FEEFHS Journal

A Publication for Central & East European Genealogical Studies

FEEFHS Journal

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Who, What and Why is FEEFHS?

The Federation of East European Family History Societies (FEEFHS) was founded in June 1992 by a small dedicated group of American and Canadian genealogists with diverse ethnic, religious, and national backgrounds. By the end of that year, eleven societies had accepted its concept as founding members. Each year since then FEEFHS has grown in size. FEEFHS nows represents nearly two hundred organizations as members from twenty-four states, five Canadian provinces, and fourteen countries. It continues to grow.

About half of these are genealogy societies, others are multi-purpose societies, surname associations, book or periodical publishers, archives, libraries, family history centers, on-line services, institutions, e-mail genealogy list-servers, heraldry societies, and other ethnic, religious, and national groups. FEEFHS includes organizations representing all East or Central European groups that have existing genealogy societies in North America and a growing group of worldwide organizations and individual members, from novices to professionals.

Goals and Purposes:
The fall of the Iron Curtain opened up exciting new possibilities for genealogical research, but also generated significant new problems in knowing where to find the needed records. One goal of FEEFHS is to disseminate information about new developments and research opportunities in Eastern and Central Europe as soon as possible. This multi-ethnic federation is very effective in helping family historians with various ethnic and religious backgrounds who often seek similar types of information from the same hard-to-find locations. In the process members of FEEFHS have learned much more about available resources in North America and Europe. FEEFHS publicizes the publications, services, and activities of its member societies. FEEFHS develops on-line and printed databases of pertinent resources, maintains liaison with other organizations worldwide that share interests, serves as a clearinghouse for information on the existence and services of member societies, and promotes public awareness of member societies. FEEFHS also helps to create new ethnic or national genealogy societies where none exist but a need exists. FEEFHS volunteers are in active indexing selected FHL microfilm collections and East European record searches. UNITY-HARMONY-DIVERSITY is our motto. We welcome all societies and individuals, regardless of present or past strife in the homelands of Eastern Europe.

Services:
FEEFHS communicates with its individual and organizational members in many ways:

1) *FEEFHS Journal*, formerly *FEEFHS Newsletter*, published since December 1992.
2) FEEFHS tables at major national, state, and regional conferences. This started in the spring of 1993.
3) FEEFHS International Convention in North America, held each spring or summer since May 1994.
4) *FEEFHS Resource Guide to East European Genealogy*, published 1994-1995 (replaced by FEEFHS website).
5) FEEFHS "HomePage" on the Internet's World Wide Web since mid-May 1995. This large "destination" website includes a weekly FrontPage Newsletter, a HomePage/Resource Guide list ing for all FEEFHS member organizations, surname databases, detailed maps of Central and Eastern Europe, cross-indexes to access related sources, and much more. The address is: *http://feefhs.org*.
6) Regional North American conferences -- the first was at Calgary, Alberta, Canada in July 1995.
7) Referral of questions to the appropriate member organization, professional genealogist, or translator.

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In This Issue

[handwritten document in French, dated 13 Septembre 1684]

From President Irmgard Hein Ellingson

Galizien - Vergessenes Europa (Galicia - Forgotten Europe) was the title of a seminar that recently caught my eye. The event, which was held over a year ago, was advertised as a unique opportunity to discover the literature, history, politics, and culture of the former Hapsburg land from within modern Poland and Ukraine.

Many central and eastern European emigrants said very little to their children and grandchildren about their places of origin. Occasional references might have been made to the names of relatives, to a village, or to someone's military service in the Tsar's army or the Austrian army but these did not mean much to a generation born on the North American continent. Time passed and Europe was indeed forgotten in these families. Those who attempted to explore their family origins in those regions were often confused and frustrated by the political and social realities which appeared to be inconsistent with the fragments of family history that they had retained. More than ever, their ancestral homelands seemed to be *eine verschwundene Welt*, a world that had vanished.

The fall of the Iron Curtain offered new possibilities for family history researchers but posed distinct challenges. Charles M. Hall, a respected author and leader in the field, envisioned an organization that would serve as a networking hub for genealogical and historical societies and individuals. In June 1992, he called together a group of historians, genealogists, and linguists with central and eastern European expertise. They formed the Federation of East European Family History Societies (FEEFHS), a multinational entity designed to serve all ethnic, religious, and social groups with interests in the region.

