "near Parchoma's place", honoured Semen Parchoma, one of the founders of the nearby Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Nicholas, Uhrynow.

- In 1923 the Redberry Ivan Franko Library Association was established northeast of Hafford. In 1930 a hall was built at NW2-44-9-W3 which was often called REBRYNA since it was built on the land of Paul Rebryna, whose surname means "ribs" in Ukrainian. It burned in June 1938 and was replaced three years later, finally petering out in the late 1950s.

- In 1906 Ivan Welechko donated land south of Hafford for the Ukrainian Catholic parish of the Presentation, finally built in 1911. The Taras Shewchenko Library Association was established in 1917 and two years later a hall was built at SE25-42-10-W3. Usually called WELECHKO or BILYA VELYCHKA ("near Welechko's) locally, it was sold for scrap in 1973.

BODNARI or KOLO BODNARIV ("at Bodnar's") was a district northeast of Vonda honouring Teodor Bodnar who donated the site for the Ukrainian Catholic parish of Saints Peter and Paul. A new church was built in 1936. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Rak came from Laniwci, Galicia, to pioneer northeast of Vonda and gave their name to the RAK School District No. 3244 (1908-60). Their descendants still farm the homestead quarter. The RAK siding and post office (1936-53) were in turn named for the school. The HAVRYLIUKY district south of Prud'homme was named for Nykola Havryliuk (Nicholas Hawryluk) who donated the site for Sacred Heart of Jesus Ukrainian Catholic church, built in 1928 and still open in 1981. Not far away is the HRYCIW road northbound from Highway 5 east of Saskatoon. That surname is Ukrainian for "Harry's".

KOLO PIDSKAL'NOHO or PIDSKALNY'S was a district west of Cudworth (from 1900). Ivan Pidskalny donated the site for the original Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Demetrius, two miles to the west. The Ukrainian form translates as "near the Pidskalny place". Not far to the south of Pidskalny's was KOLO SOLOMYANOHO, after Ivan Solomyany who donated the site for the Holy Transfiguration church in 1907.

VASYLIV or KOLO VASYLEVA south of Buchanan honoured N. Wasyliw, one of the founders of the Ukrainian Catholic parish of Saints Constantine and Helena in 1906. The DOROSHI district centred on the Roman Catholic church of the Immaculate Conception north of Ituna. Stefan Dorosh donated the cemetery site in 1909. ZAZULA No. 4526 (from 1923) was northwest of Hendon. Fred Zazula came from Ukraine to homestead SE1-37-14-W2 in 1906, and there are still Zazulas living in the district. The family name is a Ukrainian term of endearment meaning "sweetheart, precious, darling", but it also by definition means a "cuckoo bird"!

Anthony Leskiw
courtesy Doug Chisholm,
La Ronge

Finally, in the 1950s the government of Saskatchewan began a program to name geographic features in the northern parts of the province after servicemen who laid down their lives for Canada during the world wars. Among them, of course, are many Ukrainians such as Anthony Leskiw of Saskatoon whose name graces **LESKIW LAKE** just west of Amisk Lake southwest of Creighton. Leskiw enlisted in the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve and was lost at sea in October 1940 while serving aboard SS *Whitford Point*, torpedoed in the north Atlantic by a German submarine. He was barely twenty years old.

Then there is the remarkable story attached to **DMYTRUK LAKE** just to the north of Cree Lake in far northern Saskatchewan. Peter Dmytruk of Wynyard joined the Royal Canadian Air Force as a gunner. He was shot down near Paris in 1943 and, with his technical skills and outgoing personality, soon became a vital cog in the *Maquis*, the French resistance movement. He was eventually gunned down by the Nazis in Les Martres-de-Veyre, a town in the Auvergne region of south central France. So popular had *Pierre le Canadien* become that his statue still graces the town square, and Rue Pierre le Canadien leads off it. Les Martres-de-Veyre and Wynyard were twinned in 1972.[15]

Peter Dmytruk
courtesy Ukrainian Museum of Canada

There are many more such stories to be told.

BABYNA DOLYNA is Ukrainian for "grandmother's (baba's) valley or dale". J. B. Rudnyckyj's Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin contains this listing. He places it "near Wroxton" and gives the extremely unlikely start date of 1887, but provides no other details. I can find no reference to such a place in any other source.

It is often suggested that the name of the village of ALVENA southwest of Wakaw must be of Ukrainian origin since the area was mostly settled by Galicians. However, the original Alvena post office opened near Fish Creek in 1887, well before there were any Ukrainians on the prairies. While a precise derivation for the name has yet to surface, it is certainly of Métis origin.

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15. See the August 1995 issue of *Reader's Digest*. Doug Chisholm of La Ronge has become an expert on the 3,500+ such servicemen's names. His book entitled *Their Names Live On* will be published by the Canadian Plains Research Centre in late 2001, and will provide a complete listing of them.

Ukrainian phrases

An example of a Ukrainian phrase which found its way onto our maps is ZAPOROZE No. 3188 (1914-60), which was west of Krydor. Zaporizhzhia is a city on the Dnipro River and an oblast in south Ukraine. However, the use of the name here is more likely an historical reference to the military and political organization of the south Ukrainian Cossacks from the 16th to the 18th centuries. As we have seen, the name Zaporizhzhian Sich referred to any one of several fortified castles on the Dnipro River manned by the Cossacks. The name derives from *za porohamy* meaning "beyond the Dnipro rapids", referring to the territory's location. Interestingly, though, *Zaporozhe* was also the name of the oldest Ukrainian student fraternity, founded at Chernivtsi in 1906. It was active in Bukovyna and may have inspired the use of the name in Saskatchewan. Another educational connection was NAUKA No. 3059 (1915-52) south of Hafford which comes from the Ukrainian for "learning" and seems an utterly appropriate name for a school.

The Prosvita ("enlightenment") Society played a leading role in providing agricultural education to the Ukrainian peasantry. Prosvita was established first in Galicia (at L'viv in 1868) and became most developed there. Although initially an organization for the intelligentsia, it rapidly became a broadly populist movement which contributed to the establishment of co-operatives, educational societies and cultural organizations. By 1914, 75% of Galician communities had a Prosvita reading room/library and 20% of the Ukrainian population of the region were members of the society. Its role and influence were so important that parish halls attached to many Ukrainian churches in Saskatchewan were called "Prosvita", and PROSVITA No. 3457 (1914-59) was west of Mayfair.

Not far away was ZORIA No. 3471 (1914-52) which is Ukrainian for "star". *Zoria* was also the name of an association of Ukrainian tradesmen, manufacturers and merchants founded in Galicia in 1884. The organization promoted vocational education and technical training, and that fact may have inspired the use of the name in Saskatchewan.

SVOBODA No. 1704 (1907-25?) was northwest of Alvena and is the Ukrainian for "liberty." *Svoboda* is also the name of the

oldest continuously publishing Ukrainian newspaper in the world, printed at or near Jersey City, New Jersey, since 1893. In a similar vein, WOLNA No. 3503 (1915-55) was east of Rama. The Ukrainian *vilna* is equivalent to the Polish *wolna* and means "free", while WOLIA No. 2970 (1913-63) southwest of Glaslyn is from the Ukrainian *volia* meaning "freedom" as suggested by T. Kulcheski. ZHODA No. 2377 (from 1909) was just south of Mikado and is Ukrainian for "peace" or "harmony".

DOBRANIWKA No. 2608 (1910-26, merged with Heuboden No. 1877) takes its name from the Ukrainian for "extremely good". It was located just southeast of Rosthern. DOBRONOUTZ No. 2368 (1909-63) south of Buchanan means "good night" (probably a Polish or Russian form) and, on first glance at least, seems a bit of a strange choice for a school name.

Group of kobzar players, Kharkiv, 1902
courtesy Victor Mishalow, expert on the kobzar and bandura

The Ukrainian Orthodox church of the Holy Ascension, Arran-Kobzar, is at NE5-33-30-W1, and nearby KOBZAR No. 3597 (1915-67) was south of Arran. The term means "a person who plays a musical instrument known as a *kobza*, a stringed lute. The kobza is an early version of the bandura by which it has largely been supplanted. *Kobzar* (literally "the kobza player" or "minstrel") was also the title that Taras Shevchenko gave to his first collection of poetry, and it seems likely that this inspired the use of the name in Saskatchewan.

HORY was a locality southwest of Wakaw centring on the Ukrainian Catholic parish of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ (1904-67). The name comes from *hory* meaning "mountains", a reference to the hilly 12 acre church site. From the 1930s it was called Carpenter-Hory after the nearby siding/post office. A place with a similar derivation is **GÖRLITZ**, a hamlet between Yorkton and Canora. Görlitz is an industrial town in Saxony, eastern Germany near the Polish border. However, it is more likely the name comes from the district of Gorlice in south Poland near the Slovakian border. That area was once dominantly Ukrainian and the name probably comes from the Ukrainian *horiltsi* meaning "little hills". It seems likely that the German version of the name was brought to Saskatchewan by German-speaking farmers who came from Gorlice.

There were several other names inspired by Ukrainian phrases:

- **BOHDAN** No. 3511 (1915-58) east of Mayfair is a common Christian name meaning "God given".

- **PASEIKA** No. 2419 (1909-59) south of Arran is from the Ukrainian *pasika* for "beehive, apiary".

- **SCHITKA** beach is on Wakaw Lake. E. Schitka owned the site, and his name in Ukrainian means "brush". There were also beaches on the lake called OSZE and SIBA, after their owners, I. Osze and W. Siba.

- **LODI** No. 3509 (from 1915) was north of Okla and is Ukrainian for "ice", a not uncommon phenomenon in either Ukraine or Saskatchewan.

- **VESNA** No. 736 (1912-65) was southeast of Arran and comes from the Ukrainian for "spring (the season)". The Ukrainian Catholic parish of Saints Peter and Paul, Arran-Vesna, is at SE16-33-30-W1.

- **OSIN** No. 3598 (from 1915) north of Arran means "autumn".

- **DOCHYLO** is at Christopher Lake. While this is likely a surname, *tochylo* means "grindstone".

- **SLAWA** No. 3030 (1916-54, changed from Bereziw) was south of Hafford. The term means "praise" in several Slavic languages, Ukrainian *slava*, Russian/Polish *sława*.

- **CHORNEY BEACH** is on Fishing Lake. It is Ukrainian for "black."

- KALYNA No. 3945 (from 1917) was south of Meath Park and the KALYNA post office (1936-69) served the district. The name is Ukrainian for "highbush cranberry."

Saskatchewan's rich Ukrainian heritage is well reflected in its place names.[16]

> *Adherents of Ukrainian Orthodoxy significantly outnumber Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine as a whole. However, the distribution of place names in Saskatchewan is the reverse: there are significantly more names with Catholic than with Orthodox connections. As we shall see, this anomaly is even more true for German names. Although more German Lutherans and Baptists came to Saskatchewan than German Roman Catholics, place names inspired by the latter far outstrip those with Protestant antecedents.*
>
> *Partly this is a matter of documentation, the Catholics have generally done a somewhat better job of recording their stories for the interested reader. In the case of the Ukrainians, the discrepancy is also partly explained by the fact that immigration to Canada came almost exclusively from western Ukraine where Ukrainian Catholicism and Roman Catholicism are strongest. Indeed, Ukrainian Catholics and Roman Catholics of Ukrainian ancestry outnumber those of the Ukrainian Orthodox faith in Saskatchewan today. Finally, the propensity of Catholics to settle in blocks undoubtedly had an impact — the more individualistic Orthodox Ukrainians and German Protestants were less likely to have an influence on their neighbours when it came time to name a school or a post office.*

One of the best known of Lesia Ukrainka's poems is entitled "Hope Against Hope". It was penned by a very young woman after she had been told that she had untreatable bone tuberculosis, that her remaining days were few, that her beloved piano would likely be lost to her, that she might not even be able to write. Yet the verse is full of impressive strength and hope. Here it is in a translation by Percival Cundy that, I am told, does not do justice to the original Ukrainian.

> *Hence, dark thoughts! Away, ye autumn mists!*
> *Golden spring is here, she's here today!*
> *Should my days of youth be spent in woe,*
> *Drearily and sadly pass away?*
>
> *Nay, through all my tears, I still will smile,*
> *Sing my songs through troubles round me loom;*
> *Hopeless, still hope on against all odds,*
> *I will live! Away, ye thoughts of gloom!*
>
> *On this hard and ingrate soil I'll sow*
> *Flowers that shall bloom with colors rare;*
> *Flowers will I plant where frost doth reign,*
> *Water them with many a bitter tear.*
>
> *And these burning tears will soften then*
> *All that ground so crusted, chill, malign,*
> *Flowers, then perhaps, will bloom and bring*
> *Joyous spring e'en to this heart of mine.*
>
> *Though the mountain side be rough and steep,*
> *Onward will I bear the ponderous stone;*
> *Struggling upwards 'neath the crushing load,*
> *Still will I my joyous song intone.*
>
> *Through the long, dark night inscrutable*
> *Never will I close my wearied eyes,*
> *Searching ever for guiding start --*
> *Radiant empress of the midnight skies.*
>
> *Yes, through all my tears, I still will smile,*
> *Sing my songs through troubles round me loom;*
> *Hopeless, still hope on against all odds,*
> *I will live! Away, ye thoughts of gloom!*

German Names from Ukraine

Catherine II, tsarina of Russia from 1762 until her death 34 years later, was born Princess Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst. While she immersed herself in the history and culture of her adopted country after her marriage to a Russian prince, she never lost her respect and admiration for the agriculturalists of her land of birth. Very early in her reign she issued a manifesto inviting foreigners to settle in the southern reaches of her empire. While the invitation was general, Russian officials focused their recruiting efforts on German-speaking farmers.

Germany in those days was a fractured nation of frequently warring principalities. German peasants, weary of overtaxation to support competing princely houses and often oppressed for religious reasons, responded with interest to Catherine's invitation. From 1764-67 almost 23,000 Germans settled in 103 villages, most of them in the Volga River valley in Russia proper and thus beyond the scope of this study.[17] Some of their descendants came to Saskatchewan in 1887 (and later) to an area north and northeast of Yorkton sometimes called the VOLGA SETTLEMENT. It included the short-lived BRUNENDAL post office (1907-11) just west of Stornoway, whose name was suggested by Friedrich Liebrecht, the only postmaster, to honour the village of Brunnental, one of the Lutheran Samara colonies on the Volga River. The name means "well valley" in the sense of an abundant water supply.

A smaller group, however, did settle in Ukraine. In 1766, about 150 families founded the six villages of the Belowesch settlement southeast of Chernihiv near the town of Bakhmach, one of which was called Gross-Werder (the name may relate to drained marshlands, especially in Prussia; thus "large polders"). In 1832, a daughter colony including a new Grosswerder village was established at the eastern edge of Zaporizhzhia oblast where the Bergthal Mennonites (see map p. 74) also settled a few years later. It was the second village from which came some of the people who established the GROSSWERDER rural post office (1909-51) southwest of Denzil. The post office shared its site with PALM No. 2529 school (1910-64) which was named for Fr. P. F. Palm, the first priest. Interestingly, St. Anthony's Roman Catholic church was at the

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17. Adam Giesinger, From *Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Battleford SK: 1974).

same spot. Its commemorates the home parish of some of the other settlers who came from the village of Schuck south of Saratov on the Volga River. The district was also known as SCHACHTEL parish after one of the prominent early Volga German homesteaders. The original sod church was built in 1908, and the present structure in 1912.

Grosswerder has the oldest antecedents among our German-Ukrainian names. However, just as almost all Ukrainians came to Saskatchewan from a small area in the southwest of the country, so the vast majority of German settlers on the prairies came from two relatively small parts of Ukraine, either directly or via the United States. Before looking at German names which came to us from Galicia and Bukovyna, let us finish with the Russian connection by exploring the Black Sea Germans, the *Schwarzmeerdeutsche*.

The Black Sea Germans

Catherine II's empire underwent considerable expansion during her reign. A series of wars with the Ottoman Empire led to the eventual consolidation of Russian control over the north coast of the Black Sea and the Crimean peninsula. The partitions of Poland resulted in the addition of large areas that are now parts of western Ukraine, Belarus and Latvia. These areas, too, Catherine and her successors wished to populate with industrious German farmers. Napoleonic rampages across continental Europe made German peasants again receptive to the idea of moving eastward.

The migration rate fluctuated, but was particularly intense between 1803 and 1810. They came from Germany itself where the urge to migrate was particularly strong in southwestern parts of the country, the lands most ravaged by Napoleon's armies, and most Black Sea Germans can trace their ancestry ultimately to the

German provinces of Alsace, Baden and Württemberg. There were also significant re-migrations from Poland, Hungary and Galicia. By the 1860s, when the organized migration of Germans to the lands of the tsars ended, they had established hundreds of villages across what is now southern Ukraine, and numbered about a quarter of a million people.[18]
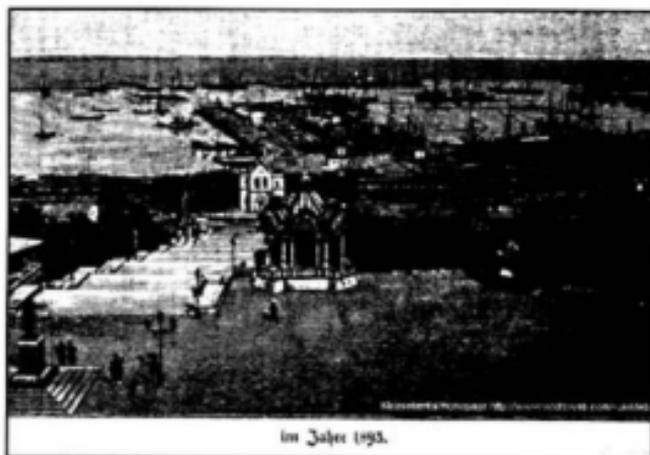
Odesa 1893.
*The famous staircase to the harbour as planned and built by
Duc de Richelieu is in the foreground.*
from an old postcard courtesy Chuck Liebow via Rootsweb.com

In addition to the villages of the Mennonites which we will look at later, the majority of the settlements of interest to Saskatchewan were in the far southern corner of Ukraine around the Black Sea port of Odesa. The village of **ODESSA** (post office 1910-) south of Indian Head was the centre of what was called ST. MARY'S Colony (after the local parish), most of whose settlers came from Odesa oblast.

The name of the Ukrainian city descends from that of the ancient Greek settlement of Odess or Odessos,[19] and the modern city is the largest port in the Black Sea basin. It had been founded

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18. 43% Lutherans, 37% Roman Catholics and 20% Mennonites. Still, German-speaking people comprised just 2% of Ukraine's population in 1897. Magocsi, op.cit., p.345.

19. J. B. Rudnyckyj, op.cit., speculates that the name may relate to Odysseus, the resourceful king of Ithaca in Greek mythology whose wanderings are recounted in Homer's *Odyssey*.

towards the end of Catherine II's reign and had the good fortune to have Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de Richelieu (1766-1822), a French émigré who later became famous as the premier of his native land, appointed as its governor. He gave the city its broad boulevards and fine stone buildings, as well as ensuring its economic prosperity by making it a naval base and a free port.

> There was also an ODESSA School District No. 2327 (1909-13) just south of Tramping Lake, in the German Catholic St. Joseph's Colony.

Duc de Richelieu was also interested in settling his new seaport's hinterland, at the time very sparsely populated by Moldovan peasants. One of the first German settlements was called the Liebental Colonies, established 1804-06 just west of Odesa, which contained the villages of Kleinliebental, Mariental, Josephstal, Franzfeld and Freudental, all of which sent their names to Saskatchewan.

- **LIEBENTHAL** is a country post office which opened in 1940 on Highway 21 between Leader and Fox Valley. It takes its name from Kleinliebental which means "little valley of love".

- **MARIENTHAL**, the "valley of Mary", rural post office (1909-45) and customs house were south of Torquay on Highway 350. The name was bestowed on the settlement by Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface during a pastoral visit on 13 June 1907.

- **ST. JOSEPH'S** is now an organized hamlet just east of Balgonie. It began as a German Catholic settlement in 1886 and took its name from Josephstal in the Liebental Colonies. There was also a JOSEPHSTAL district in the Happyland Colony near Krassna (south of Leader) from 1908.

- **FRANZFELD** (from 1906) was a district south of Kendal named for Franzfeld on the Dnister River west of Odesa. It was also known as SEITZ district after Kasper Seitz who donated the land for a Roman Catholic chapel which burned in 1916. Seitz and his three sons, Franz, Kasper and Nickolous, homesteaded adjoining quarters and also donated the small cemetery. The parish merged with St. Ignatius, Kendal, in 1919.

- FREUDENTHAL No. 1309 (1905-53?) was just west of Southey. The name, German for "five valleys", was suggested by Theodore Hoffman.

Next came the Kutschurgan/Glückstal Colonies to the northwest of Odesa, settled primarily by Alsatians in 1808-10, where could be found the villages of Elsass, Selz, Mannheim, Kassel, Baden and Kandel.

- ELSAS was a post office name for just 30 days in 1908 before it was changed to UBANK (probably a typographical error), and later to **VIBANK**. Elsas is a derivative of the name of the Franco-German province of Alsace, and the German village of Elsass northwest of Odesa. ELSAS No. 1094 (1904-71) was the name of the school at Vibank. In addition, NEU ELSASS was an early name for the German settlement in the Strasbourg area, but the original settlers came directly from various parts of Germany in 1885. From 1902, German settlement in that area was dominantly from Galicia and the United States.

*The origins of the name of the village of Vibank are unclear. As noted above, for the month of October 1908 the post office was called ELSAS. Why anyone would change a name so suited to the original settlers is a mystery. Nevertheless, in November and December of that year it was officially called UBANK. That seems likely to have been a typographical error since on 1 January 1909 it became **VIBANK**.*

A good case can be made that Vibank is a contraction of vieh bank, a German phrase meaning "a place to market cattle", but concrete evidence for this derivation is lacking. Undoubtedly the railway had something to do with its selection, given that it did not appear until the arrival of the Canadian Northern. Yet the railway records contain the implausible suggestion that the name was picked by the provincial court because no agreement could be reached locally!

- Selz in the Kutschurgan Colony was a German Catholic village and the home of pioneer Thaddeus Usselman, who settled between Kerrobert and Wilkie in 1905. He suggested the name SELZ for his new home which centred on St. Charles parish, honouring St. Karl Baromeus. The church moved three miles east to the Revenue townsite about 1915. There was also a SELTZ in the Allan district. It too was a

German Catholic settlement, considered as part of the St. Aloysius Colony, but generally farther south. The district was served by St. Theodore Roman Catholic church (1910-60) and the St. Theodore hall eventually became the South Allan Co-op store. All the settlers were from Ukraine, some of them having spent some time in the United States. Finally, SELZ No. 2843 (1912-56) was east of Liebenthal.

- **MANHEIM** No. 1937 (1907-60?) was just southeast of Holdfast, and was named on the suggestion of Gabriel Frohlick (1882-1968). Frohick, who had 21 chikldren with his wife Theresa (Burkart), had been born at Mannheim, arriving in Saskatchewan in 1905. He also had the first post office in the area called FROHLICH (1907-12). The spelling was likely botched by the officials at Ottawa.

- **KASSEL** No. 3093 (from 1914) was near the Alberta border west of Golden Prairie.

- **BADEN** No. 704 (1912-60) was south of Prelate.

- It is usually said that the name of the village of **KENDAL**, between Odessa and Montmartre, honours Kandel in the Kutschurgan Colony, purportedly the home of many of the earliest German-speaking settlers, and this certainly sounds plausible. However, the spelling discrepancy (allegedly a mixup at the Post Office Department) plus the fact that it is a railway name (it did not come into existence until after the Canadian Northern arrived) suggest otherwise. In fact, it would be more consistent with the railway's pattern if the name were attributed to the town of Kendal, a hub of the Lake District in Cumbria, northwestern England.

In 1809-10 the Beresan Colonies were founded northeast of Odesa, including the villages of Landau, Rastadt, München, Speier and Katharinental. Rosenfeld (1853) and Blumenfeld (1862) were daughter colonies of Beresan and located in much the same area.

- **LANDAU** was a German Catholic settlement south of Lampman. Through a spelling error at the Department of Education, it became officially the LANDOU School District No. 2024 (1908-54), although it was known locally as Landau throughout. Jacob and Katherine Wanner, who donated the

site for the local St. Josephs Roman Catholic church, suggested the name.