The FEEFHS networking endeavor focuses upon our annual conferences, a web portal with contact and resource information maintained by our founding webmaster John Movius, and two publications. The conference, often hosted in partnership with member societies, offers lectures about genealogical resources, research techniques, databases, and projects. The most recent event, *Discovering Our Links to Europe: An International Genealogical Conference*, was coordinated by FEEFHS 1st Vice President Laura Hanowski and took place in Regina, Saskatchewan, in July 2002 with several hundred in attendance. We invite you to participate in the next event, *European Past of the American Present*. It is being organized by FEEFHS 2nd Vice President Kahlile Mehr and will be held at the Holiday Inn Downtown in Salt Lake City, Utah, on July 18-20, 2003.

Our publications are our primary means of communication with our members. They include an electronic newsletter featuring member contributions and an annual journal containing articles about history, genealogical resources, and field developments. Each is continually reviewed by our leaders, who seek informative contributions and identify ways to enhance the presentation of the material. We acknowledge and appreciate the efforts of both editors, John C. Alleman and Thomas K. Edlund, in those endeavors.

This Journal presents images from what may be regarded as *vergessenes Europa, eine verschwundene Welt*. Thanks to our contributors and to our editor, we can learn more about that world. The insights will benefit our individual research and also facilitate mutual understanding between those interested in that fascinating, multicultural, multi-confessional region. Then the past will not fade away or be forgotten. It will instead revitalize the present, provide direction for the future, and refine the work that we do. This is a source of hope and optimism for us all.

FEEFHS

Diversity Unity Harmony

Irmgard Hein Ellingson
FEEFHS President
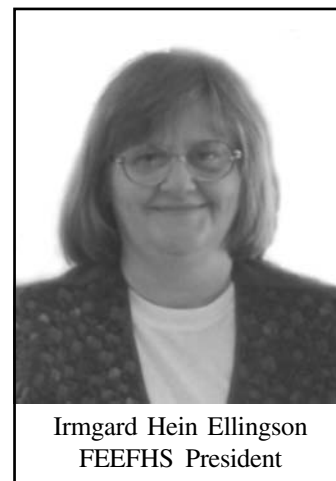
Jewish Addresses in Rechitsa

by Leonid Smilovistsky, Ph.D.,
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Today you will no longer see any visible signs of past Jewish presence in Rechitsa. They have not been preserved in the names of streets, squares or public gardens, there are no memorial plaques or monuments in public places. In this, Rechitsa is no different from the other small and medium-size Belorussian towns which used to have rich Judaic traditions and were deprived of their distinct identity by the Soviet national policy. Synagogues, prayer houses and yeshivas, heders, secular Jewish schools and cultural establishments in the town and its environs were outlawed. Private Jewish trade and handicraft businesses meeting the demand of their Belorussian neighbors were nationalized by the Bolsheviks as part of their effort for a "more just world order".

Until a few years ago no Soviet book, textbook, reference material or tourist guide had ever mentioned the Jewish section of the Rechitsa population. The powers-that-be had wanted to dissolve the Jews in the "single and indivisible" Soviet people in its Belorussian version. Therefore the first volume of the historical-documentary chronicle about Rechitsa and Rechitsa District, which appeared in 1998 in the *"Memory"* series describing every district in Belarus, came as a surprise to many. It cited figures showing that at different periods the share of the Jewish population of this Belorussian town varied from 30 to 60 percent. Evidence of the once vibrant Jewish life has been preserved in the Rechitsa Museum of Regional Studies, the State Rechitsa Zone Archive, and in the Jewish cemetery. Then, it is our good fortune that a few former and present Rechitsa residents are still alive and can share with us their reminiscences of their childhood and adolescence which take us fifty-odd years back. Let us go on a sightseeing tour of Rechitsa's Jewish addresses mentioned by these people, or found in the materials of the Museum of Regional Studies and the town archive.

One early mention of Jewish presence in the region is connected with Cossack detachments. According to deacon Grigory Kupanov, Bogdan Khmelnitsky's troops staged a massacre of Rechitsa Jews.[1] In 1648-1651, Rechitsa passed hands several times. In 1648, a 3,000-strong force of Cossacks and peasants entered the town. The troops were short of weapons, yet they had Bogdan Khmelnitsky's order to hold on as it was an important strategic point. In 1649, the town was taken by a Polish *voevode* Prince Janusz Radziwill and in 1650 surrendered to Colonel Martin Nebaba. The latter could not hold the town either and was killed when retreating. After these battles the Poles built many fortifications in Rechitsa.[2] In 1765, there were 133 Jews in the town and much more - as many as 4,125 - in the *povet*. The Jewish population grew rapidly, as did its role in the development of the town. Not a single important economic issue could be tackled without the participation of Jews, which could not but have an impact on social life.[3]

After the second partition of Rzeczpospolita in 1793, Rechitsa was incorporated in the Russian Empire and in 1795 made an *uyezd* seat in the Minsk Gubernia. According to the registry (*oklad*) books for the year 1800, there were 34 Orthodox Christian and 14 Jewish merchants and 573 Christian and 1,254 Jewish commoners in Rechitsa. The 1847 data put the number of the Jewish population at 2,080.[4] The mild climate of Southern Belorussia, coniferous and deciduous forests, oak groves, navigable rivers teaming with fish, flood meadows, fertile black-earth soil, convenient routes to the Ukraine, Poland, and Russian gubernias were factors contributing to the economic development of the region. Jewish communities had their distinctive traditional way of social, religious and economic life. Jews were loyal and law-abiding citizens and punctual taxpayers.

The Luninets-Gomel leg of the Polessye Railway that reached Rechitsa in 1886 and the pier on the Dnieper River built in the town in 1891 further boosted the town's economic and cultural development. According to the 1897 census, the Rechitsa *uyezd* had a population of 221,000, of whom 28,531 were Jews, including 5,334 living in Rechitsa, or 57 percent of the town's population.[5]

There is a 1649 drawing of Rechitsa made by Vesterfeld Van Avraam, a Dutch artist from Rotterdam. The first map of the town appeared in mid-17th century. It was drawn by Eger Christofor, an artillery captain in the service of Janusz Radziwill. Marked on the 1795 map were an old fortress, a Russian Orthodox church, a Dominican church and monastery, as well as the market place, shops, a Uniate church, and a distillery. The 1830 map included the big Resurrection Cathedral, the parish Church of Nicholas the Miracle-Worker, a *Klishtor*, a Dominican church. Besides these, shown on the map were a wooden jail, a public house where the mayor lived, people's schools, Jewish schools, blocks of private and commoners' houses, a wooden post office, warehouses, butcher's shops, smithies and a bath-house.[6]

The Rechitsa population was made up of commoners, a small number of gentry, the Polish *szlachta*, *raznochinets* intellectuals, and Jews. It was a one-storey town with the center on a *zamchische* rising over the rest of the town and crowned with a detinets (fortress). On this spot today is a well-appointed children's park with carved wooden statues. Only well-off townspeople had brick houses. Almost all of Kazarmennaya Street (named after the word *kazarma*, Russian for "barracks") was Jewish. Beila Shklovskaya, Freida Agranovich, Abram Sheindlin had brick houses on this street. On Preobrazhenskaya Street there were houses owned by Haya Shklovskaya (No. 38), a one-and-a-half-
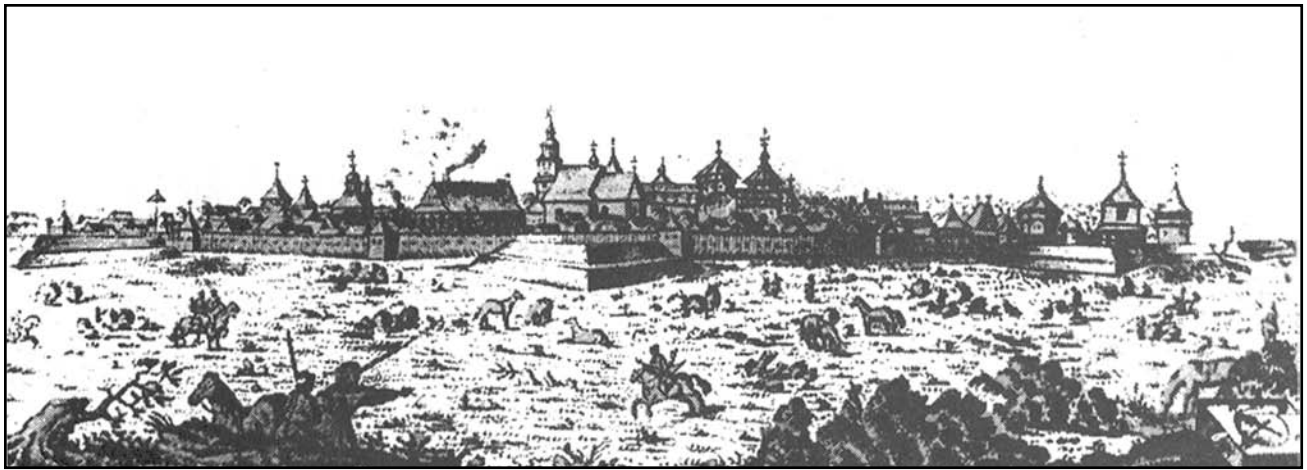
Fig. 1 -1649 Vesterfeld Van Avraam drawing of Rechitsa

storey house with a high foundation belonging to Leiba Livshits (torn down). After the 1917 revolution, the two-storey brick building (No. 47) housed the Executive Committee of the Rechitsa Town Soviet. Rabbi Reinin lived in the house on the corner of Sapozhnitskaya and Alexandrovskaya streets, Rabbi Tyshler - on 13, Kazarmennaya Street.[7]