- RASTADT (from 1896) was a spinoff of St. Joseph's Colony east of Kronau. RASTADT No. 453 (1897-1970) served the settlement which still exists, but today is known as St. Peters Colony. RASTAD was also a rural post office (1913-25 and 1928-32) east of Fox Valley whose name came from the same Ukrainian German village.

- According to the history of the Regina Roman Catholic archdiocese, MUENCHEN was an alternate name for the Rastadt settlement. Muenchen is the name of the German city generally given as Munich in English.

- SPEIER was a hamlet north of Lajord (1901-66) which was likewise a spinoff from St. Joseph's Colony at Balgonie. It was originally part of Rastadt but was separated from it in 1902. The SPEIER No. 726 (1902-59) school served the district. And SPEYER was a rural post office (1911-17) south of Leader.

- KATHRINTHAL was a rural post office (1903-16) north of Kronau. The German Catholic colony was originally established in 1896 with the assistance of St. Joseph's Colony.

Although the Rastad post office is long gone, the 7,700 acre RASTAD block of the Great Sand Hills protected area preserves the name. It is located about half way between Hazlet and Fox Valley.

Fred Baran, my brother-in-law, then a conservation officer with the Saskatchewan government, had been describing to me his work in helping to preserve the Great Sand Hills, and I had told him of the long-forgotten Rastad post office. In 1991 Fred suggested that name for the protected area.

The other three segments of the protected area also have interesting names. Early settlers and ranchers used a trail through the Great Sand Hills from Piapot/Maple Creek to the new districts to the north, including the Germans who settled the Leader, Prelate and Sceptre areas. Because of the instability of the sandy trail, it could quickly become impassable. To improve stability, straw was scattered along the route to help bind the surface together and the trail quickly became known as the STRAW ROAD.

The final two have appropriate Cree names, WACHIWAN, "it is hilly," and YAKOWAN, "it is sandy".

Balgonie, and was called 14 COLONY for its location on section 14. Soon after the name ST. PETERS COLONY was adopted. However, when a post office was applied for in 1902, that name was deemed unacceptable by the Post Office Department. William Reinlander, who was to become the first postmaster, suggested Katharinental (German for "valley of Katherine") after his home colony in the Odesa area. Somehow, when the post office was approved, it came out Kathrinthal. Over the years the post office spelling became dominant, even though the school's name was CATHRINTHAL No. 563 (from 1900).

- ROSENFELD ("field of roses") No. 2796 (from 1911) was northeast of Golden Prairie.

- BLUMENFELD ("field of flowers") No. 705 (from 1902), where the first Roman Catholic mission was established in 1890, was located between Vibank and Sedley. St. Wendelins

The Black Sea German settlements
adapted from data contained in Adam Giesinger,
From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans
(Battleford SK: 1974)

church was built in 1906, but was consolidated with Our Lady of Grace parish, Sedley, in 1916. Intriguingly, the BLOOMENFELDT rural telephone company served the same area beginning in 1912! BLUMENFELD is also the name for the district centring on Saints Peter and Paul Roman Catholic church (1915-62) heritage site and the Holy Mother of Sorrows grotto south of Prelate in the Happyland Colony.

Two centuries ago, the strip of land to the south of the Dnister River between Bukovyna and the Black Sea was called Bessarabia. Ruled by the Ottoman Turks from the 15th century, it became part of the Russian empire in Catherine II's time. Following World War I it became part of Romania, but was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. Most of the region became the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (now the republic of Moldova), but the southern portion along the Black Sea was added to Ukraine.

It was into this latter area that thousands of Germans streamed between 1814 and 1842, establishing villages such as Krasna and Leipzig, both in 1815, and Friedenstal in 1833. Later daughter colonies in the same area included Eigenheim (1861) and Gnadenheim.

- KRASSNA was a parish in the Happyland Colony south of Leader. This was originally a Ukrainian name (meaning "beautiful") which the Black Sea Germans made their own, then brought with them to Canada. It comes from the modern village of Krasne north of Izmail in Odesa oblast.

- LEIPZIG is a former village (post office 1913-85) west of Landis in the huge St. Joseph's Colony. The name, of course, ultimately refers to the German city.

- FRIEDENTHAL No. 3384 (from 1914) was east of Sedley, and comes from the German for "peaceful valley". Through another typographical error at the Department, the name was officially FRIETHENTHAL.

- EIGENHEIM was a country post office (1908-18) south of Plunkett near Little Manitou Lake whose name is German for "your own home" or "our home". The first settlers in the area arrived in 1905, and the Eigenheim Lutheran church was built at NW31-32-25-W2 in 1920.

- GNADENHEIM No. 4707 (1927-49), from the German for "home of grace", was just west of Colonsay and part of the St. Aloysius Colony.

While the records on most German villages in Ukraine are amazingly complete considering the turmoil the region suffered through two world wars, a revolution, and the tribulations of Stalinism, some have slipped through the cracks. As Giesinger notes at the end of one list of German villages in southern Bessarabia, "there were others as well, but we do not have certain information regarding their names and locations."[20] A couple of Saskatchewan names may be among these, at least local sources attribute their names to "the Odesa area":

- BILLIMUN was a rural post office (1912-54) just west of Mankota off Highway 13. The first St. Martin's Roman Catholic church was erected by the Saskatchewan settlers in 1914; the third building, which opened in 1928, is now a heritage property.

- JAKOBSBERG (1916) was a German Catholic settlement southwest of Torquay, a spinoff from Marienthal and centring on St. Anne church. It was built in 1926, but was moved to Bromhead in 1944 and closed not long after. The cemetery still exists at NE8-1-13-W2.[21]

The name of **KRONAU**, a hamlet (post office 1897-) southeast of Regina on Highway 33, is German for "crown meadow". The settlement was originally called NEU KRONAU in 1892, but
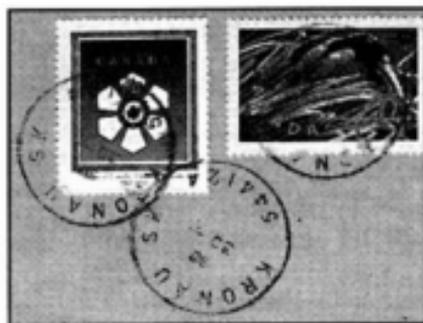
when a post office was obtained, the abbreviated form was used. There was a group of villages established in 1870 near the Dnipro River northeast of Kherson called the Kronau Colonies, although not many people are recorded as coming to Saskatchewan from that part of Ukraine. It is also

20. Adam Giesinger, op cit., p.112.
21. There was a Jakobstal in Bessarabia. However, there is an exhaustive list of German villages at www.pixel.cs.vt.edu/library/refs/link/villhelp.txt, and nothing even resembling Billimun appears on it. Thanks to Terry Keim of the Regina chapter of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia for alerting me to this and other data bases.

possible that someone among the early settlers had an ancestor from Kronau, Baden, Germany, the ultimate source of the name.

The name of CRIMEA No. 4195 (1919-52) was brought to Saskatchewan by German-speaking homesteaders who settled southwest of Eatonia. The Crimean peninsula in the Black Sea, south Ukraine, had been their home. The name was also common among the Mennonites, in the form Krim or Krimmer. ROSENTHAL No. 2869 (from 1913) was just southwest of Liebenthal, and Rosental ("rose valley") was one of the German villages in Crimea, although there were several other Rosentals among the German settlements in Ukraine and in Russia as well.

There are a few other possibilities. NEUHEIM ("new home") was a post office (1908-12) and a school southwest of Maple Creek near the Alberta border. NEU NORKA was a short-lived German settlement, probably in the Frobisher district, which was part of the Alameda Colony settled from the state of Michigan. The KRONSFELD Lutheran church was built just north of Golden Prairie in 1915. It was replaced by NEW KRONSFELD a few miles to the northwest in 1920, and closed finally in 1971. There were German villages with these names in eastern Ukraine in the same general area as Grosswerder and the Bergthal Mennonite Colony, but there is no information to hand to link them to the Saskatchewan names.

These, then, were the Black Sea German settlements which spawned Saskatchewan place names. They were prosperous villages, populated by industrious, successful farmers. As their populations expanded, they established daughter colonies in the neighbourhood where possible, but farther afield as well if land was not available close to home.

About sixty years after the arrival of the first Germans in the Odesa area, things began to change. The tsars who succeeded Catharine II were less open to the idea of insular and comparatively isolationist settlements in their empire. The promises that had been made in Catharine's manifesto of 1763 concerning the freedom to establish closed colonies (in which their customs, culture and language could be preserved), freedom of religion, self-government in all local matters, and exemption from military service for themselves and their descendants in perpetuity. All these freedoms were intruded upon during the 1860s and 1870s, culminating in the Russification of the German schools in the following decade.

Arbitrary interference with their churches, schools and village governments, coupled with the land shortage becoming general towards the end of the 19th century, stimulated the urge to migrate. There was also an increasing atmosphere of unfriendliness. While the German settlers had been welcomed by the ruling classes, they had done little to ingratiate themselves with their Ukrainian and Russian peasant neighbours. The Germans were in, but not of, the country. Exempt from the miseries of serfdom, they lived a privileged existence in their comparatively wealthy villages, and generally disdained the people among whom they lived, and their culture.[22]

Yet nothing can justify the propaganda that was unleashed against them, particularly in the Russian press. They were accused of being agents of the Kaiser, occupying lands purchased by Germany to pave the way for an invasion. (Ironically, the German government lost all interest in them once they moved to the east; they were real orphans.) They could count on little sympathy from the Ukrainians, and leaving became the only option for many. While the tsars placed virtually insurmountable obstacles in the way of emigration for Slavs, who showed no such compunction when it came to their German subjects, and Germans from Ukraine became significant portions of the population in virtually every country in the western hemisphere.

It is interesting to observe that a noted author on the subject of the Black Sea Germans has pointed out that " . . . it is doubtful that any government should have made such commitments . . . " as those Catherine II made to the German colonists.[23] Successive tsars found it increasingly difficult to hold to the promises in the face of hostile public opinion and changing geopolitics. Still it is unlikely that Germans would have gone to Ukraine in such numbers without them.

As we shall see, not much more than a century later the government of Canada was making similar commitments to the Mennonites, whose *Privilegium* agreement with Canadian officials reads eerily like Catherine's manifesto. Many of the same promises were made to the Doukhobors in 1898, and still later to

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22. For that matter, the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics had little time for each other, and neither group consorted with the Mennonites or Hutterites!

23. Giesinger, op.cit., p.224. The full text of Catherine II's manifesto of 1763, along with the several amendments to it issued by her successors, is reproduced in Joseph S. Height, *Memories of the Black Sea Germans: The Odyssey of a Pioneering People* (Chelsea MI: 1979).

the Hutterites. As it turned out, the Canadian government was not markedly more successful in honouring its commitments than were the governments of the tsars.

Christian and Matilda Zehner came from Crimea to homestead on the outskirts of the town of Southey in 1907. The Zehners made frequent trips to Regina, usually stopping off at what was then called ARAT, named for a German village in Romania.

According to the people of Southey local history, the people of Arat decided to rename their community ZEHNER in 1914 to honour Christian and Matilda. If so, it seems likely that the Zehners made a significant contribution to a new church at Arat, or performed some other such act as to prompt the honour of a name change.

German Names from Galicia and Bukovyna

Even before German farmers began to find homes in "south Russia," they became part of the ethnic mix in the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna. As early as the 13th and 14th centuries, German priests, soldiers, artisans and traders arrived in the area, but they mostly assimilated into the Polish culture over time. After the area became part of the Austrian empire in the late 18th century, the Hapsburg government actively encouraged German settlement in order to help secure Germanic influence in their new provinces. By the time World War I rolled around, there were about 65,000 Germans in the region, more than two-thirds of them in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna that is now part of Ukraine today.[24]

Like the Black Sea Germans, the Germans in western Ukraine were a relatively privileged class. They remained generally aloof from their Ukrainian neighbours, although many (mostly the Roman Catholics) did form close relationships with the Polish community. Unlike the Black Sea Germans, they suffered no loss of privileges during the pre-World War I era, sharing as they did the nationality and language of the emperors.

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24. They were about evenly split between Lutherans and Roman Catholics, and made up less than 1% of the total population of Galicia, although 8% of Bukovynians were German-speaking. Magosci, op.cit., pp.424, 452.

Yet many thousands of them left for the new world. Partly this was a matter simply of "because they could". While the Austro-Hungarian Empire did little to facilitate emigration, neither did it place insurmountable obstacles in the way of those who wanted to pursue a better life elsewhere. Thus with available farmlands occupied by the late 19th century, and with farms becoming smaller and smaller as they were subdivided to support growing populations, the primary motivation for leaving Galicia and Bukovyna became economic.

The first western Ukrainian Germans to come to Saskatchewan arrived in 1888 and founded the settlement of JOSEPHSBERG north of Grenfell near the Qu'Appelle valley, named to honour Josefsberg, Galicia, located just north of Stryi in southern L'viv oblast. They were primarily Evangelical Lutherans, and most of the German Protestant settlers to follow passed through this area and helped to open up the German colonies at Neudorf and Lemberg.

During our discussion of Ukrainian names, several names brought to Saskatchewan by German-speaking Ruthenians arose, among them BERESINA, GORLITZ, LEMBERG and SAMBOR/SAMBURG, and these will not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that they should be considered as among the German names from Galicia and Bukovyna which follow.

- KOENIGSBERG No. 1220 (1905-69) was west of Melville and was named for Königsberg, a German settlement a few miles northwest of what is now Jaroslaw in southeastern Poland, which took its name from a city in East Prussia. The district was settled by "Ruthenian Calvinists" who opened the KOENIGSBERG Evangelical Church in the renovated original schoolhouse in 1914. Interestingly, it later became Saints Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox church which closed in 1955. This is an interesting example of Germans from Ukraine paving the way for the Ukrainians who followed them, because the district around Birmingham is largely Ukrainian today. Another interesting fact about this school is that it appears in the official records of the Department of Education as KENINGSBERG, a typographical error probably caused by the difficulties of interpreting handwriting.

- Kronsberg, German for "crown city", was a village in Bukovyna which had been the home of Conrad (1833-1911) and Elizabeth (d.1912) Schuster. They homesteaded south of

Dysart in 1894. Most of their neighbours were Catholics, and they built St. Henry's church in 1906 (it lasted until 1960). Nearby was the KRONSBERG Roman Catholic Public School District No. 48 (1898-1964). Several German Protestants also settled in this area, and to the west as far as the area south of Markinch (the Wheatwyn district), mostly in 1901-04. They were primarily Lutherans from Bukovyna. Zion Lutheran church still stands southeast of Southey.
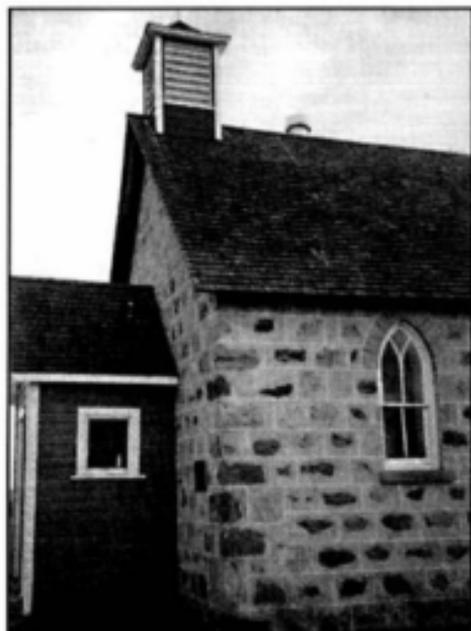
Zion Lutheran church, Wheatwyn, in 2000. The site is now a designated historical property.
photos by the author
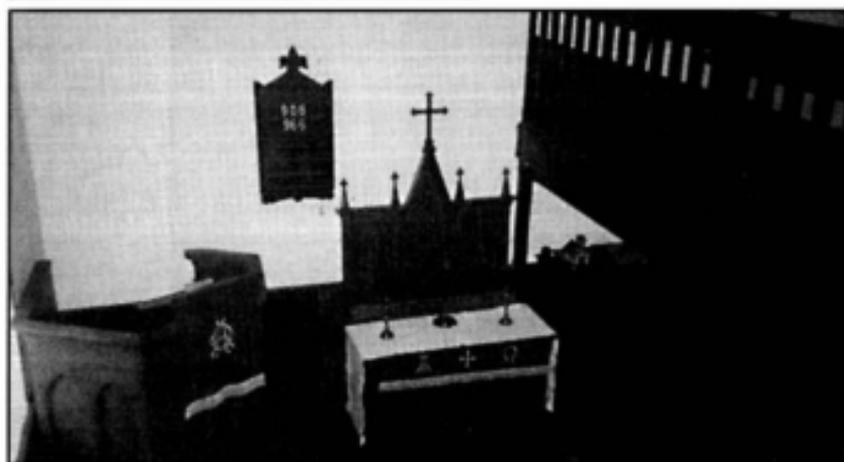
• LANDESTREW was a post office (1892-1917) north of Langenburg. The intended spelling was Landestreu, after a German village of the same name in Galicia, as suggested by R. Zorn and Heinrich Wagner. Landestreu was located near the modern city of Kalush in northern Ivano-Frankivs'ke oblast.

Immanuel Lutheran church, Landestrew, 1989

photo by the author

The village plan of Landestreu, Galicia, from Irene Adams and Gilbert Johnson, *Walk Back Through Time: A History of Landestrew and District*

- MARIAHILF was a rural post office (1900-17) south of Killaly, and is German for "the help of Mary". German Catholic settlement began in 1892, and the district was filled by 1904. Most of the settlers were from Bukovyna, and there was a German Catholic settlement called Mariahilf between Kolomiya and Chernivtsi in southwestern Ukraine which probably inspired the name.

- NEUDORF is a village (post office 1895-) southwest of Melville whose name is the German for "new village". It honoured the home of the Rathgeber family, and was suggested by the first postmaster, Ludwig Wendel. While it is usually said that the name came from "Germany (then Austria)", it seems more likely that the name came with the Rathgebers from Neudorf, Galicia, a German settlement between the modern cities of Ivano-Frankivs'ke and Kolomyia.

- SATULMARI No. 2135 (from 1908) was just west of the Piapot reserve north of Regina, and honoured Satulmare (now Satu Mare), then a German (Swabian) village in Bukovyna, now a city in northwest Romania.

- WEISSENBERG was the original name of the school at Lemberg (1899-1964), after a village near the raion centre of Horodok just west of L'viv in western Ukraine, home of most of the earliest Roman Catholic settlers.

Grace Lutheran church, Neudorf, in 1987
photo by the author

There is another possibility. WALDORF was a rural post office (1908-21) southwest of Bethune whose name is German for "forest village". There is a Waldorff in Germany, and there was also a German village called Walddorf in Galicia, but the first postmaster was English so the origin of the Saskatchewan name is unclear. It may, indeed, have been inspired by New York's famous Waldorf Astoria hotel!

Unlike their *Schwarzmeerdeutsche* cousins, the German-speaking citizens of Galicia and Bukovyna suffered no privation in the period leading up to World War I, other than decreasing prosperity among the farmers because of the lack of availability of land for expansion of their settlements. Following the war, Galicia became part of the new Polish state, while Bukovyna largely became part of Romania. The German speakers in those countries lost many of the privileges they had held under the aegis of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but they were generally allowed to live in peace.

The impact of World War II was more drastic. The Volga Germans, in particular, had achieved a measure of autonomy in the Soviet Union, but their rights evaporated overnight when Hitler invaded in 1941. Many Germans were exiled to Siberia, many more just disappeared. Later the Nazi armies retreating from Stalingrad took most of the remaining German-speaking people with them, and many of them suffered terribly – especially if they were unable to avoid the onrushing Soviets. Where once several hundreds of thousands of Germans had lived in an area stretching from Galicia to the Volga, only isolated pockets remain, and most of them have integrated into Ukrainian and Russian society to a degree that their forefathers would have considered unthinkable.[25]

25. While much of the information on German names in Ukraine came from various local histories, Giesinger, op.cit., was the primary reference. Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians 1750-1937* (translated and edited by Gerhard Bassler, St. John's NF: 1986) was also very helpful, as were Joseph S. Height, op.cit., Msgr George P. Aberle, *From the Steppes to the Prairies* (Bismarck ND: 1981), and Rev. Conrad Keller, *The German Colonies in South Russia 1804-1904* (2 vols., Lincoln NB: 1968)

The term Swabian is frequently seen in relation to German-speaking settlers in eastern and southeastern Europe. Swabia (German Schwaben) was a medieval duchy whose lands are now split among southwestern Germany, Switzerland and France. As we have seen, tens of thousands of settlers migrated eastward from that area.

Swabian also refers to their dialect. Their isolation in the east meant they they were insulated from the modernizing trends which swept Germany itself in the late 19th century. The Swabian version of High German continued to be spoken as it had been for centuries, and when German speakers arrived in Saskatchewan from Hungary, Romania and southern Ukraine, their language was markedly different from that spoken by settlers who came directly from Germany. The latter regarded the Swabians as "rather quaint".

The Mennonites

The Anabaptist movement was part of the Reformation in the 16th century, a reaction to the corruption of the established church and the oppression of the state. The clean living and simple faith of the Anabaptists was attractive to the common people, but anathema to the establishment.

A cornerstone of medieval society was infant baptism, which initiated individuals into both church and state. The Anabaptists rejected the practice, insisting that only informed adults, exercising their freedom of choice, could become members of God's church. In so doing they brought down charges of both heresy and sedition upon themselves. As if this were not enough, they declined to swear oaths of any kind, disdained involvement in politics, believing in a complete separation of church and state, and absolutely refused any kind of military service. Their lot was not destined to be an easy one.

Anabaptism arose in Switzerland, and the Swiss/south German strand of the faith has bequeathed the Amish, the Hutterites and several other groups to North America. In Saskatchewan, however, only the Hutterites (whom we shall come back to) and the **SHARON** Mennonite Church just south of Guernsey descend from the Swiss/south German Anabaptists. The Sharon group came from the Kitchener-Waterloo area of Ontario in the opening decade of the 20th century. In naming their new church (1911), wild roses in the district inspired comparison to the rose of Sharon (Isaiah v, 1-2).

The Netherlands became the second major home of Anabaptism about 1530. A half-dozen years later, a Roman Catholic priest named Menno Simons (1492-1559) converted to the cause, and his effective leadership meant that Anabaptists in the low countries gradually came to be known as Mennonites.

Menno Simons.
courtesy Mennonite Historical Society of Canada

One characteristic the Swiss and Dutch Anabaptists shared was their susceptibility to persecution – they were hounded, imprisoned, tortured, pillaged and burned at the stake in liberal numbers. As early as 1534, the first Mennonites migrated to the Wisla (Vistula) River delta near Gdansk, Poland (then Danzig, East Prussia), and they were followed by many others over the next three decades. They were welcomed because of their superior skills as farmers. Their Dutch heritage helped – they were able to successfully reclaim and make fertile the Wisla delta lands that had previously lain idle.
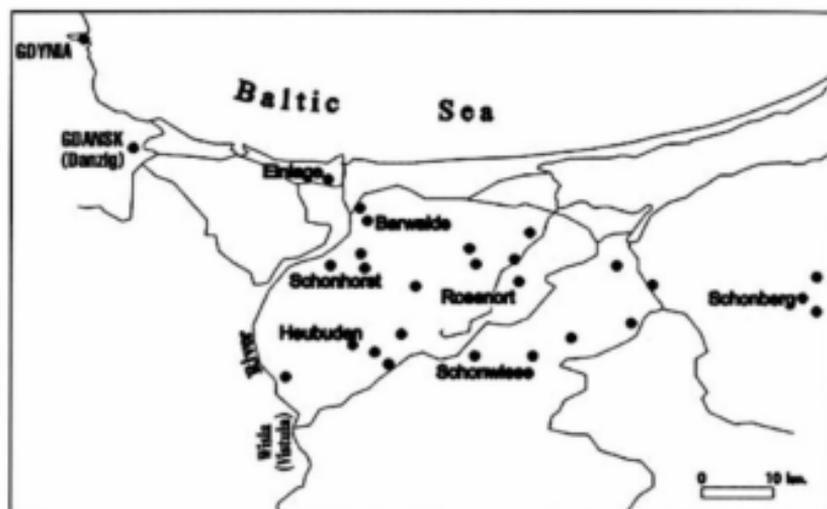
The Wisla (Vistula) delta showing the location of Mennonite villages. Only those villages whose names were eventually replicated in Saskatchewan are named on the map.