The waves of change have affected the Rechitsa micro-toponomy. Many streets lost their historical names, which reflected their past, and were named after leaders of the communist party and the Soviet state, founders of the Marxist theory, leaders of the international working-class movement. Twin names appeared not only in other Belorussian towns, but throughout the Soviet Union as well. In this way the central Uspenskaya Street became Sovetskaya Street, Sapozhnitskaya - Proletarskaya, Tyuremnaya - Komsomolskaya, Soldatskaya - Krasnoarmeiskaya, Mikhailovskaya - Karl Marx, Preobrazhenskaya - Lenin, Andreyevskaya - Lunacharsky, Vladimirskaya - Uritsky, Vygonnaya - Michurin, Semenovskaya - Chapayev, Kazarmennaya - Konev, Pochtovaya - Trifonov, Kulikovskaya - Naumov, Fabrichno-Zavodskaya - Frunze, Vokzalnaya - Sytko, 1st Polevaya - Gastello, 2nd Polevaya - Zaslonov, 1st Kladbishchenskaya - Turchinsky, 2nd Kladbishchenskaya - Tankovaya, Lugovaya - Khlus, etc.[8]

Any shtetl used to take pride in its synagogue. There were several of them in Rechitsa. The first one was on the corner of Alexandrovskaya (now Kalinin) and Proletarskaya streets. The second synagogue with the yeshiva belonged to the hasids of Shalom Dov-Ber Shneerson. Its building is still standing on the even-numbers side of Lenin Street (formerly Preobrazhenskaya Street) opposite the town executive committee. The third synagogue used to stand at the intersection of Uspenskaya (now Sovetskaya) and Sapozhnitskaya (now Proletarskaya) streets. The fourth one (the Tall one) was between Sovetskaya and Naberezhnaya streets. The fifth one - on the corner of Andreyevskaya (now Lunacharsky) and Preobrazhenskaya streets (hence its name

the Horn, that is, on the very corner). The sixth synagogue was next door to the fifth one on Andreyevskaya Street. The seventh one, which was called the Merchants' Synagogue, was a beautiful two-storey building located close to the intersection of Vladimirskaya (now Uritsky) and Preobrazhenskaya (now Lenin) streets. Besides the synagogues, there was a Russian people's school for boys and two private Jewish schools (for boys and girls) and Talmud-Tora.[9]

Uspenskaya Street got its name from Uspensky (Dormition) Cathedral. Close to it, a Catholic church was put up. And nearby, at the intersection of Naberezhnaya and Sovetskaya streets, stood the Rechitsa Choral Synagogue, a two-storey imposing building. It was destroyed during the war and today the area is occupied by House No. 19 on Sovetskaya Street. Sapozhnitskaya (now Proletarskaya) Street was also called Samosengas, derived from *shames* (*sames*), a person helping in the synagogue. Living on this street were hevra-kaddisha (Judaic undertaker fraternity) members. In addition to the Jewish schools (*shulem*), there was a home for retarded and deranged children. The home was situated opposite the synagogue. It existed in the first post-revolutionary years but then was closed.[10]

A walk in Rechitsa's central public park on Sovetskaya Street will bring you to the recently erected building of the town executive committee. Jewish shops used to be located opposite it. Later the place was occupied by Gavrilova's high school for girls. Opposite it stood the house of Rechitsa's chief rabbi who died before the revolution. His body was carried on specially made carved catafalque and the road up to the Jewish cemetery was covered with velvet. On the site which used to be the Jewish cemetery, first a city bank was put up, and today the building houses the town food trade administration. The cemetery was on a hill adjacent to the Kozlov swamp (to the right) and dominated the area. Farther on, on the left-hand side was the Shchukin swamp, so named after the Shchukins, a Jewish family who has in this way been perpetuated in the town's micro-toponomy. The swamp posed a constant threat of flood. In

1930, a record high freshet burst the dam and water came up nearly to Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Pochtovaya streets. Many streets got their final line after amelioration canals were dug; they also served as the town's sewer. Their banks were spun by numerous small bridges, which connected streets. The old Jewish cemetery has not been preserved and the one used today was opened in the early 20th century.[11]

As mentioned above, the Merchants' Synagogue located at the intersection of Lenin and Uritsky streets was a large two-storey wooden house of rare beauty. It had high ceilings and very large windows of distinctive shape. In the late 1920s the building housed a workers' club and the Blue Blouse Society. Its members staged musical-drama and

Fig. 2 - Womens School in Rechitsa, 19th century

sport shows popular at that time. Then a Jewish theater with a professional company appeared. Its directors were Blyankman, a professional actor, and Kanevsky, formerly a hairdresser. Blyankman was a newcomer who took up residence in Rechitsa after he married Liza Eventova, whose parents owned a bakery and a shop on Sovetskaya Street selling a variety of baked delikatessen. After the revolution Liza taught mathematics at School No. 5 on Lunacharskaya Street.

Neither before that nor after did Rechitsa have its own theater. Amateur actors, who were mostly Rechitsa craftsmen, staged plays after Sholom Aleikhem, Perets, S. Ansky, Kushnerov, or those which were on at the Belorussian State Jewish Theater in Minsk. The most popular plays were *A Holiday in Kasrilovka*, *Gershele Ostropoler*, *The Recruit*, *The Heder*, *The Deaf*, *The Song of Songs*, *The Witch*, *Wandering Stars*, *Two Hundred Thousand*, *Tevye the Milkman*, and *Girsh Lekkert* starring Yankel Kravchenko, Meishe Sverdlov and the Ungerovsky sisters.

During the war the German authorities allowed the theater to function, but of course without Jews. After an act of sabotage was committed against the Nazis, the theater was closed down. For a short time after the war the former synagogue building housed the Rechitsa Officers' House. Later it became a troops warehouse guarded by sentries and its windows were boarded up, but the building remained

almost as beautiful as before. There was no one to lodge a complaint with. Forty years ago the building was torn down. The area was first planted to make a small public garden and three years later a building for the inter-regional prosecutor's office was erected. In a way, this barrack-like structure of white silicate brick was an embodiment of the drab spiritual life that had set in.

Before the war, the Rechitsa Jewish eight-year school occupied a spacious one story 19th-century building at the intersection of Preobrazhenskaya (now Lenin) and Mikhailovskaya (now Karl Marx) streets (House No. 91). The school was surrounded by similar wooden structures more than a century-old. Rechitsa was home to many

Fig. 3 - Yiddish Soviet school closed by authorities

interesting people. Rabbi Tyshler enjoyed everybody's trust. Rabbi Reinin's beautiful daughter Manya finished high school and continued her education in Paris, where she won a prize at a beauty contest. It was rumored that nobleman of Rechitsa courted. Madam Palu, a Jewess converted to Chistianity, taught Russian language and literature at the high school for girls. Her husband always addressed her as "my Kike". When she could stand it no longer, she took poison. Nahum Betsalel Frenkel lived in Rechitsa until 1905. After the pogroms he left for Palestine with his wife Gnissa Ginzburg and his sons. He had a bookstore in Yaffo but in 1914 the Turks deported them because they had come from Russia. The family found shelter in Egypt.[12]

Like any other place in the country, Rechitsa was drawn into the vortex of the early 20th-century upheavals and revolutions. In October 1905, peasants, incited by a Rechitsa priest Nikolai Mozharovsky, were preparing to stage a pogrom. It was prevented by a self-defense detachment coming from Gomel.[13] The Civil War, which broke out after the coup of 1917, did not bypass Rechitsa. The policy of war communism adversely affected the town and district demography. People were leaving for safer places where it was easier to survive. By 1920, the Rechitsa population had dropped from 17,594 to 12,363 people and Rechitsa *uyezd* as a whole had lost about 30 percent of its population.[14]

Rechitsa Jews fought for Soviet power. A monument to

the war dead was put up, with Jewish names inscribed on it. In the summer of 1920, Jews were victimized by the Pilsudski troops: they robbed, raped and cut beards of the devout Jews with their bayonets. In the Volchya Gora Village, 7 km. from Rechitsa, there is a common grave of those killed in fighting with the Polish troops. Many names the nearby monument are Jewish. Then came the short-lived NEP (New Economic Policy that allowed for small business), the Stalin prewar five-year plans and the cultural revolution. In 1921, the Rechitsa power plant was commissioned, followed by the Dnieper match factory and a plywood plant in 1923. Appearing next were a tanning factory, a bakery, a wine distillery and a shipyard. Shoe-making and cart-and-wheel-making producer's coopera-tives, small food enterprises, timber mills and tar works met the demand of the town and district's population.[15]