Although the Mennonites were never totally immune from persecution, their agricultural utility and relative isolationism guaranteed them a fair degree of peace and prosperity during their sojourn in East Prussia. Their stay in the area also produced a profound change in their lifestyle. Gradually, their Dutch/Frisian languages gave way to German. Indeed, they became totally committed *Deutschländers* to the extent that the German language became a cornerstone of their faith.

Inevitably the Mennonite villages near Gdansk became over-crowded. The fact that populations grew and land bases did not was a vexing one for the egalitarian Mennonites, who nevertheless believed in private property. Every village came to have an underclass of landless residents (*Anwohner*) who eked out a living as tradesmen or labourers while their landed neighbours and fellow churchmen grew wealthy. Tensions were impossible to avoid, and a strong urge to migrate developed in the Wisla delta. The migratory impulse was heightened as the Mennonites found it increasingly difficult to avoid conscription into the Prussian army.
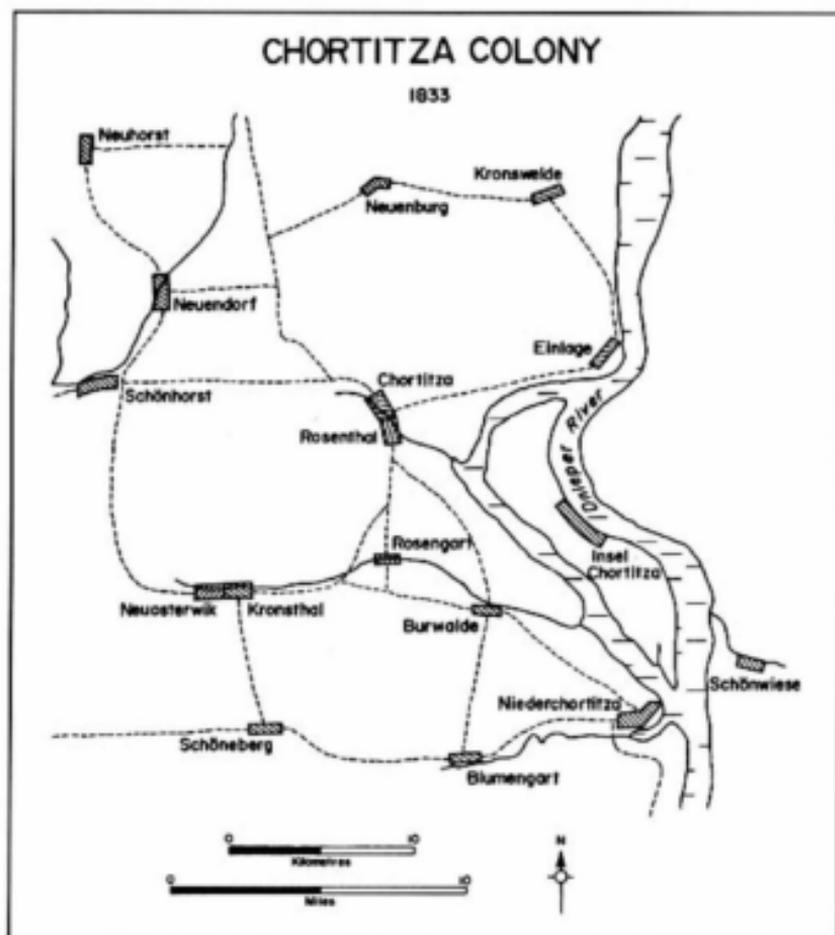
Chortitza

from William Schroeder, *The Berghtal Colony, p.6, with permission*

The Mennonites had heard Catherine II's call for German farmers to populate the steppes, and their delegates entered into discussions with the Russian government in the 1780s. At length a *Privilegium* was negotiated, granting respect for the Mennonites' pacifism and guaranteeing their German language and schools. After many delays and tribulations, the Mennonites established a daughter colony near the big bend of the Dnipro River in Ukraine in 1789. It was known as the Chortitza (Khortytsia) colony, and it lasted until it was destroyed by Soviet collectivization and famine in the 1930s. Many Saskatchewan Mennonites trace their ancestry to this settlement. The Khortytsia[26] River joins the Dnipro near the Mennonite colony, which was just west of the city of Zaporizhzhia, and there is also an island in the Dnipro by that name.

Continuing land pressures in East Prussia led to the creation of the Molotschna (Molochna) colony along the Molochnaya River ("milky waters") about 100 miles to the southeast of Chortitza in 1804. In 1853 and 1859 there were two additional colonies of East Prussian Mennonites established farther east near the Volga River, also with the assistance of the Chortitza colony.

Chortitza 1908
courtesy Mennonite Historical Society of Canada

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26. The name may be a derivative of the Ukrainian *khort* meaning "greyhound".

It is interesting to note that a 700 year old oak tree, which was a focal point of the Chortitza settlement, still stands. Sadly, the huge tree is suffering the inevitable effects of old age and large parts of it are dying or dead. Standing beneath the tree are Otto and Florence Driedger of Regina, who both trace their ancestry to Ukraine, Otto through the original migration to Manitoba in the 1870s, while Florence's ancestors came to Saskatchewan in the 1920s. Taking their picture is Dan Cooper of the Regina Hospitals chaplaincy service during a visit in 2000.

photo courtesy Dan Cooper

The same factors which led to the creation of Chortitza soon led to its dispersal. The landless needed farms of their own which could not be accommodated in Chortitza itself. The Bergthal Mennonite colony near the Sea of Azov was established in 1836. The name described the geographical setting of the colony; the *berg* was a fairly high hill just north of the village, and *that* was the Bodena River valley. Many of their descendants are members of the Bergthal (Saskatchewan) Mennonite Church.

The German-speaking Mennonites had been welcomed with open arms into tsarist Russia and they played a significant role in settling the then sparsely populated areas of Ukraine. Over time, however, their pacifism began to grate on the militaristic Russian nobility. Persecution became commonplace, the final straw being the government's plan to Russify Mennonite schools. Many of them migrated to the United States and the Canadian west in 1874-76, becoming among the first farmers on the prairies.
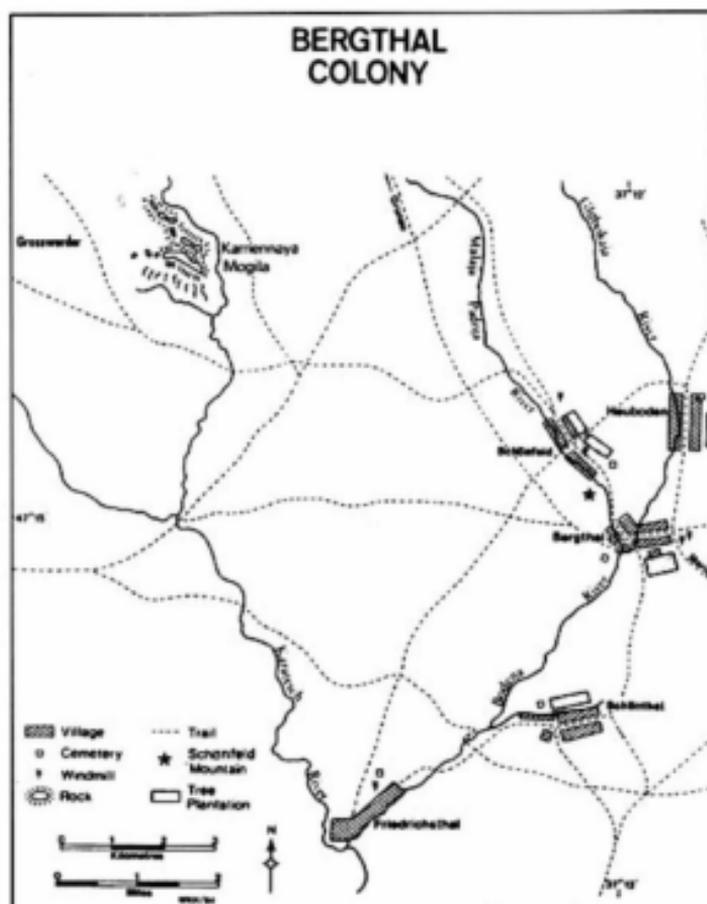
Bergthal from William Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony, p.20, with permission

Close to half of those who came to Canada were Bergthalers (interestingly, most of the Bergthal colony was purchased by other Germans for the settlement of landless Lutherans and Roman Catholics from other parts of Ukraine). They all settled in two large blocks in southern Manitoba which had been set aside for them by the Canadian government, one south of Steinbach (the East Reserve), the other (the larger West Reserve) in the Altona-Winkler area. They quickly established villages suited to their lifestyle, and named most of them after the mother communities in Ukraine.
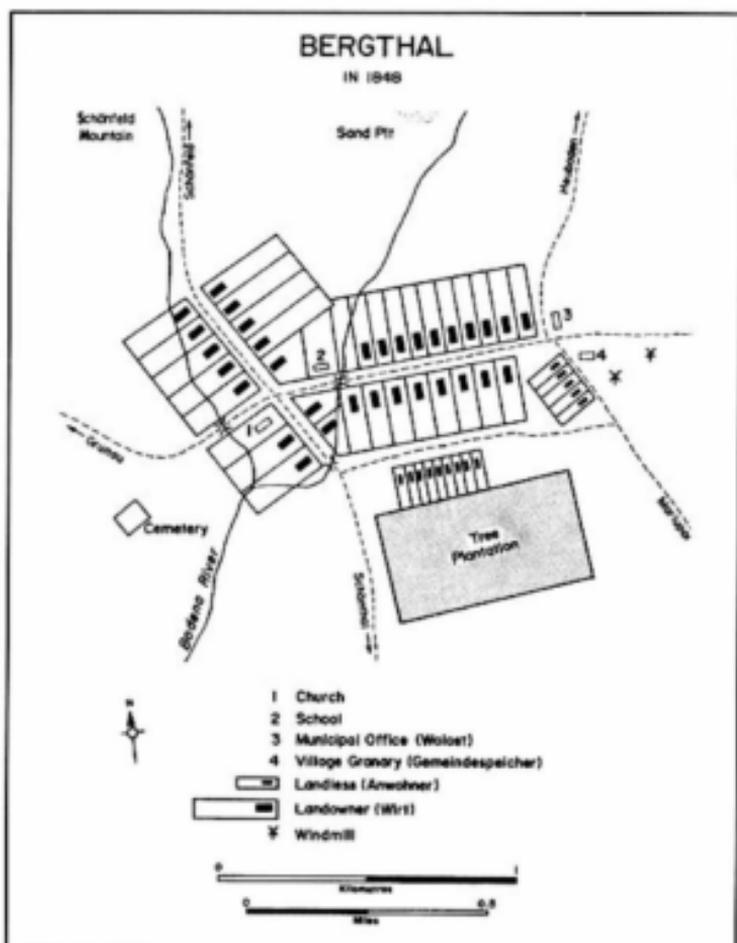
The village of Bergthal from William Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony, p.20, with permission

As the areas available to the Mennonites in Manitoba filled up, westward expansion became necessary. In 1894-95, large portions of -38to42-2to5-W3 stretching from Warman to Rosthern between the North and South branches of the Saskatchewan River were set aside for Mennonite settlement in what was known as the HAGUE-OSLER RESERVE.[27] Although most of the reserve was initially populated by Mennonites from Manitoba, many Mennonites came to the area from the midwestern

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27. The reserve also hopped the South Saskatchewan River and included a block of land in the Aberdeen area.

THE EAST RESERVE

from William Schroeder, The Mennonite Historical Atlas, with permission

1. Schoenberg
2. Pastwa
3. Osterwick
4. Hochstadt
5. Kronsthal
6. Blumengart
7. Rosenfeld
8. Schoenthal
9. Bergthal
10. Schoenwiese
11. Tannenau
12. Chortitz
13. Eigenhof
14. Rosenthal
15. Hochfeld
16. Blumenort
17. Eichenfeld
18. Ebenfeld
19. Greenfeld (Gnadenfeld)
20. Schoenau
21. Rosenfeld
22. Schoenfeld
23. Blumstein
24. Rosengart
25. Friedrichsthal
26. Hochstadt
27. Heubuden
28. Steinbach
29. Reichenbach
30. Burwalde
31. Schoensee
32. Gnadenthal
33. Reinland
34. Bergthal
35. Hoffnungsfeld
36. Kronsgart
37. Reichenbach

Most of these villages were abandoned
a few years after they were settled.

United States in the opening years of the 20th century, and migration from Ukraine (and even sporadically from East Prussia) continued through the 1920s.

Population pressures caught up with the Manitoba Mennonites again less than a decade after the opening of the Hague-Osler reserve. They scouted the area northeast of Swift Current in October 1903 and promptly acquired a block of land which developed into the EXCELSIOR Mennonite settlement. The next year they established the REINLAND Mennonite Association (German for "clean field," after villages in Manitoba and Ukraine) which received government permission to establish a block Mennonite settlement south of Swift Current.

These three areas, the Hague-Osler Reserve (including Aberdeen, Warman, Rosthern, Waldheim and Hepburn areas), Excelsior (Rush Lake-Main Centre-Gouldtown), and Reinland (Wymark-Neville), were the original homes of the overwhelming majority of Saskatchewan Mennonites, and remain dominantly Mennonite communities today. Pockets of settlement did occur elsewhere, for example at Carrot River, Glenbush, Hodgeville, Guernsey-Drake-Jansen, Woodrow and Herschel. The Mennonite settlements in these and other districts were populated by a mixture of arrivals direct from Ukraine, along with settlers relocating from the United States. Guernsey, as we have seen, was unique in that it was peopled from Ontario.

Of course, as with all Saskatchewan ethnic groups, the overwhelming majority of Mennonites today are urban dwellers, with Saskatoon being home to one of the country's largest Mennonite populations.
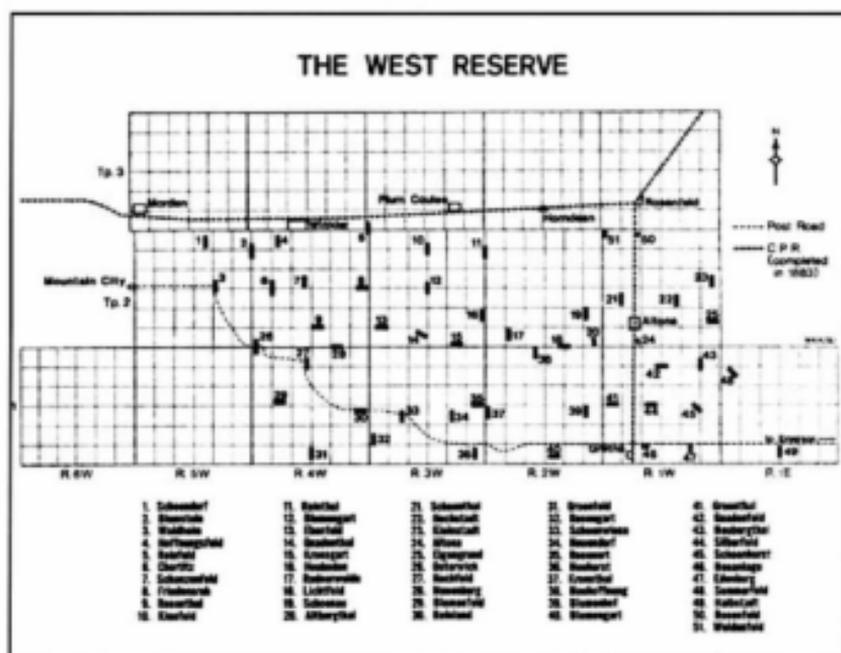
Manitoba's West Reserve

from William Schroeder, The Mennonite Historical Atlas, with permission

Denominationalism

Perhaps no movement has been more factionalized than the Anabaptists, and to the outsider looking in, trying to discern the differences among the many denominations can be bewildering to say the least. Nonetheless, some understanding of the different groups is a prerequisite to getting a grasp on their history here in Saskatchewan.

There are essentially four different groups of Mennonites in the Canadian context. As mentioned earlier, the Swiss-south German strand has had very little impact on Saskatchewan. The other three groups are all part of the Dutch strand:

Early Kanadier – Those Mennonites who arrived in Manitoba from Ukraine in the 1870s.

Late Kanadier – Those groups that arrived after the initial migration, up to World War I, from both Ukraine and East Prussia.

Russländer – The Mennonites who were able to escape the Soviet Union during the 1920s.[28]

While it is sometimes misleading and overly simplistic, it is roughly possible to classify these groups on a conservative-liberal spectrum as well, although the terms traditionalist and progressive might be more accurate (similar divisions can be found among the Swiss-south German groups). Thus the Early Kanadier are generally the most traditional Mennonites; if not all, they were the first to react to potential Russification by fleeing from it. They tend to trace their ancestry back to the "old colony", Chortitz, or to the Bergthal colony, and to be members of the Bergthal (Saskatchewan)[29] and Old Colony[30] churches. These churches are governed by *Ältesters*, usually translated as "bishops" but probably closer in meaning to the word "elders".

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28. There was also significant re-migration of American Mennonites, particularly to the Hague-Osler Reserve, and to the Drake-Jansen and Woodrow areas. Although mostly descended from settlers who arrived in North America in the 1870s, they tended to the progressive end of the Mennonite spectrum.

29. In the literature, this church is always referred to with a suffix to distinguish it from the Bergthal church in Manitoba's West Colony, the most progressive of the first Mennonite arrivals. Saskatchewan's Bergthalers are actually more closely related to the traditionalist Sommerfelders of Manitoba and south-western Saskatchewan.

30. The official name is the Reinländer Mennonite Church, but it is almost universally referred to as Old Colony.

Even before the first Mennonites left Ukraine in 1874, there had been denominational splits. As early as 1814, the *Kleine Gemeinde* ("small church," today known as the Evangelical Mennonite Conference) appeared as part of an effort to restore authentic biblical-Anabaptist practices to the church. The Mennonite Brethren became a distinct group in 1860, again in response to a perceived low ebb of spirituality in the main church.

These denominations were perpetuated in the new world – and many others were added. One of them originated in the village of Rudnerweide in Manitoba but also attracted adherents in the Rosthern area. It became known as the Rudnerweide Mennonite Church and is now the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference. Another group, the Church of God in Christ Mennonite, is also known as the Holdeman Mennonite Church after the founder. Although this denomination originated in Ohio in 1859 as part of the Swiss-south German strand of Mennonitism, most of their Saskatchewan adherents appear to be converts from Dutch denominations.

Perhaps the most interesting developments have been the efforts to unite diverse groups. In the mid19th century, several conferences were held in eastern Canada and the United States, and the unity movement spread westward. In 1903 the Rosenorter (see box p. 95) congregations in the Rosthern area joined with the progressive Bergthalers of Manitoba's West Colony to form the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. Today most of them are affiliated with the Mennonite Church Canada, the largest of the Mennonite denominations.

The breakaway groups are all conference oriented, as opposed to being led by *Ältesters*. That is, doctrinal and organizational decisions are made through representative congresses rather than by "bishops".[31] Their congregations converted from German to English in their worship earlier than the more traditional groups, and were much more comfortable with public schooling. Thus, these denominations were more likely to be seen as a religious home by the Late Kanadier and the Russländer.

Table 1 traces the membership of the various Mennonite denominations through the 20th century.

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31. Although it must be noted that *Ältesters* are elected. That being said, once installed their authority is substantial.

Table 1

Mennonites in Saskatchewan[32]	1917	1940	1990
1. Mennonite Church Canada[33]	1342	5063	4529
2. Mennonite Brethren	1279	3606[34]	3215
3. Bergthal (Saskatchewan)	958	1537[35]	900
4. Old Colony	2015	1200	750
5. Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference	-	?	650
6. Evangelical Mennonite Conference	-	-	517
7. Church of God in Christ Mennonite	-	-	350
8. Mennonite Church	100	112	120
9. Brethren in Christ			?
	6694	11518	11031

3. – Bergthal congregations include Suedflus (Aberdeen), Gruenthal, Blue Jay (Carrot River), Blumenheim, Martensville, Reinfeld and Warman.

4. – Old Colony churches are found at Blumenheim, Hague, Neuanlage and Neuhorst.

5. – Formerly known as Rudnerweider (their numbers are not differentiated from Manitoba congregations in Epp's 1940 enumeration). EMMC Gospel Churches are found at Blumenhof, Hague, Hepburn, Warman, Saskatoon and Wynyard.

6. – Formerly Kleine Gemeinde ("little church"). EMC Fellowship Chapels are found at Endeavour, Creighton, Pelly, Hudson Bay, Swift Current and Wymark.

7. – Churches at Saltcoats, Neuanlage, Delisle, Battle Heights, Hyas and Neilburg.

8. – Sharon church, Guernsey, now affiliated with the Mennonite Church Canada.

9. – One congregation at Saskatoon plus the Timber Bay children's home.

32. Data in this table for 1917 and 1940 is compiled from Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920* (Toronto: 1974) and *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940* (Toronto: 1982). Epp admits that some of his figures are approximations at best. The 1990 figures are from the Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, www.mhsc.ca. Note that only baptised adults are counted resulting in an artificially low total; the 1991 census enumerated 25,240 Mennonites in Saskatchewan. The 1990 figures are also love because doctrinal disputes, particularly over homosexuality and native spirituality, have led a number of congregations to disaffiliate from the conferences in recent years, and their membership totals are generally not included in the table.

33. This body was created in 2000 through a merger of the General Conference Mennonite Church, and the Mennonite Church based in Ontario.

34. This figure includes Epp's totals for Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (500) and Krimmer Mennonite Brethren (250).

35. This figure includes the Sommerfelder (556) from the Swift Current area.

The Mennonites and Education

One of the more interesting parts of the Mennonite story was the significant exodus of Saskatchewan Mennonites during the 1920s. Many of them packed up and moved to Mexico, Paraguay and elsewhere rather than submit to the provincial government's laws respecting the teaching of their children.

From the beginning, the government faced a problem in enforcing compulsory education in areas where little if any English was spoken. In 1906 an order in council was passed appointing John Bodrug of Regina to "visit those portions of the province colonized by Galicians for the purpose of trying to interest the people in matters relating to the education of their children, to explain the law regarding the formation of new districts and to render committees such as may be required." Similar responsibility for "foreign settlements" was given to Samuel J. Mugford of Rothbury (north of Churchbridge) and Donald S. McGregor of Rosthern in 1907, and Joseph Megas was appointed to visit Ruthenian settlers in 1908. These commissions frequently led to the establishment of school districts under official trustees, rather than the normal three member school board. In such cases, the district was normally passed off to local control with all possible speed.[36]

Many Mennonites, especially among the traditional denominations, were not particularly enamoured of public school board organization, and refused to elect trustees. It is not that they were disinterested in education, quite the contrary. Among the earliest structures in any Mennonite village were the church and the school. However, their classes were conducted in German and focused heavily on their faith.