In the prewar decade the Jewish population of Rechitsa remained stable: 7,386[16] in 1926 and 7,237 in 1939, or 24 percent of the town's population.[17] Most of them were comfortably-off, were respected and occupied the appropriate place on the social ladder as educators, doctors, lawyers, engineers, agronomists, blue-color workers, craftsmen. Those who were loyal champions of the socialist cause could make a career working for the communist party, komsomol, trade union and administrative bodies. Krupetsky, a Jew, was the first chairman of the Rechitsa Soviet of People's Deputies, Sofia Finkelberg, Natan Vargavtik, Grigory Roginsky, Iosif Resin were the first komsomol members. The Rechitsa branch of the State Bank was headed by Shneerov, Lelchuk was secretary of the Town Committee of the Young Communist League (komsomol), Dveira Ber was director of the town library, Glesina - director of the Rechitsa MTS (machine and tractor station), Zholkver headed the Rechitsa sanitary-hygiene service, pediatrician Sara Shaikevich enjoyed everybody's respect.

Soviet leaders saw the solution to the Jewish problem as part of their "revolutionary transformation of society". Zionist organizations were accused of bourgeois national-ism and chauvinism although many important planks in their programs did not run counter to the principles of the Soviet state. Zionist clubs, libraries and schools were banned, many people were arrested and exiled. The mid-twenties saw the beginning of the process when synagogues were being closed and their buildings given over to house clubs, production shops, dwelling quarters, nurse schools and even a skin and venereal disease outpatient clinic. The "low" synagogue on 30, Sovetskaya Street was made into a dwelling house. After the war a food shop was opened on the first floor. Today it is occupied by an establishment dealing in car spares. The synagogue on Vokzalnaya (now Sytko) Street is also a dwelling house today. The building of the "tall" synagogue near the Kalinin Cinema Theater is now the town gym, the synagogue on Proletarskaya Street near the bath-house, a Young Pioneer Club, and the synagogue on Lunacharsky Street is a shoe-maker's cooperative.

Although all the above-mentioned buildings belonged to the community and their construction was mainly financed by the donations of the believers, compensation was never mentioned. Even posing such a question was considered unacceptable because according to Karl Marx any religion was like "opium for the people" and Jews were deprived of the synagogues allegedly at their "own request" and for "their own better use". Those who dared to protest were ostracized, fired and in some cases even faced arrest. The synagogues buildings were falling into decay and torn down one after another. Conformism, however, was not universal: some continued to observe the tradition. There were some *minyanim* left in Rechitsa, although without rabbis. There was a visiting *mohel* and when he was not available his duties were performed by Yehuda Pinsky, Elya

Fig. 4 - Local State Archive on Michurina Street

Tsivlin, and Zasepsky. The authorities resented these activities and they tried to ban them and imposed heavy taxes on any person who engaged in them. The largest of the *minyanim* assembled at the homes of Gershl Rogachevsky, Moishe Olbinsky, Grigory Ovetsky, Livshits and others.

Like other citizens, the Jews were the targets of unfounded persecution by the OGPU-NKVD (security service). In 1937, Abram Arotsker, chief engineer of the Gomel power plant, was arrested and shot. Nikifor Yanchenko was exiled to Magadan where he remained for 17 years. His wife Tsilya tried to get the sentence reversed but she was taken to Minsk and shot at an NKVD prison. Leaving Rechitsa did not save former residents from persecution. After she married, Zelda Ginzburg moved to Minsk where she held a responsible position at the Republican Red Cross Society. In 1938, she moved to Moscow following her husband Abram Rosin's appointment to the People's Commissariat of Timber Industry. Soon after that Abram was arrested and she spent 16 years in prison and exile.[18] The materials of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia, kept in the National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, include a "Memorandum of Lavrenty Tsanava, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Belorussian SSR, concerning the case of high officers of Rechitsa District of February 22, 1940". It says that First Secretary of

the district party committee Ryzhov, chairman of the district executive committee Fridlyand, district commissioner for procurement Domoratsky, head of the land department Kozlovsky and head of the finance department Kupreichik were arrested and convicted on charges of counter-revolutionary activities.[19]

Rechitsa was occupied by the Germans on August 23, 1941. The police precinct was on 115, Vokzalnaya Street. It was a one-storey Mendel Margolin's house which later belonged to Zholkver and Fondaminsky, Jewish doctors.[20] Former *melamed* Malenkovich was ordered to make a list of Jews that remained in the town. The ghetto was located in the industrial district on Frunze Street in a two-storey house beyond the prison. Some houses were fenced off by barbed

Fig. 5 - Pushkin College on Naberezhnaya Street

wire and guarded. A network of ghettoes was established in Gomel Region: four in Gomel, two in Zhlobin, and one in each of the towns of Rogachev, Bragin, Khoiniki, Rechitsa and some others. The inmates were kept in inhuman conditions, they were beaten up, humiliated, kept on the brink of starvation and made to do hard work and surrender all their valuables.[21] On November 25, the Jews were brought to an anti-tank ditch (today it is the area of the bone tuberculosis sanatorium - L.S.). Many cursed the Germans, others shouted: "Stalin will win!", "You are shedding our blood but the Red Army will avenge us!" People were ordered to alight and driven to the ditch 15-20 at a time. Once there, they were placed on the ditches edge and fired at with tommy-guns. Eyewitnesses say the soldiers who were shooting were "drunk". Over 3,000 Rechitsa Jews were killed in such operations. An additional 4,000 were killed in Gomel, 3,500 in Rogachev, 1,200 in Zhlobin, to name but a few.[22]

Rechitsa was liberated on November 18, 1943. During the war the match factory (named after the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution), the Kirov Timber Mill, the Voroshilov Tanning Agents Factory, the International Hardware Works, the plywood factory, the town power plant and bakery were either destroyed or burned down. Six schools, four orphanages, the central town library, three clubs, the town hospital and the railway station were no longer functioning. Blocks of houses on

Proletarskaya and Kladbishchenskaya streets had disappeared. But of course the most irreparable was loss of life.[23]

The German occupation had its impact on the way part of the population felt about the Jews. On the one hand, Belorussians were sheltering Jews during the German occupation although it was fraught with mortal danger. Nina Kartovich, who before the war had been a teacher of German in School No. 2 named after Karl Marx, headed a team of girl translators during the occupation. She gave her word that Ida Shustina (a Jewish blonde) was raised in an orphanage which was confirmed in writing by residents on Grazhdanskaya Street. When Ida was taken to the office of the police head, the Rechitsa old-timer Korzhenevsky, he asked her to pronounce the word "gorokh" and issued a note certifying that she was not Jewish. It was unbelievable, so much so that later the KGB refused to issue a note to Shustina confirming that she had been in the occupied territory during the war. Girsh Slavin was backed by the whole of Zhmurovka Village of Rechitsa District. Olga Anishchenko, a teacher of Russian in a worker school, staged amateur theatricals for German officers at the building workers' club. She was receiving theater fans in her house, while her student Masha was hiding in the basement. This lasted for about two years. Olga's house on 1, Naberezhnaya Street was at some distance from the other houses and even the neighbors did not know that a Jewish girl had been given shelter there.[24] On the other hand, those returning home after evacuation often came up against a hostile attitude. Jews from the surrounding smaller towns and villages of Loev, Gorval, Buda-Koshelev, Dvortsy, Vasilevichi, Khoiniki, Ozarichi, Narovlya and other places in which the Jewish population had been exterminated were returning to take up residence in Rechitsa.[25]

Jews were taking an active part in restoring the war-ravaged economy. Revsin was director of the pier on the Dnieper River, Kaplan was inspector of the Central Statistical Board for Rechitsa, Chernyavsky was first elected chairman of the handicraft producer's cooperative in which the disabled were working and then headed the Rechitsa Service Center which had many repair shops, Mikhail Livshits was director of the Rassvet Producer's Cooperative, Portnoi headed the Krasnyi Transportnik Cooperative, Sonya Kozovskaya - the Kollektivnyi Trud Cooperative, Merman - the Krasnyi Boets Cooperative, Hana Chausskaya - the Kooperator Garment-Making Cooperative. Former secretary of the Rechitsa District Party Committee Isaak Maskalik was appointed director of the town furniture-making factory, Zakhar Malikin- director of the garment factory, Fridlyand - director of the integrated enterprise of local industries, Zelichonok - director of the rope-making factory, Rubinchik - director of the mill. Lapidus and Klaiman were respectively director and chief engineer of the town's building administration.