The Mennonites themselves were deeply divided over their relationship to the public school. Bergthal (Saskatchewan) and Old Colony congregations were composed largely of descendants of the Mennonites who had come to Manitoba in 1874. They had fled Ukraine largely to avoid Russification; anglicization for them was déjà vu all over again. Members of other Mennonite churches, particularly those who had come to Saskatchewan from the United States or more recent arrivals from Ukraine,

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36. Interestingly, official trustees were were also used to administer the numerous school districts that found themselves in financial difficulties, especially during the 1930s.
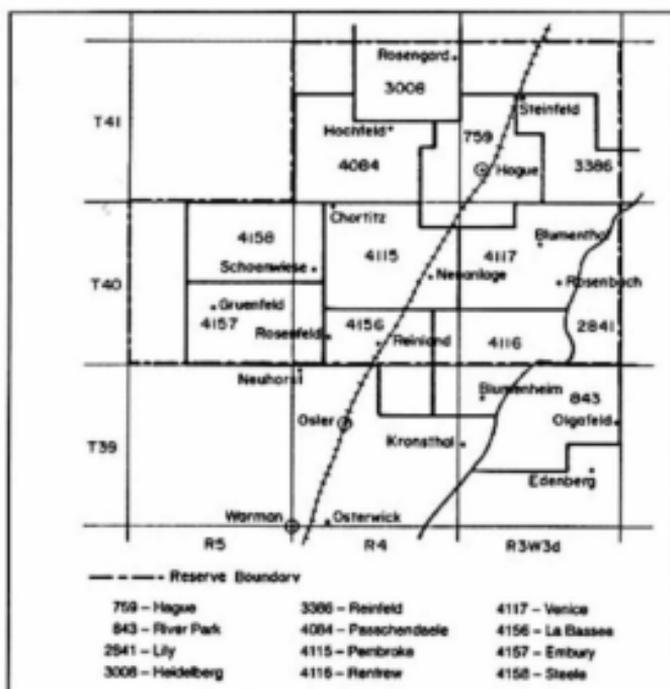
Mennonite school districts in the Hague-Osler Reserve.
Hague, River Park, Lily, Heidelberg and Reinfeld were organized by their
ratepayers, the rest were imposed by the provincial government. Scarpe No. 4076
was just off the northeast corner of the map.
adapted from Adolf Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, p.136

759 – Hague	3386 – Reinfeld	4117 – Venice
843 – River Park	4084 – Passchendaele	4156 – La Basse
2841 – Lily	4115 – Pembroke	4157 – Embury
3008 – Heidelberg	4116 – Renfrew	4158 – Steele

were more prepared to accommodate public schools; indeed,
most of them had organized their own school districts long before
World War I.

In fact, the government showed reasonable forbearance with
the Old Colony Mennonites. It was not until more than twenty
years after the first Mennonite villages and their German schools
had been established that the education department began to insist
on conformity with its laws. A new *School Attendance Act* mandating
attendance from ages 7 to 14, and instruction in English, came
into force in 1917.[37] Soon thereafter, twenty "Mennonite School

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37. The Act permitted instruction in another language from 3–4 P.M. It also
authorized the government to mandate school districts, and to expropriate
property for school use since the Old Colony Mennonites could be
remarkably cohesive in refusing to sell land for a public school.

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Districts" were imposed on their residents. Twelve of these were in the Wymark area with the rest being south and southwest of Rosthern. The earliest were DUNELM No. 3232 and WYMARK No. 3265[38] (both Canadian Pacific Railway names): Dunelm is the signature form of the Bishop of Durham, and William Wymark Jacobs was an English author. One more district was created in 1917, eight were launched in late 1918, and the final nine (Nos. 4150-4158) were all erected on 27 March 1919. The Mennonite School Districts all came under the jurisdiction of an official trustee; W. S. Cram B.A. of Swift Current was named for three districts, as was C. Holz of Rosthern.
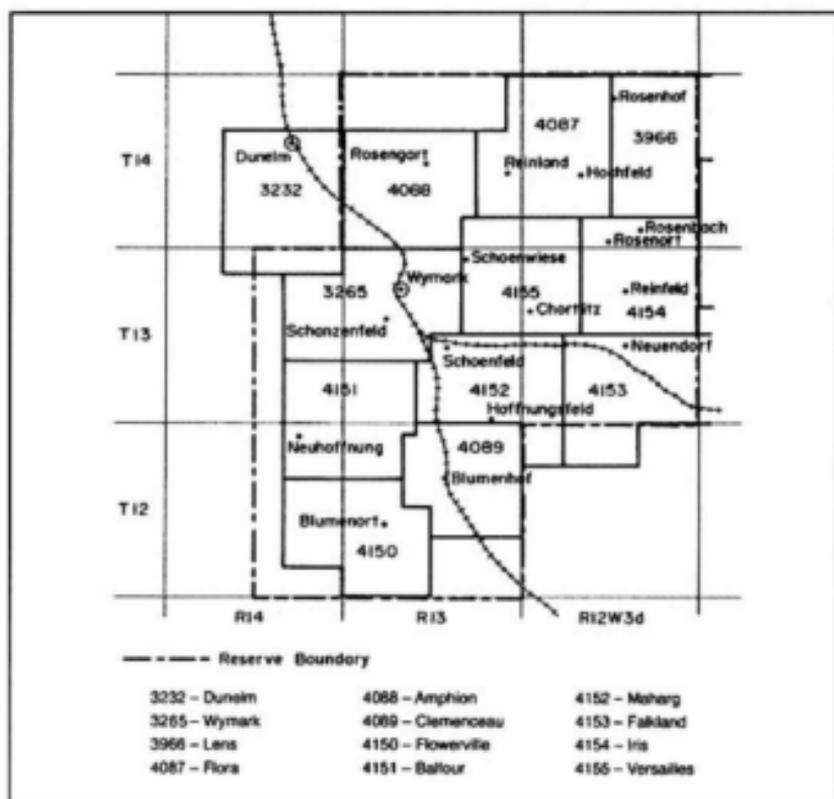
Mennonite school districts in the Swift Current Reserve.
adapted from Adolf Ens, Subjects or Citizens?, p.137

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38. These two districts had been established as "ordinary" school districts in 1914, and were retroactively designated as Mennonite districts in 1917.

As if to add insult to injury, the department imposed remarkably non-Mennonite names on the new districts. Dunelm and Wymark already existed as CPR stations. Many of the rest honoured World War I battles or personalities, which must have been particularly galling to the pacifist Mennonites. In the Wymark area, LENS No. 3966 was named for a skirmish at Lens, France, during World War I involving Canadian troops. FALKLAND No. 4153 probably relates to a naval engagement early in the war. VERSAILLES No. 4155 honoured the treaty which brought the war to a close. CLEMENCEAU No. 4089 at Blumenhof paid tribute to the wartime French president, Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929). BALFOUR No. 4151 south of Wymark honoured Arthur James Balfour, 1st earl Balfour of Whittingehame (1848-1930), eminent British Conservative politician who had served as prime minister 1902-05. During his later tenure as foreign secretary (1916-19), he made the famous Balfour Declaration pledging British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

In the Hague-Osler area, PASSCHENDAELE No. 4084 was the site of a major battle in Belgium, LaBASSEE No. 4156 was after La Bassée, France, scene of an action involving Canadian troops in 1915. SCARPE No. 4076 just southeast of Rosthern was after the Scarpe River flowing through Arras, France; Canadians fought along the Scarpe in both 1917 and 1918. EMBURY No. 4157 honoured Judge John F. L. Embury of the Court of King's Bench, Regina, a brigadier during the war. STEELE No. 4158 was to honour Sir Sam Steele (1849-1919), a former North West Mounted Police officer, the colonel of Lord Strathcona's Horse during the Boer War, and a general in World War I.

Two of the Mennonite school districts in the Hague area inexplicably bore the names of Ottawa valley towns, PEMBROKE No. 4115, and RENFREW No. 4116. VENICE No. 4117 just southeast of Hague was presumably named for Venice, Italy, but why is anyone's guess. And one, AMPHION No. 4088 northwest of Wymark, was named after one of the twin sons of Zeus in Greek mythology. The rest, all in the Wymark area, were given rather nondescript Anglo-Saxon names: FLORA No. 4087, IRIS No. 4154, FLOWERVILLE No. 4150, and MAHARG No. 4152, which is Graham backwards. Needless to say, the Mennonites were given no say in the naming of their unwanted school districts.[39]

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39. Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens? The Mennonite Experience in Canada 1870-1925* (Ottawa: 1994), ch.IV.

Manitoba went through a similar exercise of forcing school districts on its Mennonite population in 1918-19, creating such memorable Mennonite names as Woolwich, Aldershot, Arran, Moray and Bristol.

Another example of an inappropriate name occurred thirty years later. In the late 1930s a group of Saskatchewan Bergthalers settled in the northeast corner of the RM of Meeting Lake, an area that is largely community pasture today. Their church and the North Vale Gospel hall were at SW19-48-9-W3, and the latter was used for day and Sunday school until a school was built in 1948. School superintendent Ferris suggested the name of HURRICANE No. 5183 after the Hawker Hurricane fighter bombers so prominent in World War II, a passably strange choice for a pacifist Mennonite district.

Not much sensitivity was demonstrated in other matters related to the Mennonite school districts either. Superintendent Cram hired three teachers for the fall of 1919, one former serviceman and two young women. The presence of a military man among them was abhorrent to the Mennonites (even though he apparently was fluent in German), and entrusting something as important as the moulding of young minds to mere slips of girls was unthinkable to traditional Mennonites. No students showed up for instruction that September at Clemenceau or Flora, and only six at Amphion.

The provincial government reacted sharply. The Saskatchewan Police were instructed to bring charges against parents who refused to send their children to the public school, and Mennonites paid $26,000 in fines under the *School Attendance Act* in 1920-21 alone. In that era, that was a significant amount of money, and many families were left virtually destitute by the fines. In total more than 5,000 school attendance prosecutions were brought against Saskatchewan Mennonites in the 1920-25 period.

For many Old Colony, Sommerfelder and Bergthaler (Saskatchewan) Mennonites, the trauma of English schools smacked too much of tsarist Russia, and they determined to leave. During the 1920s, almost 8,000 of them left Manitoba and Saskatchewan for new homes in Mexico and Paraguay. In 1922-26, 1,200 Old Colony Mennonites (about a third of their total numbers) from the Swift Current Reserve migrated to

Chihuahua, along with some 600 Sommerfelder from the Herbert area. In 1924-25, 950 Old Colony members from the Hague-Osler Reserve moved to Durango province, also in Mexico. Finally, in 1926-27, 227 Saskatchewan Bergthaler accompanied their Sommerfelder and Chortitzer cousins from Manitoba to Chaco province in Paraguay.[40] The numbers would undoubtedly have been higher but that school attendance fines had left many families without the wherewithal for making the trip.

Interestingly, one of the men who played a significant role in helping the Mennonites settle in Paraguay was a Norwegian who had already made and lost a couple of fortunes in Saskatchewan, and was on his way to making a third on the pampas of Argentina.

Fredrick Engen had large land holdings in the area just east of Saskatoon. He built his own elevator at NE17-36-4-W3, and CPR built a new siding there in 1908 and christened it ENGEN. It was operated for a time by Quaker Oats before burning in 1928.

Engen Farm was also established in 1908 with headquarters at NW19-31-16-W3 just northwest of Herschel. Engen's ten section farm was assembled to demonstrate his theories of large scale agricultural mechanization. He grew such massive crops of flax that he became known as "the flax king." The farm disintegrated along with his vast other holdings as a result of his unsuccessful speculations on the grain exchange in 1913, but not before ENGEN No. 3614 (1915-43?), a mile east of his headquarters, had been named for him.

Engen moved to South America and again became involved in large scale farming. He helped the Mennonites assemble land in Paraguay in the 1920s and eventually died in Argentina.

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40. In 1948, there was a second migration to Paraguay of nearly 1,700 Manitoba and Saskatchewan Mennonites. There does not seem to have been a single reason for this exodus, rather it was a case of conservative Christians attempting to "...preserve their spiritual heritage through isolation from the corrosive influence of modern society and its effects upon their children." Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., *An Introduction to Mennonite History* (Scottdale PA: 1981), p.319.

One would expect that the loss of such significant numbers of capable farmers would have been devastating for Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Interestingly, it passed almost unnoticed and, remarkably, this was largely due to the Mennonites themselves.

The Communist revolution of 1917 and the ensuing civil war brought great uncertainty to Mennonites in Ukraine and Russia. They had prospered in the more than four decades since their compatriots left for North America, tripling in numbers to 120,000 adherents and starting many new colonies both west and east of the Ural Mountains. Bolshevik and other thugs cast envious eyes. "The immense wealth locked into the Mennonite settlements, and the unfortunate history of Mennonite neglect, if not exploitation, of the Russian [and Ukrainian] peasant, made them immediate and quite understandable targets of aggression."[41] Their Germanness only exacerbated the situation.

A famine in 1920-21 meant destitution for many. Eventually, 20,000 Ukrainian Mennonites (about a sixth of their total number) made their way to Canada between 1923 and 1930, many of them with the help of the Canadian Pacific Railway and an interdenominational Mennonite relief committee based at Rosthern. Almost 1,800 families came to Saskatchewan, settling in groups ranging from one or two families up to almost a hundred in widely scattered parts of the province. The upshot was that while about 3,000 Mennonites left Saskatchewan during the 1920s, more than double that number arrived from Ukraine to take their place. Having lived through the Russification of their schools fifty years earlier, they were quite prepared to accept English public schools, and educational controversies became largely a matter of history for Mennonites in Canada. Today's Mennonites provide leadership in every field of educational endeavour.

The Mennonites who failed to make it out of the Soviet Union suffered terribly. Stalin's induced famine of the 1930s destroyed many thousands along with millions of their Ukrainian neighbours, others were forcibly resettled in Siberia along with other German speakers. When the Nazis retreated from Stalingrad during World War II, they took many Mennonites with them, most of whom wound up in Paraguay (although 6,000 did come to Canada, and about 1,000 of those settled in Saskatchewan) in the late 1940s. While there are isolated pockets of Anabaptism east of the Urals today, essentially Mennonitism has disappeared from Ukraine.

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41. Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940* (Toronto, 1982), p.144.

The Hague-Osler Reserve

In the lists which follow, these abbreviations at right indicate that the name previously appeared at:

M – either the East Reserve or the West Reserve in Manitoba, or in some cases, both

U – at Chortitza or Molotschna, or at one of the other Mennonite settlements in Ukraine

P – East Prussia

The Hague-Osler Reserve

The Mennonite villages in the Hague-Osler Reserve which still exist are as follows:

- **BLUMENHEIM**   SE31-39-3-W3   1900
  "Flower home".

- **BLUMENTHAL**   SW33-40-3-W3   1898
  "Flower valley".

- **EDENBURG**   SW15-39-3-W3   1902   M
  "Garden of Eden town" near the Clarkboro ferry.

- **GRUENFELD**   SW15-40-5-W3   1901   M,U
  "Green field".

- **GRUENTHAL**   NE21-40-4-W3   1898   M
  "Green valley". GRUENTHAL School District No. 4714 served the area from 1927.

- **HOCHSTADT**   NE26-40-4-W3   1900   M,U
  "High place".

- **NEUANLAGE**   SE23-40-4-W3   1894   M,U
  "New settlement".

- **NEUHORST**   NW31-39-4-W3   1898   M,U
  "New grove of trees".

- **REINLAND**   NW3-40-4-W3   1898   M
  Possibly "clean field". This village appears as Rheinland on some maps, which may indicate that its name honours Germany's Rhine River.

Although several of these villages are greatly reduced in size from their heyday, originally they resembled the villages in Manitoba's East and West Reserves, and were not far removed from Mennonite villages in Ukraine (see Bergthal map, p. 75). They all suffered a sharp drop in population during the migrations to Mexico and Paraguay in the dispute over schools. Interestingly, Blumenthal, Neuanlage and Neuhorst have been officially incorporated as Organized Hamlets in recent years.

Just as the villages themselves were modelled on the past, so most of their names were plucked from the Mennonite heritage. Indeed, seven of the nine appeared on the East Reserve, or the West Reserve, or both. Interestingly, the two that do not,

Blumenheim and Blumenthal, are also not numbered among the Mennonite village names in Ukraine and Russia (although the Lutherans and Catholics both used both names in the "old country"). Still, they are not very strange given the existence of Blumengart, Blumenort, etc., in Manitoba. The newcomers to Saskatchewan merely applied different suffixes to a root word commonly used by their brethren.

Within the Hague-Osler Reserve were the following Mennonite names which no longer exist:

- **ALTONA No. 859**   NW23-39-5-W3   1903   1961   M,U
  School just west of Osler, named for Altona, Manitoba, whose name originated with a borough of the German city of Hamburg which was the scene of Mennonite activity from 1674. The name was also used for a Mennonite village in Molotschna called Altonau.

- **BLUMENORT**   SW20-41-4-W3   1898   1920s   M,U
  Village southeast of Waldheim meaning a "place of flowers".

- **CHORTITZ**   SW5-41-4-W3   1892   1950s   M,U
  Village west of Hague whose name honours the mother colony in Ukraine.

- **HALBSTADT**   2-41-4-W3   1898   1920s   M,U
  Hamlet just west of Hague meaning "half village".

- **HEIDELBERG No. 3008**   NW26-41-4-W3   1913   1960
  School northwest of Hague. Heidelberg is an industrial city in south-western Germany. While there does not seem to have been a Heidelberg among the Mennonite villages in Ukraine or Manitoba, there was a Heidelberg in the Prischib Colonies, German Roman Catholic neighbours of the Molotschna settlement.

- **HOCHFELD**   NW15-41-4-W3   1898   1950s   M,U
  Village northwest of Hague meaning "high field".

- **KRONSTHAL**   13-39-4-W3   1899   1920s   M,U
  Village east of Osler meaning "crown valley".

- **OSTERWICK**   SW5-39-4-W3   1899   1920s   M,U
  Village just east of Warman whose name descends from the Dutch *oosterwijk* meaning "east berm or dam".

- **RIEFERTHAL**   3-40-3-W3   1905   1920s
  Village near the Hague ferry meaning "river valley".

- **ROSENBACH**   22-40-3-W3   1890s 1920s   U
  Village southeast of Hague on the South Saskatchewan River meaning "rose brook".

- **ROSENFELD**   8-40-4-W3   1902 1920s M,U
  Village north of Osler meaning "field of roses".

- **ROSENGART**   NW35-41-4-W3   1899 1960s M,U
  Village north of Hague meaning "rose garden".

- **SCHLAUBERG**   NW7-40-4-W3   1908 1920s
  The last of the villages, established just north of Osler, the name translates as "overall hill" in bibbed overalls.

- **SCHLORRENDARP**   3-40-5-W3   1900 1920s
  Village northwest of Osler meaning "slipper village". This village was also known as FREUNDRUSSENDARP, "five Russian villages", usually anglicized to FIVE ROSES!

- **SCHOENTHAL**   6-40-3-W3   1902 1920s M,U
  Village northeast of Osler meaning "beautiful valley".

- **SCHOENWIESE**   NW19-40-4-W3   1899 1960s M,U
  Village north of Osler meaning "beautiful meadow".

- **STEINREICH**   15-39-4-W3   1900s
  Village just east of Osler. This apparently well named settlement "rich with stones" lasted only a few years.

Among these, those that disappeared in the 1920s were largely populated by Old Colony Mennonites who found the initiatives of Saskatchewan's *School Attendance Act* of 1917 intolerable, although a handful of them did last into the 1950s and 1960s.

Once again, the majority of these names came from earlier Mennonite settlements, either in Manitoba, or Ukraine, or both. The ones that did not are truly interesting. The Rieferthal settlement was bounded on two sides by the South Saskatchewan River so its name, while unprecedented, was utterly logical. Steinreich appears to be a rather bitter assessment of a settlement which really never stood a chance. Schlauberg and Schlorrendarp, on the other hand, are genuinely different names. There is no evidence in the historical record as to why they were chosen, but surely there are fascinating tales to tell associated with them both.

There were also a number of Mennonite communities in the portion of the Hague-Osler Reserve on the east side of the South Saskatchewan River (Edenburg, the only one which still exists, appears in the list on p. 86):

- BERGHEIM No. 2819   SE24-37-4-W3   1911   1950s
School just east of Saskatoon off Highway #5. "Mountain home" or "home in the hills" was the name proposed by Rev. J. G. Aps. The school building is now the **BERGHEIM** community centre.

- HALBSTADT   24-40-3-W3   1901   1920s M,U
Hamlet north of Aberdeen meaning "half village".

- KRIM   17-37-2-W3   1908   U
A short-lived Bergthaler settlement south of Aberdeen which bore the German name for the Crimean peninsula.

- NEW STEINBACH No. 1298
    35-38-2-W3   1905 1959 M,U
School east of Aberdeen meaning "stony brook" and reminiscent of the major Mennonite centre of Steinbach, Manitoba.

- OLGAFELD   SW25-39-3-W3   1902 1950s U
Hamlet north of Aberdeen, this name commemorates one of the constituent villages of the Fürstenland Mennonite colony, a daughter colony of Chortitza and 60 miles south of it in Ukraine. The villages in Fürstenland were mostly named for the children of Grand Duke Michael Nikolaevitch, brother of the tsar and something of a patron to the Mennonites.

- SCHONFELD   4-39-3-W3   1905 1910s M
A settlement (which soon merged with Edenburg) whose name means "beautiful field".

- SHANZENFELD   4-39-2-W3   1905 1915 M
A settlement just east of Aberdeen. Its name honoured Jacob Y. Schantz (1822-1909), an Ontario Mennonite who assisted Mennonite migration to the Canadian west. Schantz made at least 26 trips to Manitoba, the first in 1872.

- SUEDFLUS   NE36-39-3-W3   1908
Bergthal church north of Aberdeen. The name means "south river" in the sense of being across the South Saskatchewan River from the bulk of the Hague-Osler Reserve. A new church was erected in 1978.

Other Mennonites settled in areas around the edges of Hague-Osler Reserve. In the Hague-Rosthern area we find:

- **BERGTHAL No. 466**   SW4-43A-2-W3   1898   1962   M,U
  School just east of Rosthern. "Hill valley", honouring the mother colony in southeastern Ukraine.

- **BLUMENHOFF**   14-42-3-W2   1892   1950s   M,U
  Hamlet just south of Rosthern meaning "yard full of flowers".

- **ELBERFELD No. 1279**   NE3-43-3-W3   1905   1961
  School northeast of Rosthern. The name of the district of Elberfeld, Düsseldorf, Germany was suggested by William Lehman.

- **HEUBODEN No. 1877**   23-42-2-W3   1907   1928   M,U,P
  School southeast of Rosthern. Heuboden was one of the constituent villages of the Bergthal colony in Ukraine whose name probably means "hay bottom" in the sense of a low-lying field. By 1928 the district was dominated by Ukrainian settlers and the school's name was changed to NICHLAVA, which the Rosthern local history asserts is the name of a stream in Ukraine.

- **HOFFNUNGSORT No. 635**
                          NW11-42-4-W3   1901   1962   U
  School southwest of Rosthern meaning "place of hope". The HOFF-NUNGSORT village was at 14-42-4-W3, 1899-1920s.

- **REINFELD**   SW21-41-3-W3   1897   1960s   M,U
  Hamlet northeast of Hague. The REINFELD School District No. 3386 (1914-65) closed about the same time the village petered out. The name means "clean field".

- **ROSENORT**   22-42-2-W3   1893   1920s   U, P
  Hamlet southeast of Rosthern, "place of roses" (see box p. 92).

- **SILBERFELDT**   7-41-2-W3   1899   1920s   M
  Hamlet east of Hague, "silver field".

To the west and northwest of the Hague-Osler Reserve were:

- **BROTHERFIELD No. 669**SE24-42-6-W3   1902   1965   U
  School west of Waldheim. The district was called BRUDERFELD, "brother's field", and the name commemorated the Brotherfield church at Parker, South Dakota, which had been established in 1878.

Mennonite Brethren church near Dalmeny
courtesy Saskatoon Public Library Local History Room LH3889

- **DANZIG No. 1474**   SW19-42-4-W3   1906   1965   P
  School east of Waldheim, from Danzig, East Prussia (now Gdansk, Poland).

- **EBENFELD No. 484**   SW21-43-4-W3   1899   1959   M,U
  School just east of Laird, "level field".

- **EDENBERG No. 1940**   NE26-40-7-W3   1907   1961   M
  School north of Langham near the North Saskatchewan River, "garden of Eden town".

- **EIGENFELD No. 873**   NE19-42-3-W3   1903   1961
  School southwest of Rosthern, "your own field (or farm)". While there were many Eigenfelds (and Eigenheims) among the German villages in Ukraine, none of them seem to have been connected to the Mennonites.

- **EIGENHEIM No. 502**   NW27-42-4-W3   1899   1960
  School west of Rosthern, "your own home" or "our home". The **EIGENHEIM** Rosenorter church still stands along Highway #312.

- **FRIEDENSFELD No. 552** NE12-43-4-W3   1900   1962   U
  School east of Laird, "peaceful field", as suggested by Heinrich Adrian Sr.

- **HAMBURG No. 2005**   SW11-44-5-W3   1908   1953   U
  School north of Laird. Hamberg was a village in the Molotschna Colony which took its name from the major German city.

- **MENNON** NE10-40-6-W3 1915 1969

  CN siding and post office north of Dalmeny honouring Menno Simons (1492-1559) from whom the Mennonites took their name. The name of Mennon was chosen by the Canadian Northern Railway. It is not likely one the Mennonites themselves would have selected, since personal names and memorials are rare among them.

- **SALEM** NE36-42-6-W3 1899

  Cemetery west of Waldheim. A Krimer (Crimean) Mennonite Brethren church here merged with the Evangelical Mennonite congregation at Waldheim in the 1960s. The name comes from Jerusalem, Hebrew for "city of peace".

- **SILBERFELD No. 1065** SW31-41-4-W3 1912 1965 M

  School just southeast of Waldheim, "silver field". The **SILBERFELD** cemetery is at SE1-42-5-W3.

- **SPRINGFIELD No. 535** NW6-43-5-W3 1900 1959

  School northwest of Waldheim. SPRINGFELD, "field with a spring", was intended, but the name was anglicized from the beginning.

- **TIEFENGRUND No. 431** NW5-44-4-W3 1896 1961

  School just north of Laird, "deep arable soil". There was also a TIEFEN-GRUND post office (1900-09) whose name was changed to Laird, and a Tiefengrund ferry, which suffered a similar fate about 1920.

- **WALDHEIM No. 454** SW3-43-5-W2 1897 1913 M,U

  School north of Waldheim, "forest home", as suggested by Dietrich Neufeld who owned the site.

In the Langham area there were also some Mennonite names. We will return to them in the chapter on the Hutterites.

> The original Mennonite settlers in the Tiefengrund area came early in the 1890s from Rosenort in the Danzig lowlands of East Prussia, and helped to establish the Rosenorter Mennonite church. Among them was Gerhard Ens who became the first postmaster at Rosthern and served as an MLA 1905-12. CNR named the ENS siding north of Wakaw for him in 1924.
>
> When the Canadian Northern Railway's branch line arrived in the Tiefengrund area in 1910, they named their siding after the nearby country school and rural post office from the Tiefengrund (1900-), and the town of **WALDHEIM** continues to prosper. In 1913 the original school district decided to let the new townsite have the Waldheim name, and changed its to CARMEN No. 454. The school board proposed three names to the Department: Carmen, Altona and Medora. Both Altona and Medora exist in Manitoba, it seems likely that this name is a typographical error for Carman, Manitoba, just outside the West Reserve.

The Reinland Mennonite Association was set up in 1904 and received government permission to establish a block Mennonite settlement south of Swift Current the following year. Although they were denied permission to fulfill their homestead obligations under the hamlet system, they went ahead and set up nineteen hamlets anyway, nine of which still exist. Eventually the government acquiesced.

The Swift Current Reserve

Note that several of these villages disappeared early on, and others were very small. In fact, a few were what was known as "four corner" hamlets. Mennonites settled on each of the four quarter sections at a crossroads and dignified their locality with a name. As in the Hague-Osler Reserve, several of these villages disappeared when Old Colony Mennonites migrated to Mexico in the 1920s rather than submit to provincial education laws.

The 19 settlements in the Swift Current reserve are as follows. Those whose names are bold still exist:

- **BLUMENHOF**   SW27-12-13-W3 1905   M,U

"Yard full of flowers". The BLUMENHOF post office operated 1912-91.

Manure fuel briquettes drying at Blumenhof, 1910
SAB RA2753

- **BLUMENORT**   17-12-13-W3   1905   M,U
  "Blooming place".

- **CHORTITZ**   NW19-13-12-W3 1905   M,U
  After the mother colony.

- HAMBURG   18-13-12-W3   1905? 1970s   U
  This was a "four corners" hamlet, after (ultimately) the city of Hamburg.

- HOCHFELD   21-14-12-W3   1905 1908?   U
  "High field".

- HOCHSTAD   SW14-13-14-W3 1905 1928?   U
  "Lofty town".

- **HOFFNUNGSFELD**   W6-13-12-W3   1905   1908?   M
  "Peaceful field".

- **NEUENDORF**   15-13-12-W3   1905   M,U
  After a village in the Chortitza colony, Ukraine. This village was very short lived, and was succeeded in the 1920s by the hamlet of McMahon.

- **NEUHOFFNUNG**   S35-12-14-W3   1905   1920   M,U
  "New hope". The NEW HOFFNUNG post office (1909-11) was at 2-13-14-W3.

- **NORTH GNADENTHAL**   SW24-13-12-W3   1905   1908?
- **SOUTH GNADENTHAL**   S12-13-12-W3   1905   1908?   M,U
  "Valley of grace".

- **RHEINFELD**   SW27-13-12-W3   1905   M,U
  "Clean field". Originally REINFELD, the spelling has evolved over the years.

- **RHINELAND**   NE13-14-13-W3   1905   M
  "Clean land". Originally REINLAND, the spelling has evolved over the years. The RHINELAND post office operated here 1938-68.

Mennonite house/barn, Rhineland, 1936
SAB RA1438-2

- ROSENBACH   2-14-12-W3   1905   1922?   U
  "Rose brook".

- ROSENGART   21-14-13-W3   1905   1920s   M,U
  "Rose garden".

- ROSENHOF   S34-14-12-W3   1907   U
  "Yard of roses".

- ROSENORT   33-13-12-W3   1905   1926?   U
  "Place of roses".

- **SCHANTZENFELD**   E19-13-13-W3   1907   M
  Also for Jacob Y. Schantz, the Ontario Mennonite who assisted Mennonite migration to Manitoba in 1874 (see p. 92).

- **SCHOENFELD**   NE15-13-13-W3   1905   M
  "Beautiful field".

- SCHOENWIESS   SW35-13-13-W3   1905   1908?   M,U
  "Beautiful meadow".

- SOMMERFELD   24-14-14-W3   1907   1956?   M
  "Summer field". The HOCHSTAED ("lofty town") German school operated full time here 1908-14, and on weekends and holidays for many years thereafter.

- **SPRINGFELD**   W5-14-13-W3   1905
  "Field with a spring". The name was concocted by Heinrich Wall because of the presence of a natural spring at the site.

As can be seen, the names in the Swift Current Reserve were even more "traditional" than those at Hague-Osler. Only one – Springfeld – did not come from one of the Mennonites' ancestral homelands.

Other Mennonite Names

The Hague-Osler Reserve north of Saskatoon (1890s) and the Reinland Mennonite Association settlements south of Swift Current (1903-04) were based on the hamlet system, i.e., most of the settlers did not live on their homesteads but rather in small villages from which they worked their individual holdings. Other Mennonite settlements followed the normal pattern of home-steading on the prairies, which required that homesteaders live on their 160 acres. The result is that there really are no "villages" elsewhere in the province, and the Mennonite names that are found are largely those of schools and country churches.

Other Mennonite settlements in Saskatchewan

The largest of the non-hamlet settlements was also far and away the earliest, the Excelsior Colony established north of Rush Lake and Herbert in 1903. The phrase is Latin for "higher" in the sense of accomplishment, and it was adopted by the RM of **EXCELSIOR** No. 166, much of which continues to be farmed by Mennonite families today.

- **BETHANIA No. 1626**   SE15-17-10-W3   1906   1951
  School between Main Centre and Gouldtown. The name is a variant of Bethany, a biblical site on the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem. The BETHANIA Mennonite Brethren church was a dozen miles west in the Beaver Flat district, 1912-69.

- **CAPELAND No. 2974**   SW13-19-11-W3   1913   1959
  School just northwest of Main Centre with a mysterious name. The Capeland General Conference church was located nearby 1940-72.

- **EBENEZER**   SE31-17-11-W3   1912   1945
  Mennonite Brethren church northwest of Rush Lake. A biblical reference, Ebenezer was the name of the stone erected by the prophet Samuel to commemorate a victory by the Israelites (I Samuel vii 12).

- **FARESFIELD**   SW24-17-11-W3   1923   1935
  A settlement north of Rush Lake created for a group of Mennonites who fled Ukraine in 1923; by 1935 they had all dispersed to individual farmsteads. Land for the settlement was purchased from Will Fares and was formerly part of the Smith & Fares ranch.

- **FRIEDENSFELD**   SE31-17-10-W3   late 1920s   U
  Krimmer church north of Rush Lake meaning "peaceful field".

- **GREENFARM No. 1598 NE22-16-9-W3**   1906   1959?
  School southeast of Herbert. This seems likely to be an anglicization of *grünfeld*. The Greenfarm Mennonite Brethren church operated 1918-61.

- **LICHTFELD**   SE13-18-10-W3   1908   1923   U
  Mennonite Brethren church north of Herbert, "field of light".

- **LOBETHAL No. 1290**   NE21-19-10-W3   1905   1958
  School just north of Main Centre. The name means "valley of praise", a reference to a biblical place (II Chronicles 20:26). The LOBETHAL rural post office operated 1906-12.

- **MAIN CENTRE**   NE5-19-10-W3   1912
  Post office and hamlet north of Rush Lake (CN siding 1930-79). MAIN CENTRE No. 1236 was established at the original hamlet site, NW32-18-10-W3, in 1905. It was replaced by a four room school at the siding site in 1945 and closed finally in 1979. The **BETHEL** Mennonite Brethren church is still located at the OLD MAIN CENTRE site (NW 32).

- **SCHOENTHAL** No. 2461 NW24-17-9-W3 1909 1950s? M,U
  School northwest of Morse, "beautiful valley".

- **SCHONAU** No. 3024 SE36-19-11-W3 1913 1930 U
  School north of Main Centre. The name is probably a derivative of *schonau*, "beautiful meadow".


The name of the Schonau school was changed to CRUIKSHANK in 1930 to match the local post office, and they both closed in 1950. The post office had been named for Robert Cruikshank (1863-1933) who came to the west as an employee of the famous 76 Ranch. In 1898 he struck out on his own and eventually operated a large farm in this district, a small ranch south of Caron, and a huge one near Beechy.

The principal name in the Excelsior Colony may be the prosaic Main Centre, but there is one delicious Mennonite name in the area that is well known to local residents, PLUMI MOOS. For reasons that are unexplained, the name was given to a hill northwest of Herbert, also called Rush Lake Butte. The hill was an Indian grave site, and P. P. Reimer (1823-1911), a pioneering Mennonite, was also buried there. What makes the name so fascinating is that *plumi moos* is a Mennonite dish consisting of stewed prunes and other dried fruits mixed with cream!

Farther to the south was the ELIM Mennonite colony, a biblical reference to the place where the Israelites halted. Established in 1914 north of Hodgeville, the settlement centred on the FLOWING WELL post office (1916-65), named for an artesian well on the homestead of Mr. Reichenberg. The local school was GNADENAU No. 2460 (from 1909), which was derived from the German for "grace" and meaning "grace meadow". A relatively new Mennonite church is almost all that remains of the nearby hamlet of Kelstern.

Some of the other Mennonite names from around the province were:

- **BARNES CROSSING**   SE10-61-18-W3   1925   1953
  Rural post office northwest of Meadow Lake. The postmaster and ferryman on the Beaver River was a Mennonite, and the Mennonite settlement extended westward into the Compass district.

- **BETHANY**   SE36-49-17-W2   1916   1965+
  General Conference church in the Lost River district north of Gronlid, after the biblical site on the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem. There is also a **BETHANY** Mennonite Church Canada congregation just east of Watrous.

- **BETHEL**   SW6-42-7-W3   1913   1977
  Mennonite Church Canada church in the Great Deer district north of Borden, whose name is from the Hebrew for the "house of God".

- **EBENFELD**   SW22-31-17-W3   1924   M,U
  Mennonite Church Canada congregation north of Herschel, "level field". There were sister congregations with this name at Fiske, Glidden, Kerrobert, Kindersley and Superb.

- **EMMAUS**   1927
  There were seven Emmaus General Conference churches, the largest of which was at Swift Current and dissolved to Zion in 1959. The others were at Schoenfeld, Syke's Farm, Wymark, Blumenhof, McMahon, Kidron (Gull Lake area), Pella (Neville) and Rhineland. The Emmaus name comes from a biblical city.

- **FRIEDENSHEIM**   32- -10-W3   1944   1953
  Mennonite Brethren church near Beechy meaning "peaceful home". The church moved to Beechy where it is now the Hillside Christian Fellowship.

- **HEBRON**   -45-2-W2   1936   U
  General Conference congregation at Erwood east of Hudson Bay, after the biblical city.

- **HOFFNUNGSFELD**   SE15-48-13-W3   1929   M
  Mennonite Church Canada (formerly General Conference) church near Rabbit Lake meaning "field of hope". There are or were sister congregations at Bournemouth, Petaigan (Carrot River), Glenbush, Mayfair and Mullingar. HOFFNUNGSFELD No. 1534 was northeast of Borden (1906-74). Interestingly, the first teacher (1906-10) was William Diefenbaker, father of John.
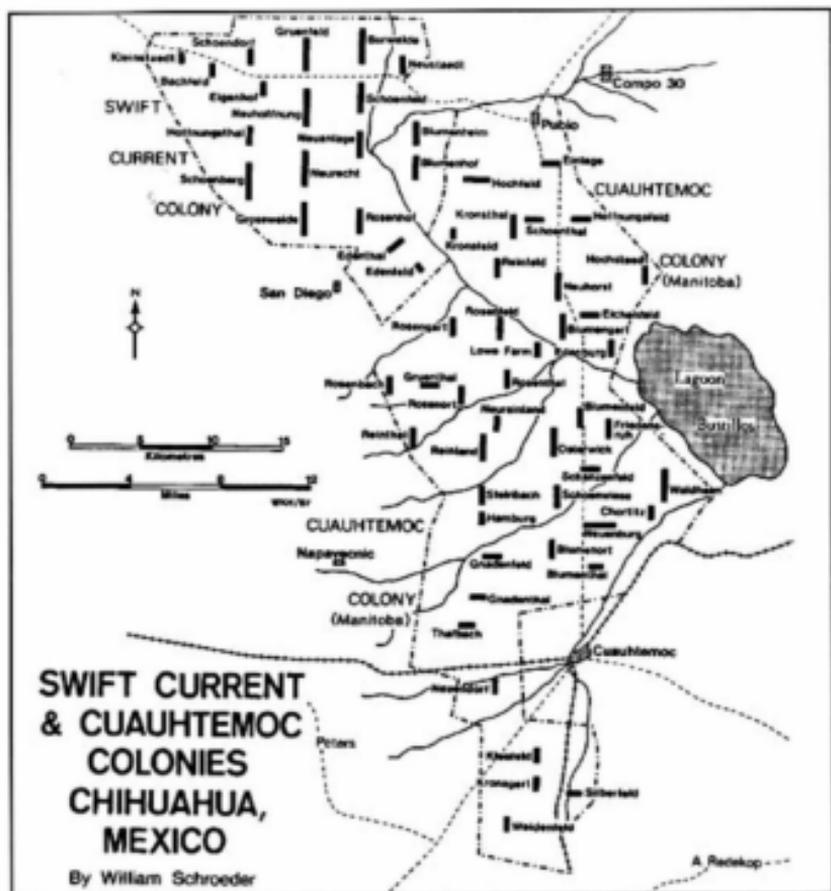
Mennonite settlements in Mexico.
The tradition of bringing names with them persists – note that almost all the names
replicate those of villages in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.
from William Schroeder, Mennonite Historical Atlas, with permission

• **IMMANUEL**   N12-26-8-W2   1931   1972
General Conference church, Beaver Dale (south of Jedburgh). There were
also churches with this name at Compass (Meadow Lake) and Pierceland.
The name is a variety of Emmanuel, Hebrew for "God with us", the name
given to Christ as the deliverer of Judea as prophesied by Isaiah.

- **JANSEN** SW36-32-20-W2 1908

  Village east of Lanigan. It was named for Peter Jansen (1852-1923) of Jansen, Nebraska, a former state senator and vice president of the Saskatchewan & Manitoba Land Co. which was responsible for settling a number of American Mennonites in Canada. Jansen was active in Saskatchewan in the century's opening decade. In July 1905, he was quoted in the Regina *Leader* as planning a Mennonite colony of 44 townships west of Big Quill Lake. A Mennonite himself, Jansen's unsuccessful attempt to establish a huge colony in the area was an effort to avoid having his compatriots settle in the dry areas of southwestern Saskatchewan. Peter Jansen did not stay in Saskatchewan but his brother John homesteaded at NE27-33-19-W2. A justice of the peace and notary public, he also assisted many Mennonites to settle in the Jansen-Drake-Guernsey areas. While it is often assumed that the village's name honours John, CPR's records specify Peter.

- **MARTENSVILLE** SW28-38-5-W3 1963

  Isaac Martens farm was subdivided to create the new town just north of Saskatoon. Martensville became the home for many Mennonites who, while working in the city, desired to maintain closer contact with the rural environment from which they came.

- **NORDHEIMER** SE5-34-3-W3 1924 U

  Mennonite Church Canada church northeast of Dundurn. Also known as the PLEASANT POINT church after the descriptively named neighbouring school (No. 1105, 1904-62). There was also a smaller Nordheimer congregation at Elbow. The name means "northern home".

- **NORDSTERN** SW20-32-22-W2 1907

  Mennonite Church Canada cemetery west of Drake. The church here closed when a new one opened in the village in 1956. The name means "North star".

- **PHILADELPHIA** SE15-32-24-W2 1929

  Mennonite Brethren church northeast of Watrous. The word is Greek for "brotherly love".

- **REIMCHE No. 2709** NE33-9-6-W3 1910 1951

  School north of Woodrow. George Conrad Reimche (1870-1928) and his family came from a Mennonite district in Ukraine via Kansas and South Dakota, and were among the earliest settlers in 1910. Reimche was ordained as a Mennonite minister in 1917 and moved to California four years later, although there are still Reimches living in the district. The COUNTRY (or North) Mennonite Brethren church which once served the district is now the Woodrow Gospel Mission.

Finally, there was a BERGTHAL Mennonite church north of Mistatim (1939-60), and also one at Blue Jay northeast of Carrot River from 1935.

The Mennonites played a huge role in opening up large areas of Saskatchewan and remain a vibrant part of our multicultural mosaic. They are particularly renowned for their charitable works, and Saskatchewanians of whatever ethnicity or faith cannot help but admire the work of the Mennonite Central Committee around the world.

One of the most interesting Mennonite projects centres on **TIMBER BAY**, the descriptively named site of a residential home and school for Indian children from throughout the north where families spend their winters on the trap line. It is a fascinating project and a beautiful spot along the east shore of Montreal Lake.[42]

Timber Bay in 1988
photo by the author

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42. In addition to the sources cited in the footnotes, much information on Mennonite names came from the pertinent local histories. William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony* (Winnipeg: 1986), and *The Mennonite Atlas* (with Helmut T. Huebert, Winnipeg: 1990), along with Leonard Doell, *The Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Saskatchewan 1892-1975* (Winnipeg: 1987), were also very helpful.

The Hutterites

The Hutterian Brethren sprang from the same Anabaptist roots as the Mennonites. Persecuted in southern Germany and Switzerland, they moved eastward and acquired the name of Jakob Hutter ("hat maker"), their charismatic leader who was tortured and burned as a heretic in 1536.

Their religious beliefs are very similar to the Old Order Amish in that they remain aloof from outside society and take no part in politics. The Hutterites' distinctive traits are their emphasis on the community of goods, patterned on the primitive church at Jerusalem, and their lives together on collective farms (*Bruderhofs*), colonies of 60 to 150 people.

For the first 350 years of the sect's existence, the Hutterites were transients in the truest meaning of the word. There was a sense among them that they were destined to move on, that the lands they lived on were just a temporary home. Prior to the death of Jakob Hutter, most of his followers had settled in Moravia in the area of the city of Brno in what is now the eastern Czech Republic. By the middle of the 16th century, a dozen *Bruderhofs* existed in neighbouring Slovakia near the towns of Senica and Trnava north and northeast of Bratislava. Indeed, descendants of the Hutterites still live in homes they built at a place they called Sobotište near the Polish border.[43]

But, time and again, politics intruded upon their lives and faith. They were subjected to ruthless persecution, particularly at the hands of the Jesuits. In the early 1620s, the Hutterites lost the protection of the Protestant princes of Moravia. Most of them accepted an offer from a Transylvanian prince and resettled on new *Bruderhofs* near what is now Sibiu, Romania. After a period of prosperity, they once again found themselves caught in a vice as war raged between the Islamic Ottoman Turks and the Christian states of Europe. Their numbers dwindled, they abandoned communalism, and by 1755 there were only 16 Hutterites left in Transylvania.[44]

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43. Paul S. Gross, *The Hutterite Way* (Saskatoon: 1965).

44. Samuel Hofer, *The Hutterites: Lives and Images of a Communal People* (Saskatoon: 1998), p.87.
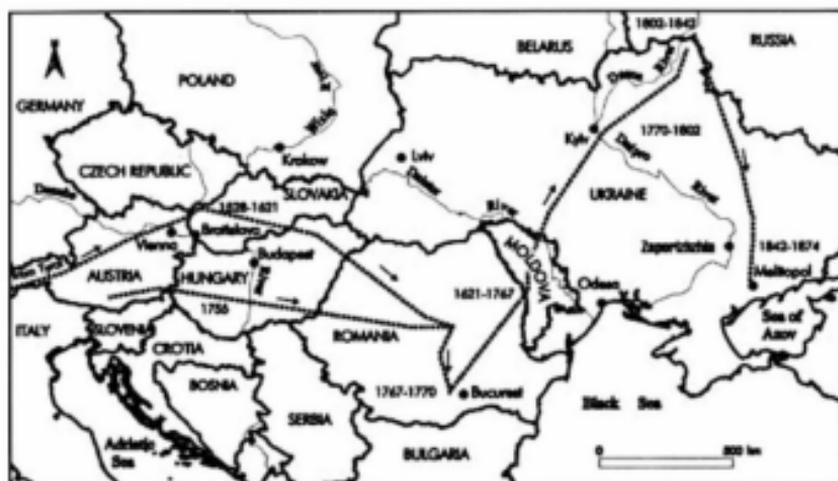
Hutterite wanderings in Europe

But providence intervened. A Protestant revival in Austria alarmed the authorities, and dissenters were summarily deported to the farthest reaches of the empire, i.e., to Transylvania. A number of Lutherans from Carinthia, dissatisfied with their own church, joined with and revived the Hutterites. Many modern Hutterite surnames can be traced back to this group.

Soon persecution caught up to them. In 1767, they escaped south to Turkish-ruled Wallachia and settled briefly near Bucharest. Scarcely three years later they got caught in yet another war between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe, and they turned north and northeast to Ukraine. In 1770, about 70 Hutterites arrived at Vishenka on the Desna River (*des'na*, "the right hand") northeast of Kyiv not far from what is now the Ukrainian-Russian border.

They lived on the estate of Count Peter Rumantsiev, a soldier statesman who later became the governor of Ukraine, and thereby hangs an interesting tale. The count had been a general in the Russian army that invaded Prussia during the Seven Years War and had admired the model farms of the Mennonites in the region. He had taken an interest in the Belowesch settlement in his native oblast of Chernihiv in 1766 (see p. 49), and had been impressed by the success of the German-speaking farmers there. When he heard of the plight of the Hutterites, it was he who invited them to come to Ukraine. Their resulting prosperity

reminded him of the Mennonites near Gdansk, and it was largely on his recommendation that the first Russian immigration agents approached the Mennonites to move east.[45]

The Hutterites did very well during their years at Vishenka. But the old count died in 1796 and his heir was less inclined to perpetuate his hospitality. They applied for a grant of crown land and 202 of them moved a few miles to the northeast to a new colony at Radichiv (Russian Reditsov, "from a happy place") near Novgorod-Severskiy, where they spent forty years.

Disputes about at Radichiv and the practice of communalism fell by the wayside. Again they asked to be allowed to move and in 1842 settled at Huttertal ("valley of the Hutterites") on the Molochnaya River ("milky waters") near the city of Melitopol' and not far from the Sea of Azov. By this time their numbers were up to almost 400. In Huttertal and its surrounding villages of Johannesruh, Hutterdorf and Scheromet, they were neighbours of the Molotschna Mennonite Colony, and partly occupied an area that had earlier been the home of the Doukhobors.

When the Mennonites began to seriously consider migration to North America, they included their Hutterian neighbours in their deliberations, and two Hutterite delegates visited Manitoba in 1873. However, they liked South Dakota better, and in 1874 the 700 Hutterites sold their lands to Mennonites and migrated en masse to the United States (unlike the Mennonites, only two families of Hutterites stayed behind, so they almost completely escaped Soviet repression). Even before they left Ukraine they had formed into three groups:

Schmiedleit,[46] were those who followed elder Michael Waldner, who was a blacksmith;

Dariusleit, the followers of elder Darius Walther; and

Lehrerleit, the "teacher's people", the followers of elder and teacher Jacob Wipf.

There are no significant differences among the three *leits*, yet they rarely intermingle and almost never intermarry. Only members of the latter two groups have found their way to

45. Giesinger, op cit., p.132.

46. I have followed the spelling advocated by Samuel Hofer, op cit. As he points out, the proper High German spelling is *leut* meaning "people" and pronounced (loit). However, in the Hutterish tongue the word is pronounced (lite) and Hofer's spelling seems more appropriate.

Saskatchewan, and of the 61 current colonies, 31 are Dariusleit and 30 Lehrerleit.

A fourth group of Hutterites evolved largely after their arrival in North America, the *Prairieleit*, those who decided to accept individual homesteads and abandon the communal lifestyle. Almost two thirds of the people who came from Ukraine lived apart from the colonies by 1880. Some continued to practice their Hutterite faith, but most were gradually absorbed into one or other of the Mennonite denominations.

The first Hutterite colony in Saskatchewan did not come into operation until 1952, but Saskatchewan's first settlers of Hutterite descent were a small number of Prairieleit who settled south and southeast of Langham a century ago. Among them were Jacob and Katherine Waldner who donated the site for the NEUHOFF-NUNG No. 951 (from 1904) southeast of Langham. *Neuhoffnung* is German for "new hope," and the name was used for several German villages in Ukraine as well as for a Mennonite one near Altona, Manitoba, and another south of Swift Current. There was also a Neu Hoffnung Mennonite Brethren church from 1907, but it seems to have consolidated with neighbouring congregations in 1944.

Another interesting Prairieleit connection came through the family of Christian Wurz, who scouted the Langham area in 1902 and brought his family there from the Dakotas the following year. Christian Wurz donated the site for the WURZBURG School District No. 905 southwest of Dalmeny the year they arrived.[47]

Samuel Wurtz, Christian's son, was the secretary-treasurer of the WURTZBURG rural telephone company founded in 1917 to serve the same area. It seems the spelling of the family name evolved quickly from Wurz to Wurtz, so while Wurzburg is correct for the school district, Wurtzburg is the way the rural telephone company was chartered, and the school was often spelled that way in later years as well. **EMMANUEL** Krimmer Mennonite church (1917) still stands just southwest of the Wurzburg school site, and the cemetery there is the last resting place for most of the original Prairieleit who came to Saskatchewan. The church has been little used since the 1970s but is still lovingly cared for.

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47. The WURZ School District No. 1341(1905-25) was about halfway between Guernsey and Watrous. Its first board – Jacob, Michael and Maria Wurtz – were also of Hutterite descent.

There were also Prairieleit Hutterites among the Mennonites who founded the ZOAR congregations at Langham in 1911 and Waldheim in 1912. Zoar was the biblical town where Lot and his family sought refuge after God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:20,22).

Back to the colony Hutterites. In 1898-99, the jingoism of the Spanish-American War caused the communal Hutterites in the United States to fear that their absolute pacifism would not be respected. They sought and received guarantees of religious freedom and exemption from military service from the Canadian government, and the first colonies were established in Manitoba.

World War I even worse, from the Hutterite perspective, and more than three quarters of them migrated north. This time the destination of choice was Alberta, although many Hutterites also moved to Manitoba during and after the war (why they completely skipped Saskatchewan during this period remains a mystery). By the time the second great war rolled around, the pacifism of the Hutterites was better accepted. Although the period was not without its stresses, generally persecution on religious grounds had ceased to be a motive for Hutterite migration.

However, their birth rate is significantly higher than the general populations of Canada and the United States, and colonies experienced the need to subdivide every second or third generation. This is usually accomplished through the drawing of lots; half the members leave to start a new colony, with the financial support of those who remain behind. Perhaps inevitably this expansionism led to friction with their neighbours, and both Manitoba and Alberta went through stages of severely curtailing the spread of Hutterite colonies. Just as inexorably, this led the Brethren to seek new homes in the vast expanses of the Wheat Province.

It was not until 1949 that the first steps towards establishing a colony in Saskatchewan took place.[48] The **BENCH** colony northwest of Shaunavon was formally launched at the beginning

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48. Note that there are frequently significant discrepancies between dates of establishment of colonies provided by the provincial government, and those appearing in Hutterite literature. I have generally chosen to follow the dates in the *Riverview Directory* of Hutterite colonies in Canada and the United States, published annually since 1993 by the Riverview colony northeast of Saskatoon. These dates reflect the actual commencement of operations of the new colony, although land assembly could have begun as much as three years earlier. See also John A. Hostetler's list found at www.feefhs.org/hut.

of 1952, followed a few months later by another near Maple Creek and colonies at Tompkins and Leask. The reception was something less than brass bands and palm fronds, but the original colonies here experienced little difficulty getting started. Soon, though, the same pressures that had caused problems to the east and west of us surfaced.[49] Because the Hutterites farm on such a large scale, local merchants complained that the colonies tended to make their purchases in bulk in the larger centres, threatening the viability of small town enterprise. The following resolution was passed at the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities convention in 1956:

"That the Provincial Government enact legislation similar to that in Alberta, that the holding of colonies be limited to 10,000 acres in the better farming areas and 15,000 in the poorer farming areas and that the colonies be 100 miles apart."

There were difficulties over schooling because the Hutterites insist on educating their children in one room schools on the colony, and then only for the minimum number of years that provincial law prescribes.[50] The Hutterites, who believe that education is only necessary for godliness, avoided the difficulties which plagued the conservative Mennonites by accepting public schooling in English, following the provincial curriculum, for their children. School time, however, is heavily supplemented by religious instruction in German (Hutterish) under the tutelage of the elders of the colony.

The problem of how a communalistic society, in which none of the members own property, should be taxed was not resolved until the 1980s. Interestingly, the Hutterites and certain Mennonite groups obtained an exemption on religious grounds from the Canada Pension Plan in 1974; they neither contribute to nor do they derive any benefit from the plan.

There were instances of out-and-out prejudice against a group which dressed "differently", spoke German, stuck to themselves, and refused to succumb to the onslaught of television which has redefined life for most Canadians. As late as 1977, the

49. Interestingly, a report prepared at the instigation of the provincial government counselled moderation on everyone's part, and predicted Hutterite assimilation "within a generation or two"! See Harold Lobb, "The Hutterites and Saskatchewan: A Study of Inter-group Relations" (Regina, 1953).

50. See William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto, 1990).

Hutterites on farmers' market day at Kincaid, August 1986
photo by the author

RM of Whiska Creek No. 106 enacted zoning bylaws prohibiting communal dwellings, and permitting no more than two residential dwellings per quarter section. The bylaws were struck down by the courts, and the Vanguard Colony was launched in 1980.

The Hutterites, of course, persevered. Indeed, while they may eschew the technological advances that the rest of us pursue to enhance our personal comfort and recreation, the Hutterian Brethren show no such reticence when it comes to agriculture. They enthusiastically embrace each and every advance in agricultural technology, and have become known as among the most productive farmers on the planet. Gradually, the provincial government relaxed its restrictions to the point where there is no longer a bureaucrat in the department of municipal affairs who is responsible for overseeing Hutterite colonies.

Half of Saskatchewan's Hutterite colonies are offspring of other Saskatchewan colonies, and the rest were all established by Alberta colonies. It is interesting that no American or Manitoba colony has ever branched out into this province, nor has any Saskatchewan colony ever spun off a Bruderhof outside our boundaries.

Many thousands of Hutterites lived in the northern United States, Manitoba and Alberta before the first colony was established here in 1952. It seems that the Hutterites are reluctant to come to Saskatchewan, but once they get here they're determined to stay!

Saskatchewan's Hutterite colonies as of January 2001 are as follows:

name	date of establishment	leit	mother colony

- **ABBEY** 1971 Lehrerleit Tompkins

  Just south of the village of Abbey.

- **ARM RIVER** 1964 Dariusleit Spring Creek AB

  Just north of Disley and extending to the banks of the Arm River valley.

- **BAILDON** 1967 Lehrerleit Springside AB

  Twenty miles south of Moose Jaw in the RM of Baildon No. 131.

- **BEECHY** 1978 Lehrerleit Main Centre

  Southwest of the village of Beechy.

- **BELLE PLAINE** 1981 Dariusleit Holt AB

  Located just north of Stony Beach, but named for the village of Belle Plaine five miles farther south.

- **BENCH** 1952 Lehrerleit Old Elmspring AB

  Saskatchewan's first Hutterite colony is located on the east 'bench' of the Cypress Hills northwest of Dollard. The BENCH Co-op Pasture had been created in the same area in 1950. The colony is located in what was once the CRESTON School District No. 4722, and the school on the colony still goes by that name. The district had originally been populated by settlers from Creston, Iowa.

  Note that while land assembly for this colony began in 1949, it was not in operation until January 1952.

- **BIG ROSE** 1980 Dariusleit West Bench

  A dozen miles south and west of Biggar. This is one of the few colonies with a distinctive name, but the reason for its selection is unknown.

- **BONE CREEK** 1988 Lehrerleit Tompkins

  West of Simmie in the northwest corner of the RM of Bone Creek No. 108.

- **BOX ELDER** 1960 Dariusleit Pine Hill, Red Deer AB

  Located on Boxelder Creek just north of Fort Walsh.

- **BUTTE** 1989 Lehrerleit Sand Lake

  West of Val Marie.

114 **Bill Barry**

- **CARMICHAEL**   1983   Lehrerleit   Cypress
  Southwest of Gull Lake in the RM of Carmichael No. 109.

- **CLEAR SPRINGS**   1971   Lehrerleit   Bench
  Just south of Kenaston. Apparently a descriptive name.

- **CYPRESS**   1952   Lehrerleit   Big Bend AB
  Just southwest of Maple Creek on the northern slopes of the Cypress Hills.

- **DINSMORE**   1978   Lehrerleit   Glidden
  Northeast of the village of Dinsmore.

- **DOWNIE LAKE**   1958   Dariusleit   Wolf Creek, Stirling AB
  Southwest of Maple Creek. The origin of the name of the nearby
  Downey Lake is unknown, as is the reason for the spelling variation.

- **EAGLE CREEK**   1987   Dariusleit   Sandhills, Beiseker AB
  Northeast of Arelee near the outlet of Eagle Creek into the North
  Saskatchewan River.

- **EARVIEW**   1997   Dariusleit   Downey Lake
  After two hills southeast of Gull Lake which resemble a pair of ears.

- **EATONIA**   1985   Lehrerleit   Haven
  Southwest of the town of Eatonia.

- **ESTUARY**   1958   Dariusleit   Riverside, Ft McLeod AB
  Located just west of the Estuary ferry, so called because of the nearby
  confluence of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan Rivers.

The Estuary colony near Leader
courtesy the town of Leader web site

- **FORT PITT** 1969 Dariusleit Ribstone, Edgerton AB
  Colony lands surround the Fort Pitt historic site northeast of Lloydminster.

- **GARDEN PLAIN** Lehrerleit Jenner AB
  Under development near Frontier.

- **GLIDDEN** 1963 Lehrerleit Miami AB
  South of the village of Glidden.

- **GOLDEN VIEW** 1978 Lehrerleit Southbend AB
  Located just south of Whiteshore Lake west of Biggar. A descriptive name.

- **GREEN LEAF** Dariusleit Fort Pitt
  Under development near Marcelin. A descriptive name.

- **HAVEN** 1967 Lehrerleit Acadia AB
  The name probably has biblical connotations for the Hutterites. The legal name of "Haven Hutterian Brethren of Fox Valley Ltd." means this colony is often referred to by the name of the village of FOX VALLEY just to the north.

- **HILLCREST** 1964 Dariusleit Leask
  Located on a hill overlooking Blackstrap Lake just southeast of Dundurn.

- **HILLSVALE** 1961 Dariusleit Springvale, Rockyford AB
  Just north of Baldwinton. The colony name seems to be a creative take-off on that of its mother colony and its location in one of the hillier parts of Saskatchewan.

- **HODGEVILLE** 1971 Dariusleit Box Elder
  Just southwest of the village.

- **HURON** 1969 Lehrerleit Big Bend, Cardston AB
  Located northeast of Eyebrow in the extreme southeast corner of the RM of Huron No. 223.

- **KYLE** 1970 Lehrerleit Rosedale AB
  Located about halfway between Kyle and Elrose.

- **LAJORD** 1977 Dariusleit Arm River
  Located between Kronau and Davin in the northeastern corner of the RM of Lajord No. 128.

- **LAKEVIEW**   1970   Dariusleit   Hillsvale

  This colony originally went by the name of SCOTT, after the town to the northeast. The name was changed presumably to reflect the view over Muddy Lake just to the northwest.

- **LEASK**   1953   Dariusleit   Sandhills, Beiseker AB

  Located between Leask and Marcelin in the RM of Leask No. 464.

- **MAIN CENTRE**   1963   Lehrerleit   Rockport AB

  Located just northwest of the hamlet of Main Centre.

- **PENNANT**   Lehrerleit   Abbey

  Under development near the village of the same name.

- **PONTEIX**   1971   Dariusleit   Downey Lake

  South of the town of Ponteix.

- **QUILL LAKE**   1975   Dariusleit   Riverview

  Southeast of the town of Quill Lake on the northern shore of Little Quill Lake.

- **RIVERBEND**   1996   Dariusleit   Leask

  Near the North Saskatchewan River west of Waldheim.

- **RIVERVIEW**   1956   Dariusleit   Fairview, Crossfield AB

  Overlooking the South Saskatchewan River northeast of Saskatoon.

- **ROSETOWN**   1970   Lehrerleit   Milford AB

  Just northwest of the town of Rosetown.

- **ROSE VALLEY**   1985   Lehrerleit   Baildon

  Northwest of Viceroy. Note that this is a descriptive name and the colony is some 200 miles southwest of the town of Rose Valley.

- **SAND LAKE**   1964   Lehrerleit   Old Elmsprings AB

  South of Val Marie.

- **SCOTT**   1997   Dariusleit   Lakeview

  Near the town of Scott.

- **SIMMIE**   1961   Dariusleit   New York, Lethbridge AB

  Southeast of the hamlet of Simmie.

- **SMILEY**   1968   Lehrerleit   New Dayton AB
  Just north of the village of Smiley.

- **SOVEREIGN**   1995   Lehrerleit   Rosetown
  South of the village of Sovereign.

- **SPRING CREEK**   1956   Dariusleit   Lakeside, Cranford AB
  Near the Alberta border southwest of Maple Creek.

- **SPRINGFIELD**   1989   Lehrerleit   Smiley
  Southeast of Kindersley.

- **SPRING LAKE**   1988   Dariusleit   Hodgeville
  Northeast of Neville.

- **SPRINGWATER**   1979   Dariusleit   Valleyview AB
  Southwest of the village of Springwater.

- **STAR CITY**   1978   Dariusleit   Estuary
  Just northeast of the town of Star City. A cattle operation, this is by far
  the smallest Hutterite colony in Saskatchewan at 1,760 acres.

- **SUNNYDALE**   1988   Dariusleit   Hillsvale
  Located southeast of the village of Sonningdale, and its name is proba-
  bly a play on that name.

- **SWIFT CURRENT**   1976   Dariusleit   Simmie
  Northwest of the city of Swift Current. The colony has preserved the
  name of the local school (which closed in 1942) by calling theirs
  RUSKIN, a name of uncertain origin.

- **TOMPKINS**   1952   Lehrerleit   New Elmspring AB
  South of the village of Tompkins.

- **VALLEY CENTRE**   Lehrerleit   Golden View
  Under development between Rosetown and Biggar. Valley Centre was a
  rural post office (1910-64) and CP siding northwest of Harris in the cen-
  tre of the valley of the Eagle Creek.

- **VANGUARD**   1980   Lehrerleit   Waldeck
  South of the village of Vanguard.

- **WALDECK**   1963   Lehrerleit   Elmspring AB

  North of the village of Waldeck near the South Saskatchewan River. The colony's school is called FRIESEN since much of the colony's land was the old Friesen School District No. 3322. The name originally came from B. A. Friesen who opened a country post office named for himself in 1904.

- **WEBB**   1991?   Dariusleit   Box Elder

  Just south of the village of Webb.

- **WEST BENCH**   1960   Dariusleit   East Cardston AB

  North of Ravenscrag and just west of the old BENCH rural post office. The EAST FAIRWELL No. 3805 school was moved to the colony and used until it was replaced with a new building in 1975. It still goes by the East Fairwell name, which is that of a creek in the district that traces back to Abe Farwell, American whisky trader who operated the post which was the scene of the Cypress Hills massacre in 1873.

- **WHEATLAND**   1987   Lehrerleit   Kyle

  Between Abbey and Cabri.

- **WILLOW PARK**   1977   Dariusleit   Springvale, Rockyford AB

  West of Delisle.

Unfortunately, as the foregoing reveals, the Hutterites have made a minimal contribution to the toponymy of Saskatchewan, such matters apparently being rather trivial in their eyes. Many (28) of the 61 colonies have taken their names from the nearest town or village, with five others adopting the name of the rural municipality in which they are located, and 11 mimicking the name of a prominent nearby local physical feature or landmark. Another 13 are general descriptive names: Clear Springs, Garden Plain, Golden View, Green Leaf, Hillcrest, Lakeview, Riverbend, Riverview, Rose Valley, Springfield, West Bench, Wheatland and Willow Park.

The others are:

Big Rose	– because of its location between Biggar and Rosetown?
Haven	– could there be a biblical connotation here?
Hillsvale	– the area is certainly hilly, and the mother colony was Springvale, so this appears to be an imaginative takeoff on the locale and the mother colony's name.
Sunnydale	– similarly, this would seem to be a takeoff on the name of the nearby hamlet of Sonningdale.

Riverview colony
Star Phoenix photo
by Peter Wilson,
courtesy
Saskatoon Public Library Local History
Room IH5447

As we have seen, the other ethnic groups who came to Saskatchewan from Ukraine brought many place names with them. Certainly the same was true of the Anglo-Saxons, the French, the Hungarians, and so on. Yet the Hutterite names are almost distressingly non-historic. It is not that they are unaware of the importance of history. North American Hutterites have faithfully preserved the 500 year old texts upon which their faith is based. It appears that their tendency to use local names is as much an effort to avoid unwanted attention as anything else. Hopefully their growing acceptance as master farmers will lead them to be more adventurous in naming new colonies.

The Hutterites are a remarkable people, maintaining social and religious cohesion in the face of what would be, for most people, the irresistible pressures and attractions of modern secular society. Even more remarkable is their stability. Very few members leave the colonies, and fewer than a hundred outsiders have joined the Brethren in the 125 years they have lived in Canada and the United States.[51] Yet they prosper and grow. As of the 1991 census, there were 21,495 Hutterites in Canada, 3,950 of them in Saskatchewan (the latter figure is probably about 6,000 today).

51. John A. Hostetler, *Hutterite Life* (Scottdale PA: 1983).

The Doukhobor Connection to Ukraine

The Doukhobors are a fundamentalist Christian sect which developed in southern Russia. The name originated in 1785 with a Russian Orthodox bishop named Amvrosij who derisively labelled them *dukho-borets*, "spirit wrestlers" in the sense of enemies of the Holy Spirit. However, they liked the name, in the opposite sense of struggling for and on behalf of the spirit of Christ, and it stuck.

Their oral tradition means that their origins are not entirely clear, but the first recognizable Doukhobor appears in the historical record in the 1750s. The common threads of their belief system hinge on collectivism, on the rejection of priests and liturgy (believing that God resides in the individual, not a church), on their disdain for secular governments, and on their refusal to bear arms. Their teachings consist of a collection of psalms and proverbs, handed down orally, called the Book of Life. Their only ceremony is the *sobraniye*, a meeting where prayers are recited around a table laid with bread, salt and water.

Like the Mennonites and Hutterites, their views brought them persecution from both church and state. In 1802 Tsar Alexander I decided that the best method of handling dissidents was to resettle them in isolated areas, and the Doukhobors were forced to migrate southward into Ukraine. They lived – and prospered – in the Molochnaya ("milky waters") River region just north of the Crimean peninsula in an area lightly populated by semi-nomadic Tatars. As we have seen, many hundreds of Mennonites became their close neighbours in 1804, and the region was also to become the home of the Hutterites three generations later.

The Doukhobors and Mennonites were not what one could describe as "close" neighbours. The fact that they spoke different languages, Russian and German, limited daily interaction. The Mennonites were at a loss to understand how a group of apparently pious Christians could pay so little heed to the written scriptures. They were also mystified by the Doukhobors' reticence about their faith, a tactic that had evolved over the decades as a
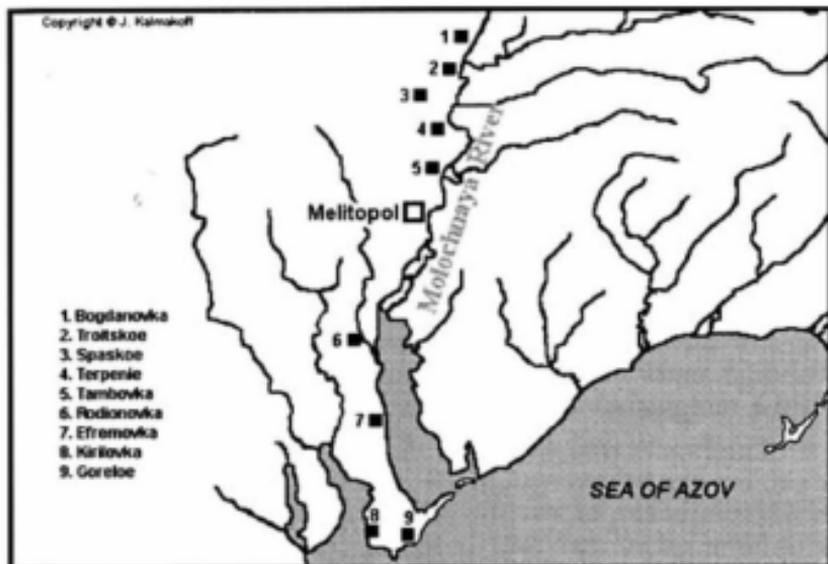
The Molochnaya (Milky Waters) settlement
c. Jonathan Kalmakoff, with permission

1. Bogdanovka
2. Traitskoe
3. Spaskoe
4. Terpenie
5. Tambovka
6. Rodionovka
7. Efremovka
8. Kirilovka
9. Goreloe

Melitopol

SEA OF AZOV

mechanism for avoiding tsarist repression. Still, the relationship was peaceable and pacifism was a cornerstone of both faiths. The Doukhobors also benefitted by borrowing from the agricultural methods, dress, housing and village design of their Mennonite neighbours. Indeed, Saskatchewan's Doukhobor villages resembled nothing so much as the Mennonite settlements in southern Ukraine.

Perhaps inevitably the Doukhobors came into conflict with the tsarist authorities yet again, and they were forcibly resettled even farther southward to the Caucasus in the 1840s, largely to serve as a buffer between the Russian and Ottoman (Turkish) empires. They settled in four groups:

- two groups in the "Wet Mountains" district southwest of Tbilisi (then Tiflis), now the capital of the republic of Georgia;
- at Gyanja (Elizavetpol') in what is now the republic of Azerbaijan; and
- in the Kars district which is now in northeastern Turkey but was then part of Russian Armenia.

Doukhobor settlements in the Caucasus.
The provincial names on this map are those of tsarist Russia.
c. Jonathan Kalmakoff, with permission

They prospered there too, once again Russian imperial expansion caught up with them. The tsars' control over the Caucasus was consolidated in the late 19th century, and included the introduction of compulsory military service. The Doukhobors' pacifism was unyielding, and persecution became a fact of life for the sect.

No one who writes about the Doukhobors can pass by the seminal event that precipitated their migration from the old to the new world. On 29 June 1895, St. Peter's Day, about 7,000 Doukhobors gathered around huge bonfires in three locations in the Caucasus on the threshold of their new leader, Peter V. "the Lordly" Verigin. To the flames they committed everything from their villages that could even remotely be considered a weapon. They sang their mournful hymns as the fires raged, confirming their commitment to pacifism and to the tenet of their faith that is usually written as "the welfare of the world is not worth the life of a single child."[52]

Needless to say, the Burning of the Arms did little to endear the Doukhobors to the Russian authorities, and persecution intensified. This time, however, their suffering came to the attention of the outside world. Count Leo Tolstoy (Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoi, 1828-1910), the Russian novelist and social reformer for whom

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52. See especially Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto: 1977).

On board the S.S. Lake Huron in 1899. The Doukhobor women kept themselves busy on the long voyage by scrubbing the vessel from stem to stern. The medical officer at Halifax asserted that it was the cleanest vessel ever to enter the port.
National Archives of Canada C5208

the TOLSTOI School District No. 4730 (1927-60) just north of Veregin was named, took an interest in their plight, as did the Quakers in England and other countries. With their assistance the Doukhobors managed to secure permission to leave Russia.

Texas, Turkestan, Manchuria, Hawaii, Brazil, Syria, Egypt and Central America were all considered as possible relocation sites. An abortive attempt was made to settle some of them on the island of Cyprus early in 1898. Finally a deal was struck with Canadian authorities and about 7,500 Doukhobors[53] migrated to Saskatchewan in 1898-99 — twenty-five years after the arrival of the first large Mennonite group in the west, and just ahead of the first major influx of Ukrainians. They settled in four large blocks reserved for them by the Canadian government:

- the South Colony extending from south of Kamsack to the northwest almost to Canora (the main settlement),
- the Good Spirit Annex to the north and northwest of Good Spirit Lake, including what is now the village of Buchanan,

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53. About 200 more arrived in 1904-05, and more than 600 others escaped Russia in the period immediately before World War I. See the ship passenger lists on Jonathan Kalmakoff's web site, www.cableregina.com/users/doukhobor.genealogy.

- the North Colony stretching northward from Pelly and Arran, and
- the Saskatchewan Colony in the area between Langham and Blaine Lake.

While all the land in the first three blocks was reserved for the Doukhobors, only alternate sections were set aside for them in the Saskatchewan Colony.

In remarkably short order, and despite enormous difficulties, more than 60 immaculate villages dotted the four reserves. When the Russian government finally relented and allowed their spiritual and temporal leader, the charismatic Peter V. Verigin (1859-1924) to join them in 1902, a bright future seemed assured. Verigin reorganized the community, and launched several business ventures including grain elevators, brick plants, etc. Under his inspired leadership the Doukhobors built what was arguably the largest and most successful Utopian community in the history of the planet.

But the promise and prosperity were not to last, and some of the problems were internal. By 1905, the sect was divided into three distinct groups:

- The Community Doukhobors were those who adhered to the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (CCUB), the sect's official name. They clung to the communal lifestyle and the Verigin line of leadership, and were strongly resistant to any form of assimilation.

- The Independent Doukhobors were a significant group (perhaps a quarter) who abandoned the community, much as the Prairieleit Hutterites had done. They rejected the rigid leadership protocols, but most simply wished to avail themselves of the virtually free homesteads available for anyone willing to work for them.

- Finally, there was a small group, never more than 5% at the most, who have received a disproportionate amount of attention over the years, the Sons of Freedom. The Sons (Svobodniki meaning "free people") began as a radical movement to reinvigorate the truth, to restore traditional Doukhobor values. But their protests against the government and their brethren degenerated into violence, arson, public nudity, and so on. While most of the Sons of Freedom eventually left Saskatchewan, deciding that their future lay

in British Columbia, their activities sullied all Doukhobors and made it only too easy for politicians and the public to tar them all with the same brush.

More serious than the sect's internal problems, however, were the changes in their relationship with the authorities. The Doukhobors' original deal with the Canadian government through Interior minister Clifford Sifton was patterned on the *Privilegium* of the Mennonites. In addition to exemption from military service and religious freedom, they were exempted from certain provisions of the *Homestead Act.* Most significantly, they were allowed – like the Mennonites – to fulfill their homestead obligations while living in communal villages.

In 1905, Sifton resigned and was succeeded by Frank Oliver of Edmonton who once described eastern Europeans as " . . . a servile, shiftless people . . . the scum of other lands."[54] Oliver wasted little time in finding ways to ignore the commitments of his predecessor, and introduced a new regime dedicated to the assimilation of all immigrants. Pressures were brought to bear that Verigin and most of his followers found intolerable. Although by then the 8,700 Doukhobors in their 60+ villages had broken almost 50,000 acres under cultivation, Oliver cut the community's land allocation to a small fraction of what they had been promised. Still, the straw that broke the camel's back seems to have been the requirement to swear an oath of allegiance to King Edward VII prior to receiving homestead title.

Peter "the Lordly" Verigin (at left) addressing community Doukhobors before their departure for British Columbia in 1913. Note the traditional bread, salt and water on the table in front of Verigin.
SAB RB2101

54. As quoted in Berton, op.cit., p.54.

The matter of swearing oaths was not only of religious significance to the Doukhobors. In Russia, the imposition of an oath of allegiance had been closely associated with the induction of Doukhobor youth into the tsarist armies. How could the Doukhobors be sure that the cycle was not repeating itself in Canada? In response to these and other pressures, more than two thirds of them moved to British Columbia (and later a few to Alberta[55]), and by 1917 almost all of the rent communal villages they had created in Saskatchewan were deserted or occupied by non-Doukhobors – mostly Ukrainians.

Since matters educational played such a large part in the story of other groups from Ukraine who came to Saskatchewan, the Doukhobor position on public schooling is worthy of note here as well. Schools were essentially unknown among the Doukhobors while they still lived in Russia – children learned what they needed to know from their parents and through their religious practices. Their traditional reliance on the oral Book of Life rather than the written word meant that literacy held no attraction for them.

While Peter V. Verigin initially opposed public schools, he came around to the view that life in Canada required basic literacy, and the Quakers were operating tent schools in Doukhobor communities virtually before the villagers had finished erecting their new homes.

The Independent Doukhobors, like the progressive Mennonites, readily accepted public schooling. Community Doukhobors were more reluctant, even hostile, but they were generally participating in public school districts well before the provincial government began to enforce them during World War I. The rise of the Sons of Freedom movement led to the burning of a dozen Saskatchewan schools as symbols of godlessness, but that protest abated fairly quickly (although it raged for another half a century in British Columbia). The Doukhobors who remained in this province became enthusiastic supporters of the schools; indeed, several of the board members of both the Kamsack and Blaine Lake school divisions in recent decades have been of Doukhobor descent, as have many Saskatchewan teachers and several directors of education.

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55. A Doukhobor settlement near Lundbeck in the Crowsnest Pass area was established by Peter V. Verigin himself. In 1926, the Lord's Settlement was set up near Shouldice, southeast of Calgary (see box, p. 149).

Perhaps the best known of the early photographs of the Doukhobors showed a large group of Doukhobor women hitched to a plow being guided by a man. It received wide publicity and was usually cited as an example of how the strange newcomers mistreated the distaff side. The truth, of course, is considerably different.

During their early years in Canada, the Doukhobors badly needed cash to finish building their communities, to acquire modern farm implements and draft animals, to buy the necessities of life that they could not grow, and so on. This meant that during the spring, summer and fall, the Doukhobor men routinely hired themselves out to work for cash wages. This could mean going to work on neighbouring farms, but more often involved toiling on railway construction crews. Consequently, if any progress was to be made on proving up the Doukhobor homestead, the work of necessity fell to the women, the older men and the children.

Peter V. Verigin continued to hire out large work crews over the years, using the proceeds to finance the Community's many commercial and industrial enterprises.

The famous "women on the plow" scene was re-enacted in 1949 for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the arrival of the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan.
SAB RA25179, 25180

The Doukhobor Villages

Most of the names given to their villages by the Doukhobors sprang from their religion. A good example was VERA, from the Russian for "faith", just northeast of where the village of Arran developed a dozen years later. Vera is also one of the very few village names where unanimity exists on its proper spelling!

Transliteration, the representation of words from one language in the alphabet of another, was at best a primitive science a century ago, and standardized systems that are used today did not exist. This was most particularly true of east European languages which use the Cyrillic alphabet, and the government officials who were responsible for the surveys of the Doukhobor settlements recognized that they were in over their heads. They did their best to record the names of individuals and villages as they heard them, but there are often wild variations in the historical documentation.

Carl J. Tracie has conducted the most thorough examination of the Doukhobor villages in *"Toil and Peaceful Life": Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan 1899-1918*. In his book, Tracie recognizes the inadequacies of the historical spellings, but incomprehensibly chooses to use what he considers the "most common" of them.[56] V. O. Buyniak, professor emeritus of Slavic languages at the University of Saskatchewan, has provided a linguistically more sound treatment of the names, although there are several gaps and inconsistencies in his interpretation.[57] Far more sound is the recent work of Jonathan Kalmakoff, based on the Library of Congress transliteration system, which forms the basis of the following lists.[58]

The primary village name (in capitals) is the version that Kalmakoff considers to best represent the name that the Doukhobors who lived there most often used in referring to their communities. But the Doukhobors also used variants, and

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[56]. This presents huge difficulties, however, because Tracie uses as many as five different spellings for a single village name. He also based his usage on the early Doukhobor surveys (1899, 1902), even though the officials who prepared those documents admitted their shortcomings.

[57]. V. O. Buyniak, "Place Names of the Early Doukhobor Settlements in Saskatchewan," in *Slavs in Canada* vol. III (1970).

[58]. See www.cableregina.com/users/doukhobor.genealogy.

some of these are shown in the second column.[59] The table also includes the legal land description for each village as recorded in Appendix A to Tracie's book. At the right in the title line for each village, the letters M and C may appear. They indicate that there are known to have been villages of that or similar name in either the **M**olochnaya settlement in Ukraine, or in the **C**aucasus, or both.

The probable meaning of each village's name, based on Kalmakoff's work,[60] is included, as are notes on village moves, etc. While almost all the villages were created in 1899, several of them moved lock, stock and barrel to new locations, including a couple that turned out to have been mistakenly built outside the reserves established for the Doukhobors.

The lifespan of the villages varied considerably. Some disappeared during the early years, and a few converted from communal to independent ownership. Many emptied completely in the 1908-13 period after Peter Verigin purchased land in southern British Columbia, but a few also continued to exist into the 1920s. Carl Tracie's *"Toil and Peaceful Life"* needs to be consulted for a detailed account of these many changes.

Doukhobors leaving Yorkton for BC in 1909.
SAB RA21743

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59. "Many Doukhobor village names have two forms: a formal name (e.g., Spaskoe, Goreloe) and an informal, familiar name (e.g. Spasovka, Gorelovka). Both forms are correct and were used interchangeably." Jonathan Kalmakoff, private communication with the author.

60. Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, "Glossary of Doukhobor Place Names", unpublished paper dated 21 February 2000. A revised edition of the paper appears on the web site noted in fn. 58. It is worthy of note that Kalmakoff considers his "Glossary" a draft and hopes that further research will improve his derivations.

- BESEDNOE   Beseduka, Bisednoe   NW17-31-3-W2
"Spiritual conversation".

Blagodarnoe in 1900
SAB RB2131

- BLAGODARNOE   Blagodarnovka   SW30-29-1-W2
"Thanksgiving".

- BLAGOVESHCHENIE Blagoveshenka   NW18-31-2-W2
"Good news", celebrating the Annunciation (7 April) when the angel Gabriel informed the Virgin Mary that she was to be the mother of Christ.

- EFREMOVO   Efremovka   NW6-29-32-W1 M.C
A derivative of the Christian name Efrem, probably honouring St. Ephrem (Ephraim) the Syrian, a 5th century theologian whose hymns of repentance are still sung during Doukhobor fasts.

- KAMENKA   Kamenoe, Old Kaminka   SE21-27-31-W1
"Stony place". This village relocated to the North Colony in 1905 (see Novo Kamenka in the North Colony, and box p. 145).

- KAPUSTINO   Kapustina   NW36-31-2-W2
Savely Kapustin (1743-1820) was the leader of the Doukhobors at the Milky Waters settlement in the early 19th century. This village was located at NW25-29-1-W2, where it was known as SLAVIANKA (see Saskatchewan Colony), until 1905.

- LUBOVNOE   NE13-29-33-W1
"Love". Moved from its original site at SE23-29-1-W2 in 1906.

- **NADEZHDA**   Najersda   NW24-31-1-W2

  "Hope".

- **NOVOE**   NW13-31-3-W2

  "New". Also known as GOLUBOVO, honouring the Golubov family, prominent among the residents of the village.

- **OTRADNOE**   Poterpevshie   NE27-31-1-W2

  "Joyful, or delightful". The village had been called POTERPEVSHIE, meaning "victims". When Peter V. Verigin arrived in Canada in 1902, its name was changed to reflect his people's joy at having him once more among them. Otradnoe was Verigin's headquarters until the village of Veregin developed after the arrival of the Canadian Northern Railway in 1905.

Otradnoe in 1907(?) with Peter V. Verigin's original home in the distance.
It was later burned by the Sons of Freedom, and replaced by the structure that is now the Doukhobor Museum at Veregin.
SAB R82124

- **PETROVO**   Petrovka   NW21-28-32-W1

  "Peter's". This village's name has the double meaning of celebrating St. Peter's Day, 29 June, the day of the Burning of the Arms in 1895, and of honouring Peter V. Verigin, the leader of the sect. Originally located at SW27-27-32-W1, the village moved to its new site about 1903.

- **POKROVKA**   New Pakrofka   NE28-30-1-W2   C

  "Protection". The name may be a reference to the ecclesiastical holiday of the Intercession of the Virgin Mary, 14 October.

  This was a new village formed by Independent Doukhobors in 1907. The Community members of the original Pokrovka, at NE34-30-1-W2, moved to Spaskoe.

- **RODIONOVKA**   Rodionovo, Riduonovo   SE9-30-2-W2   M, C
  Rodion is a Doukhobor surname, and there were villages called
  Rodionovka in both the Milky Waters settlement and the Caucasus. It is
  possible the name referred to an early Doukhobor leader, or to St.
  Rodion (Herodian), a kinsman of the apostle Paul. The village was orig-
  inally located at 5-29-31-W1 but moved to the new site in 1905.

- **SLAVNOE**   Slavianka   NE4-32-2-W2   C
  "Glorious".

- **SMIRENIE**   Smirenovka, Smirennie   SE35-31-1-W2
  "Humility, or reconciliation".

- **SOVETNOE**   Savetovka, Savetnoe   NW35-30-2-W2
  "To counsel or advise" in the spiritual sense.

- **SPASKOE**   Spasovka   NE25-30-1-W2   M, C
  "Salvation", associated with the feast of the Transfiguration, 19 August.

- **TAMBOVKA**   Tomboscoe, Tambovsky   E3-29-31-W1   M, C
  The tsarist province of Tambov was southeast of Moscow and was one of
  the earliest centres of Doukhobor activity.

- **TERPENIE**   NW36-29-2-W2   M, C
  "Patience". Originally located at NE11-27-32-W1, the village moved to
  the new site in 1905.

- **TRUDOLUBIVOE**   Troodoloobevoe   NE3-29-31-W1
  "Love of toil".

- **TRUZHDENIE**   Trusdennie   SE5-29-32-W1
  "Toiling".

- **UBEZHDENIE**   Obezhdennie   NE7-30-32-W1
  "Conviction".

- **VEREGIN**   Verigin   SE9-30-1-W2
  When the Canadian Northern Railway arrived in the district in 1905,
  they chose to honour Peter Vasilevich Verigin (1859-1924), the spiritual
  and temporal leader of the Doukhobors, by naming their new siding
  after him. Somehow the railway got the spelling wrong – with an "e" in
  the middle – and the village still spells it that way today. The post office,
  however, is **VEREGIN**, which matches the spelling used by Verigin's
  descendants. Note that Peter "the Lordly" Verigin had originally made
  the village of Otradnoe his headquarters, but he soon moved to the new

townsite which became the centre for the Doukhobor's agricultural, commercial and industrial operations. The magnificent Doukhobor Museum is now housed in Verigin's mansion.

Veregin was not a "Doukhobor village" in the sense that the other communities in this list were, they being built on either side of a single street and housing 100-150 people. The village of Veregin was a creature of the railway and, like thousands of other such places on the prairies, consisted of a row of elevators along the track, plus a few rectangular blocks of businesses and homes. While the Doukhobor presence has been highly significant, for most of its history the majority of the village of Veregin's population have been non-Doukhobor.

- VERNOE   Verovka   SW33-29-1-W2
  "Faithful".

Voskresenie in 1900
SAB RB2110

- VOSKRESENIE   Voskresenovka   NW12-29-32-W1
  "Resurrection", celebrating the rising of Christ after his crucifixion and burial. Originally located at NE2-29-32-W1, the village moved to the new site about 1905.

The Vosnesenie prayer home as it looked in 1974.
SAB RA12567

- VOSNESENIE   Voznyshanie   NE21-28-31-W1
  "Ascension Day", 40 days after Easter, celebrating the bodily passing of
  Christ from earth to heaven.

Three other village names are known to have existed in association with the
South Colony in the 1901-05 period, but their locations are not known.
VASILYEVKA is derived from the Christian name Vasily (Basil) and may have
related to a Russian saint, or to one of the founders of the village.
VOZVISHENIE is a descriptive name meaning "on the heights". NIKOLAYEVKA
is also a derivative, this time of the name Nikolai, but probably honours
St. Nicholas, the saint we all know today as Santa Claus. Doukhobors from
Cyprus are known to have populated a village by this name. Research into
the precise locations of these villages and what became of them is continu-
ing. Note that only Nikolayevka is mentioned in Tracie's book.

The South Colony and the Good Spirit Annex

based on maps in Carl J. Tracie, "Toil and Peaceful Life": Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan (Canadian Plains Research Centre, Regina: 1996), as adapted by Jonathan Kalmakoff, with permission.

Good Spirit Annex

- **BLAGOSKLONOE**   SE9-30-5-W2
  "Benevolent or favourable".

- **GORELOE**   Gorelovka, Old Gorilloe   NE17-30-5-W2   M, C
  "Burnt or burnt out".[61] Goreloe was the name of what was probably the
  very first Doukhobor village in the 1790s in Tambov province, Russia,
  southeast of Moscow. It may have been destroyed by fire at some stage,

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61. Note that several sources mistranslate this name as "woe, or grief".

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perhaps during a Tatar raid. Woodcock and Avakumovic, op.cit., refer to it as "the Doukhobor Rome". There were also villages named Goreloe in the Milky Waters settlement and the Caucasus.

- **KALMAKOVO**   SE30-30-5-W2

    The Kalmykov family led the Doukhobors during the 19th century: Vasily Kalmykov (1792-1832), Ilarion (1816-41), Peter (1836-64), and Lukeria (1841-86). It was the latter who took Peter V. Verigin under her wing and tutored him to succeed her. This village was known as NOVO SPASKOE until 1903.

- **KIRILOVO**   Kirilovka, Kyrillovo   NW7-32-6-W2   M, C

    From the Christian name Kirill. A possible source is St. Cyril (Constantin, 827-69), the apostle of the south Slavs. On the other hand, Kirill Kolesnikov was the leader of the first contingent of Doukhobors to settle at Milky Waters in 1802, and Kirill Konkin was a Doukhobor martyr who died from flogging rather than swear allegiance to the tsar in the period following the Burning of Arms in 1895.

- **MOISEYEVO**   Moiseyovo   NE21-31-6-W2

    "Of Moses". This village was briefly located at 33-33-4-W2, a site which was outside the Doukhobor Reserve. The name of this village was later changed to KHRISTIANOVKA, "Christian place".

- **NOVO GORELOE**   New Goriloe   NW4-32-6-W2   M, C

    See Goreloe above.

Khristianovka (Moiseyevo) south of Buchanan in 1907(?)
SAB RB2113

- NOVO TROITSKOE

  New "of the Trinity". This village was originally located at 7-33-6-W2, just out of the Doukhobor Reserve to the north. It was first called RAZBEGALOVO, from *razbegat'sia* meaning "running off in all directions". It appears that the original name was fairly short lived and it was soon known as TROITSKOE. When it was relocated to a new site within the Annex (probably in 1902), the name was changed to Novo Troitskoe.

- UTESHENIE   Ootishennie   SW31-30-5-W2

  "Consolation, solace".

A Doukhobour family newly arrived at Yorkton in 1899.
SAB RA4356

- ARCHANGELSKOE   NW16-35-31-W1

  After the city of Archangel, the place of Verigin's exile (1897-1902) in north Russia. This village, along with Gromovoe and Perekhodnoe, was established after 1905 by community Doukhobors relocating from the Saskatchewan Colony so as to be closer to Peter V. Verigin.

- BOGOMDANNOE   Boghumdannoe   SE16-35-30-W1

  "God given". This village was originally established as BOGDANOVKA, a derivative of the Christian name, Bogdan, at a site just outside the Doukhobor Reserve; the move to the site within the reserve was complete by 1901. Numbers of Doukhobors lived at a village called Bogdanovka in the tsarist Ekaterinoslav province (now southeastern Ukraine) before they moved to the Milky Waters settlement, taking the name with them.

- GROMOVOE   SW33-34-31-W1

  "Thunder". This village name marks one of the few instances where the Doukhobors acknowledged their surroundings – Gromovoe was located near Thunder Hill. See also the note under Archangelskoe.

- KHELBODARNOE   Hlebodarnoe   SE13-34-31-W1

  "Gifted with bread".

- LEBEDEVO   Libedevo   NE20-33-31-W1

  It is possible this village's name honours Matvey Lebedev (1873-1937), the first Doukhobor soldier to obey Peter Verigin's call to refuse military service in Russia in 1895 and who is buried at the Doukhobor cemetery at Nadezhda. Intriguingly, though, it might also be a derivative of *lebed* meaning "swan". The North Colony was often referred to by the name of Swan River since it lay in the river's valley. The village was originally located at NW32-33-31-W1 and known as STRADAEVKA ("to suffer, endure"); it was renamed and moved to its new site by 1905.

- LUBOMIRNOE   Lubomeernoe   NW2-34-31-W1

  "Lovely and peaceful".

- MIKHAILOVO   Mikhailovka, Michaelovo   NW36-34-30-W1

  A derivative of the Christian name Mikhailo, probably to honour St. Michael the Archangel (feast day 4 November), a symbol of the struggle against evil.

- NOVO KAMENKA   New Kaminka   NW23-33-31-W1

  "New stony place". This village relocated from the South Colony in 1905, see Kamenka.

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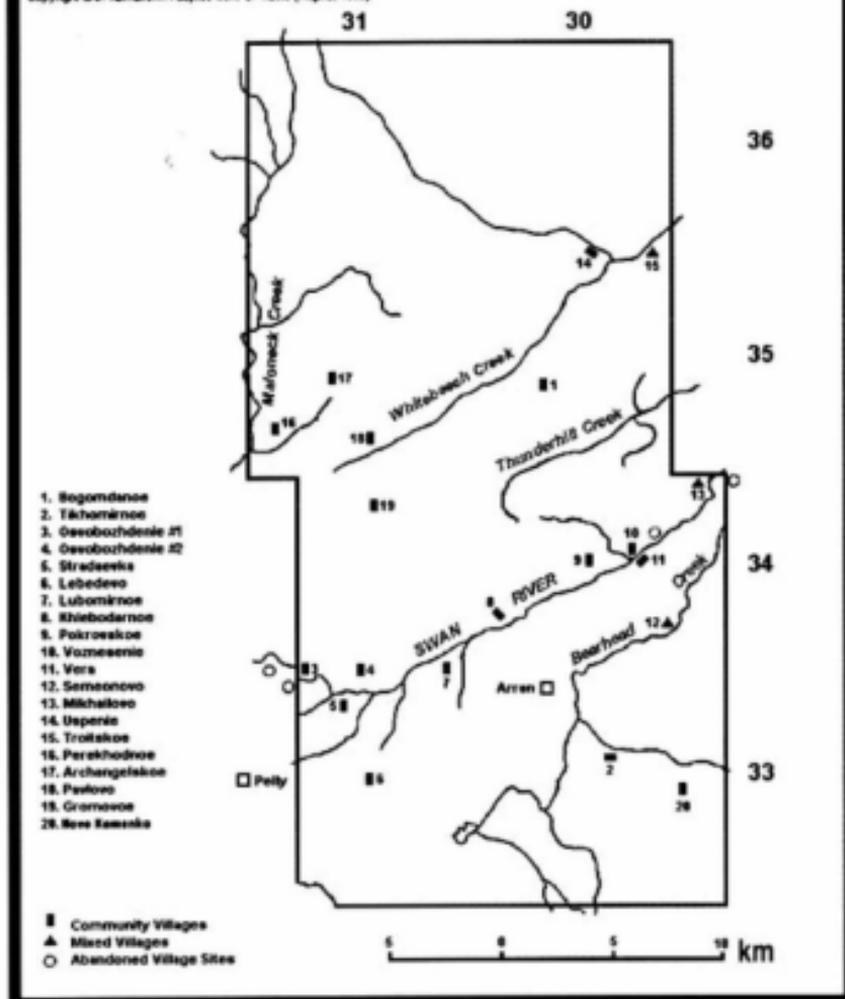
The North Colony

based on maps in Carl J. Tracie, "Toil and Peaceful Life": Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan
(Canadian Plains Research Centre, Regina: 1996), as adapted by Jonathan Kalmakoff, with permission.

- OSVOBOZHDENIE   NE5-34-31-W1

  "Deliverance". This village originally straddled the boundary of the
  Doukhobor Reserve at NW6-34-31-W1. It moved to its new site in 1907
  or 1908.

- PAVLOVO   Pavlovka   NE3-35-31-W1

  "Pavel's", probably honouring the biblical St. Paul.

- PEREKHODNOE   Perehodnoe   SE7-35-31-W1

  "Temporary, transitional". See the note under Archangelskoe.

- POKROVSKOE   Pocrovskoe   NW21-34-30-W1   C

  "Protection". This name may be a reference to the ecclesiastical holiday of the Intercession of the Virgin Mary, 14 October.

- SEMEONOVO   Simeonovo   SE14-33-30-W1

  "Semeon's", probably honouring St. Simon Peter.

- TIKHOMIRNOE   Teakomeernoe   SE28-33-30-W1

  "Quiet and peaceful", connected with the vesper hymn to Jesus. This village was originally called TIKHOMIROVKA (same meaning) at SE1-34-W1. This location was just outside the western boundary of the Doukhobor Reserve and the village was moved in 1900.

- TROITSKOE   Troitzkoe   SW1-36-30-W1   M, C

  "Of the Trinity" in the biblical sense.

- USPENIE   Oospennie   SW3-36-30-W1

  Feast of the Assumption, 28 August, celebrating the bodily passing of the Virgin Mary from earth to heaven after her death.

- VERA   NE24-34-30-W1

  "Faith".

- VOSNESENIE   Vosnesennie   NW22-34-30-W1

  "Ascension Day", 40 days after Easter, celebrating the bodily passing of Christ from earth to heaven.

FEDORUK No. 2342 was established southwest of Veregin in 1909 and named for its senior trustee, Nicoli Fedoruk. Fedoruk is identified as a Doukhobor in William Lloyd, A Cleric's Tales (Montréal: 1964), p.62. Rev. Lloyd, who leaves no doubt as to his bigotry in his slender volume of reminiscences, taught at the Fedoruk school in the summer of 1914. Fedoruk, however, is not a Doukhobor surname, and Nicoli was probably Ukrainian.

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Blaine
Lakes

☐ Blaine Lake

43

Redberry
Lake

42

S A S K A T C H E W A N   R I V E R

1. Kirilovka
2. Bogdanovka
3. Pokrovka
4. Tambovka
5. Petrovka
6. Terpeniie
7. Uspeniie
8. Troitskoe
9. Large Gorelovka
10. Small Gorelovka
11. Poziraevka
12. Slavianka
13. Spasovka

41

40

39   NORTH

☐ Langham

0   5   10

Kms

38

10   9   8   7   6   5

■ Community Village
● Mixed Village
● Other Villages

The Saskatchewan Colony

based on maps in Carl J. Tracie, "Toil and Peaceful Life": Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan (Canadian Plains Research Centre, Regina, 1996), as adapted by Jonathan Kalmakoff, with permission.

Saskatchewan Colony

- BOGDANOVKA   Bodanofka   NW20-39-8-W3   M, C
  A derivative of the Christian name Bogdan (see p. 139).

- GORELOVKA   Large Horelofka   SW35-44-8-W3   M, C
                      Small Horelofka   NW31-44-7-W3
  "Burnt, burnt out". See Goreloe, Good Spirit Annex. Small Gorelovka
  had disappeared by 1908.

- KIRILOVKA   Karilowa   NW14-39-8-W3   M, C

  From the Christian name Kirill. Possible sources include St. Cyrill. On the other hand, Kirill Kolesnikov was the leader of the first contingent of Doukhobors to settle at Milky Waters in 1802, while Kirill Konkin was a Doukhobor martyr who died from flogging rather than swear allegiance to the tsar in the period following the burning of the arms in 1895.

Petrovka in 1904
SAB RB2115

- PETROVKA   Petrofka   NW30-42-6-W3

  "Peter's". This village's name has the double meaning of celebrating St. Peter's Day, 29 June, the day of the burning of the arms in 1895, and of honouring Peter V. Verigin, the leader of the sect. The PETROFKA rural post office operated in the village or nearby, 1907-40, and the hamlet persisted into the 1970s. Beyond 1917, however, its population was largely non-Doukhobor. In 1962 the **PETROFKA** bridge replaced a ferry that had operated near the site of the original Doukhobor village since 1901.

- POKROVKA   Pokrofka   SW4-39-9-W3   C

  "Protection". The name is probably a reference to the ecclesiastical holiday of the Intercession of the Virgin Mary, 14 October. This village was adjacent to the Henrietta station on the Dominion Telegraph line.

- POZIRAEVKA   Pasariofka, Pisaryovka   SW27-44-6-W3

  From the spiritual connotation of the verb *pozirit'* meaning "to watch, or keep vigil".

- **SLAVIANKA**   Slavyanka   NE17-44-5-W3   C

  "Glory to God" honouring Peter V. Verigin's birthplace in Elizavetpol' province, now Azerbaijan. The CAMBERLEY rural post office (1910-21) operated at Slavianka until 1916, by which time the village was virtually empty as its independent residents took up homesteads nearby. Emily Hill, an Englishwoman, served as the first postmaster and chose the name after her home, the residential town of Camberley, Surrey, south-west of London, England. Just how Miss Hill came to be the only non-Doukhobor living in a Doukhobor village is something of a mystery.

- **SPASOVKA**   Spasofka   14-45-5-W3   C

  "Salvation", associated with the feast of the Transfiguration, 19 August.

- **TAMBOVKA**   Tonbofka   SE2-40-9-W3   M, C

  The Tsarist province of Tambov was southeast of Moscow and was one of the earliest centres of Doukhobor activity. This village had disappeared by 1907, most of the residents having moved to the North Colony to be closer to Peter V. Verigin (see Archangelskoe).

- **TERPENIE**   Terpennie   SW22-43-6-W3   M, C

  "Patience".

- **TROITSKOE**   Troitzkaja   SW2-44-7-W3   M, C

  "Of the Trinity".

- **USPENIE**   Oospennie   SE1-44-6-W3

  Feast of the Assumption, 28 August, celebrating the bodily passing of the Virgin Mary from earth to heaven after her death.

As can be seen in the lists above, only about a third of the Saskatchewan Doukhobor village names replicated those of their homes in the "old country", and nine of them are associated with their sojourn in Ukraine. In fact, all nine of the villages in the Milky Waters (Molochnaya) settlement had their names used at least once in Saskatchewan.

All but a handful of the new names invented by the Doukhobors are associated with their faith or history. Among the exceptions, Perekhodnoe ("temporary") in the North Colony seems to reflect a sense that the village was only a transitional place of residence for its citizens. Kamenka ("stony") looks to be a description of its locale in the South Colony. But only Gromovoe ("thunder") in the North Colony pays clear tribute to its surroundings, situated as it was near Thunder Hill.

The village of Kamenka was located near what is called STONY CREEK today, but it is not entirely clear whether the village was named for the creek, or vice versa.

There is another intriguing possibility. Stony Creek empties into the Assiniboine River which received its name in honour of the Nakota (Sioux) Nation, once the most populous of the plains Indian Nations but so ravaged by smallpox and intertribal warfare in the 19th century that today there are only four Nakota bands in Saskatchewan: Carry the Kettle south of Sintaluta, Ocean Man and Pheasant Rump at the west end of Moose Mountain, and Mosquito Grizzly Bears Head south of the Battlefords.

While they call themselves Nakota, they generally appear in the historical record as ASSINIBOINE, derived from the Saulteaux phrase ahsinipwān meaning "those who cook with heated stones". Mealtime in a Nakota camp frequently involved the filling of a buffalo skin sack with water, meat and vegetables, and cooking them by adding hot stones from the campfire ring – not a hugely different process from the making of a stew today.

The Cree name for the Nakota is asiniwipwāt, literally "stoney Sioux" which accounts for the other name frequently applied to them, the Stoneys. Indeed, the Nakota who live near Calgary are invariably referred to by that name. It is possible that the name of Stony Creek had little or nothing to do with the number of rocks in the area, but rather was a translation of the name of the Assiniboine River.

The Doukhobors were not quite finished with Saskatchewan when most of them left for British Columbia in the years prior to World War I. In 1918, Peter V. Verigin purchased 11,362 acres that had been surrendered by the Fishing Lake First Nation southeast of Wadena, and 250 Doukhobors moved back from Grand Forks, British Columbia, to what became known as the KYLEMORE COLONY. It was designed to give the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, by then largely based in British Columbia, self-sufficiency in wheat and flour. The colony flourished, but suffered from a loss of leadership when Verigin was killed in a train bombing incident at Grand Forks in 1924. Certain financial difficulties were never overcome, and the creditors (National Trust) foreclosed on the CCUB in 1938. Most of the colonists went back to the Grand Forks area, but several stayed on and became independent farmers.

The colony built and operated what later became the Pioneer elevator at Kylemore, its distinctive shape reminiscent of the one that Verigin had built at the siding named in his honour (which still stands and has recently become part of the Doukhobor Museum). The Kylemore colony's two major barns were located at NW4 and NE7-34-12-W2, and the Doukhobor GOD'S BLESSING cemetery was established in 1920 on the outskirts of the hamlet of Kylemore.

There are a few other Doukhobor connections among our place names. The SOPOFF rural post office operated north of Arran, 1913-39, originally by Samuel Sopoff, a Doukhobor settler. DERNIC was a CN siding (PO 1929-49) just west of Buchanan that was named for **Nic**holas **Der**gousoff, an independent Doukhobor who homesteaded two miles south of the siding.

RADOUGA was a short lived (1915-18) rural post office southeast of Krydor. A Doukhobor named Nickolai Postnikoff moved to the area and set up a store and post office. Nick was known as *Khromoy* (the lame one) because he had a crude wooden leg and used crutches. His brother Paul was literate and was receiving a Russian journal named *Radouga* ("rainbow") at the time. He suggested the name for the creek which makes a large arc when viewed on a map or from the air and had the shape of a rainbow. There was a flour mill known as the Radouga Creek mill built as a joint enterprise by all the Doukhobor villages in 1904-05. The women did all the hard labour of digging the

> There remains a good deal of bitterness among the Doukhobors over the circumstances surrounding the 1938 foreclosure, which liquidated most of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood's many properties in British Columbia and Saskatchewan. Many millions of dollars of property were taken from the Doukhobors to cover what amounted to a debt of not much more than $300,000. While other circumstances played a part (partly mismanagement on the part of Peter V. Verigin's heirs), it certainly appears that a modestly charitable provincial or federal government could have helped the community salvage the situation. When coupled with Interior minister Frank Oliver's virtual confiscation of millions of dollars worth of Doukhobor lands in Saskatchewan in the opening decade of the 20th century, the foreclosure of 1938 certainly added to a sad legacy.

*Nicholas' cousin,
Jacob S. Dergousoff, at the
age of 80 in 1974*
SAB RA12924

two mile channel to bring the water to the water wheel. It was in use for four to six years and abandoned when commercial mills opened up at Radisson and Blaine Lake.

Not far from Radouga was the TRINITY School District No. 2404 which served its district from 1909 into the 1950s. Its name was a translation of that of the nearby Doukhobor village of Troitskoe.

Despite the richness and variety of the Doukhobor names which once dotted the Kamsack, Pelly, Canora and Blaine Lake regions, only two survive today. The village of **VEREGIN** just west of Kamsack serves to perpetuate the most important family name in Doukhoborism, and the **PETROFKA** bridge on the North Saskatchewan River south of Blaine Lake reminds passersby of the nearby site of one of the first Doukhobor villages.

There is a final footnote to Saskatchewan place names of Russian/Ukrainian origin, and it involves a little known group called the Stundists. They were an offshoot of the Pietists who were such an important influence on German Lutheranism from the 17th through the 19th centuries, emphasizing the need for a

revitalized evangelical Christianity as opposed to formalism and intellectualism. They also stressed personal religious experiences, bible study and informal devotional meetings. Indeed, the name Stundism is from the Russian *shtunda + izm*, but the root descends from the Old German *stunde* meaning "lesson", or "hour of the lesson".

About 1860, small groups of Ukrainians and Russians (influenced by their evangelical German-speaking neighbours) began to meet together and became known as Stundists. They shared the pacifism of the Doukhobors, although they differed from them in stressing the importance of the written scriptures. The Stundists were also linked with the Tolstoyans; indeed it was with the help of the great novelist that some of their members were permitted to come to Saskatchewan in 1899. They settled alongside the Doukhobors south of Kamsack in the area between the Bunesville rural post office and Wroxton. Here they helped to establish the CHARKOFF School District No. 1738 in 1907, and named it after their home province.

Kharkiv is the major city of east Ukraine and the capital city of the oblast of the same name; the Russian version is Kharkov, and the German is Charkoff. The city and its river probably trace their names back to a person of ancient Greek background named Kharko. The settlers from Saskatchewan's Charkoff district came from the villages of Pavlovo, Rechki and Sumy in Kharkiv oblast.[62]

> There were also Stundists among the Ukrainian and Russian Baptists who settled in the area south of Blaine Lake, many of them having come from the village of Borodenka northwest of the Ukrainian capital city, Kyiv. A Russian Baptist (Stundist) church still stands as a heritage property east of Canda at SW19-39-14-W3, and there is a Stundist cemetery at SE31-7-25-W2 north of Viceroy. According to Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats (Toronto: 1947), there were also Stundists in the Wakaw area, and she gives their total numbers in Canada in the 1940s as 10,000. It is impossible to verify since the Stundists, both in North America and in Russia/Soviet Union, seem to have assimilated rather quickly into the Baptist churches and other evangelical groups.

While I have met and gotten to know a number of persons of Doukhobor descent here in Saskatchewan, my most memorable experience with them was in Alberta. As a boy, I lived for three years at Arrowwood, about an hour's drive southeast of Calgary and eight miles west of the hamlet of Shouldice, site of GOSPODNIE POSELENIE, "the Lord's Settlement". One of my school chums was a Doukhobor lad named Eddie Wishlow. On at least two occasions I went to Shouldice to visit Queen Anastasia, as she was known locally. I remember the large home with its ornate veranda where she lived with her faithful companion, a niece of Peter Verigin's, the two of them being all that remained of what had been a 165 member Doukhobor village. I also remember the elderly lady's passion for sunflower seeds in the shell, which she consumed in large quantities even though she had (as I recall) not a tooth in her head.

Anastasia Holuboff (1885-1965) had been Peter V. Verigin's constant companion during the last 20 years of his life. After his death in 1924 she lobbied hard to become the new leader. Even though she had significant support, particularly among the Doukhobor leadership, the majority opted to summon the dead leader's son, Peter P. Verigin, from the Soviet Union to lead them. Disappointed, Anastasia and a few followers struck out for Alberta on their own. A variety of circumstances (not least of which was the

Anastasia Holuboff
from Koozma Tarasoff,
Pictorial History of the Doukhobors (Saskatoon: 1969),
with permission

Depression) conspired to make her new village at Shouldice less than outstanding a success. After barely 20 years, she and her maid were all that was left.

There are still some Doukhobors in the Mossleigh-Arrowwood-Shouldice district, and perhaps Eddie is among them. However, there is not even a prayer home in the area, so any remnant of their Doukhobor faith is purely personal.[63]

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63. See Friesen and Verigin, *The Community Doukhobors: A People in Transition* (Ottawa: 1996), ch.5.

A letter penned by Peter V. Verigin himself on 31 July 1922.
Addressed to Mikola Plotnikoff "from Petiushka", it begins with the salutation
"Praise God". The message has to do with Doukhobor workers.

Epilogue

Ukrainians are hugely important to the fabric of Saskatchewan today. One need look no further than the career of our recently retired premier, Roy Romanow, for evidence of that. Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox religious and cultural groups are active across the province, and never has more attention been paid to the historical legacy of the people of the steppes. Reversing the trends of a century ago, many Ukrainians are "de-anglicizing" their surnames, and bestowing first names on their children that reflect their heritage.

It has been fascinating to witness the interaction between Ukrainian Canadians and their ancestral home since the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Centuries of neglect and outright oppression by tsarist and communist governments have taken their toll. Many Ukrainians now speak Russian more often than their mother tongue, and Ukrainian speakers are in a decided minority in several oblasts in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. In a circumstance eerily reminiscent of North America, Ukrainian television today is dominated by Russian programs and the Russian language.

In many ways, Canadians and Americans of Ukrainian descent are more attuned to the richness of their heritage than are most of the people who still live there. It is to be hoped that that situation will improve as the devastated Ukrainian economy recovers, and as its fledgling democracy strengthens – both areas to which Saskatchewan's Ukrainian community have made and will make effective contributions.

One of the major factors in maintaining ethnic Ukrainianism in Saskatchewan has been their distinctive faith, grounded in the ornate iconography of the eastern rite Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches. Ethnic Germans, on the other hand, tend to belong to Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Baptist churches that also minister to non-Germans. Two world wars in the past century made ethnic Germanness something to be hidden rather than celebrated. Consequently, the German influence in Saskatchewan has tended to become less visible over time. Nonetheless, German Canadians are Saskatchewan's second largest ethnic group after the Anglo-Saxons, and the overwhelming majority of them came to this province via Ukraine.

The Mennonites are a religious rather than an ethnic group, and more and more non-German names have appeared on their parish rolls in recent years. Like most Canadians, they have become more urbanized over time, and the once distinctive Mennonite villages of the Swift Current and Hague-Osler Reserves are diminishing, and even disappearing entirely. The principle of "non-conformity", of being in but not of the world, has largely fallen by the wayside for most Mennonites, except the Amish in Ontario and some Old Colony Mennonites in western Canada. The German language is now an historical curiosity in most Mennonite homes, as are distinctive forms of dress, and the people once so tied to agricultural pursuits are now found in every walk of Canadian life (except the military).

And yet the deep, simple faith of the world's 600,000+ Mennonites remains an inspiring example for many. Their Anabaptist traditions matter in their personal lives and in their relationships with the wider community – Mennonites on average donate far more to charity than their non-Mennonite neighbours. The Mennonite Central Committee, in which the several Mennonite denominations all participate, has become one of the world's best known and most effective agencies for assisting the less fortunate. Saskatchewan's Mennonites, their faith and lifestyle shaped by more than a century spent on the Ukrainian steppes, contribute mightily to the fabric of our province.

There are perhaps 40,000 Doukhobors in Canada today, more than half of whom belong to what is now known as the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ led by Peter V. Verigin's grandson, John J. Verigin, and based in British Columbia. Saskatchewan's "spirit wrestlers" are descendants of independent Doukhobors who accepted the principle of individual land tenure and took out homesteads. The process of anglicization of their lives was completed long ago, but they remain significant components of the communities of Kamsack and Blaine Lake (there are also Doukhobor prayer homes at Canora and Saskatoon). Some signs of cultural rejuvenation such as that energizing the Ukrainian community are beginning to appear. Still, their overall "presence" in Saskatchewan is reflected by the previously mentioned fact that only two Doukhobor place names, Veregin and Petrofka, have survived into the 21st century.

Only the Hutterites remain as a completely and obviously distinctive group in our society, still living communally and still

speaking German, or rather their distinctive dialect of that language known as Hutterish. And yet their forebears in Huttertal would be astounded at the look of a modern colony. Farm implements costing a quarter of a million dollars each are common, and completely mechanized livestock operations are the norm. Several colonies are now engaged in manufacturing, particularly of farm implements of one kind or another. For all that, the Hutterites remain true – and visibly so – to their Anabaptist tradition.

Whether prominent in the modern Saskatchewan cultural mosaic like the Ukrainians and Hutterites, or less so as are the Black Sea Germans, Mennonites and Doukhobors, all five groups made significant contributions to the development of the province, and to our fascinating names. While the Hutterites – for the time being, at least – remain devoted to rather generic or local names, the other groups have bequeathed names to us that are part of their diverse heritages. And many of those names trace back to the land that sent all of them to the prairies, Ukraine. The steppes have given much to Saskatchewan.

There is one final connection to Ukraine among our names. Israel (1887-1956) and Mayer (1890-1952) Hoffer were born and raised at Kosiv, Galicia, south of Kolomyia in what is now Ivano-Franskivs'ke oblast. Both brothers were apparently educated at the Jewish parish of Sloboda Lesna (Lesnaya Slobodka) north of Kolomyia before attending agricultural school at L'viv, likely the Dubliany ("oak forest") college. They longed for the opportunity to farm and when the Jewish Colonization Association offered assistance to come to Canada, they leapt at the chance.

Israel arrived in the Sonnenfeld Colony just southwest of Oungre in 1907, Mayer a couple of years later. They were very successful and were farming 18 quarters by 1924. They were also very civic minded, taking turns serving on the school board and the council of the RM of Souris Valley. When the Canadian Pacific Railway built a new branch line through the district in 1927, they named the HOFFER siding after the brothers, and Mayer served as the Hoffer postmaster for its first twelve years, 1927-39.

Israel and Meyer Hoffer with an early gasoline tractor, about 1929
SAB RA12908

The Hoffers were lucky to have gotten out when they did, Ukraine's once very large Jewish population was decimated by the Nazis. For example, in 1931 over 42% of the city of Kolomyia's population of 33,000 was Jewish. By 1943 the city's head count had dropped to 18,500. Jews represented 11% of the population of Galicia in 1910, just 2% in 1959. Not all of them perished in the pogroms or at the hands of the Nazis. In the pre-World War I era, almost a quarter of a million Galician Jews resettled in the northeastern United States – along with a few, like the Hoffers, in Canada.[64]

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64. Magocsi. op.cit., p.430. None of the dozen or so other Jewish names in Saskatchewan appear to have any connection to Ukraine.

Index of Saskatchewan Place Names

Page references in *italics* are to maps, in **bold** face to illustrations.

A final footnote:

Ukrainian People Places is, like all of my books, very much a work in progress. I freely admit that many of my interpretations are, at best, educated guesses, particularly when it comes to names which originated in the Ukrainian language. My hope is that this book will inspire others to question, doubt and dig – it is certain that better answers are available.

When Alan Rayburn published his Oxford Dictionary of Canadian Place Names in 1997, his preface included a survey of place names literature from across the country. Appallingly, Saskatchewan was the ONLY province for which Rayburn was unable to cite a fairly substantial body of writing on the topic.

Incredibly, Saskatchewan is also the ONLY province west of Prince Edward Island that does not have a full time component of its public service devoted to the preservation of its toponymic heritage. Do we care less? I think not, certainly my experience has been exactly the opposite.

We must do better. Please share your thoughts with me.

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Ukrainians . . .
Germans . . .
Mennonites . . .
Hutterites . . .
Doukhobors . . .

The steppes of eastern Europe were the ancestral homeland for several groups whose desire to find a secure place to develop their agricultural ambitions, to practice their religion, and to live in peace with their neighbours led them to Saskatchewan. These five distinct cultural groups came to this province from the broad arc of the European continent lying between the Wisla and the Volga Rivers, most of which is part of Ukraine today. They differed from each other in major and subtle ways, and they each brought an array of place names to the prairies which reflect both their shared past and their diversity.

Ukrainian People Places explores those names and the stories behind them in the style for which Bill Barry, Saskatchewan's "Mr. Place Names", has become so well known in his home province. In addition to the Ukrainians themselves, here you will find the stories of the German-speaking people who came from Ukraine, among them the Mennonites and Hutterites, along with the Russian-speaking Doukhobors who also passed through Ukraine on their way to Canada.