Jews proved good managers in farming which was not at all easy under the Soviet system. Abram Spitserov was director of a suburban state farm, Semyon Levin - director of the Borshchevka State Farm. Zalman Levin - director of the

workshop repairing farm machinery engines. A large part of Rechitsa's doctors, educators and cultural workers were Jewish. In different years Lyubov Ber and Lev Babin headed the cultural department of the Rechitsa district executive committee. Similarly, Sima Khaitovich and Boris Sheiman were directors of the Kalinin Cinema Theater. Anis Finkelberg was director of the town House of Culture. Semyon Lozovik was a people's judge. In February 1948, he was elected deputy president of the Gomel Regional Court.[26]

Each passing year saw a shrinking Jewish presence in Rechitsa. Of the seven synagogue buildings that the war had spared, not one was returned to Jewish administration. On May 15, 1946, Judaic believers applied to the Executive Committee of the Rechitsa Town Soviet, asking for a building to worship in, but were refused ostensibly for a lack of vacant buildings. The committee's decision stated that the town had a population of more than 30,000, a number of factories, industrial cooperatives, educational establishments and orphanages in which a great number of young people and intellectuals "striving for cultural advancement" were working or studying. The activities of amateur artistes companies and of the only cinema theater were greatly hindered by a lack of facilities.[27]

A similar application from Christian believers received a different response. In 1941, taking the opportunity offered by the Nazi occupation, the Rechitsa Russian Orthodox Church Council regained the former Preobrazhensky Cathedral, which in 1935 had been restructured into the House of Social Culture. In the town's environs were many churches (in the villages of Bronnaya, Demekhi, Yampol, Kholmechi, Zaspad and others). Christian believers were offered the former Officers' House on 11th Polevaya Street instead of the Cathedral and after they refused to take it, they were given the building of the former town food trade administration on Kooperativnaya Street.[28]

In response to the authorities' refusal to register the Judaic community, the believers organized *minyanim*. Despite his venerable age Tsodik Abramovich Karasik, 90, formerly an official rabbi, guided these activities. Prior to 1947, worshippers assembled at Khaim Gumenik's on 54, Lenin Street. After the authorities made him promise in writing to discontinue the *minyanim* at his home, another place was found. In 1947-1949, the minyanim took place on 16, Lunacharsky Street, at Mendel Zaks' apartment. Another synagogue of this kind functioned on 25, Karl Marx Street at Hasya Feigina's. The community had the premises repaired, brought the items needed for worshipping and paid for the heating. Major Ryumtsov, deputy head of the Rechitsa MGB (security service), tried to make the town authorities fine Karasiik, Zaks and Feigina for their "persistent refusal" to abide by the Law on Religious Societies in the USSR. This was not done and he informed Lugansky, deputy commissioner of the Council for Religious Cult Affairs at the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, about it when the latter was on an inspection tour of Gomel Region in the winter of 1949.[29]

Matsot were baked secretly on 1st Kladbishchenskaya (later Aviatsionnaya and now Turchinsky) Street at the home of Khonya Shayevich Rumanovsky and on 73, Kalinin Street near the creamery. Both the flour and the *matsot* were delivered at night to avoid being seen even by Jews, for there were informers among them too. For a long time Rechitsa did not have a *shoihet* of its own. On Jewish holidays, a *shoihet* was invited from Gomel. One such *shoihet* was Zalman-Dovid, a native of Streshin who after reevacuation lived in Kalinkovichi. Jews would also gather for prayer on Kooperativnaya (formerly Kazarmennaya, now Konev) Street. Some Jewish communists sent their wives or children there. Staying away from work on a Saturday was out of the question, but there were some who managed to observe the

Fig. 6 - The grave of the last shoyhet in Rechitsa Yehuda Pinsky (1897-1966)

tradition in any circumstances. On Yom Kipur, Yankel Kuperman, a painter, would take a bucketful of paint and pretend he was working. Zalman Gurevich, head of supplies at the furniture factory would lock the door of his office from the inside, pretending he had some urgent work to do and stayed there until the end of the working day. There was a popular joke: "How would you translate the word 'communist' "? "Who has it bad." " 'Nist' is Yiddish for 'bad'" ['Komu' is Russian for 'for whom' - Tr.][30]

Worthy of special note are attempts to perpetuate the

memory of the victims of German genocide. In the three years of occupation, 4,395 people were killed. Of these, 4,190 were Rechitsa residents and 205 were war prisoners. Jews accounted for more that three fourths of all Rechitsa residents killed - 3,500 people out of 4,190. The Rechitsa commission of assistance to the USSR Extraordinary State Commission for Investigation into the Nazi Crimes could establish only 819 names of various nationalities.[31] In 1946, on the initiative of Khaim Gumenik, the relatives of the killed Jews transferred the remains of the victims to the Jewish cemetery. With modest donations at their disposal, they put up a simple brick monument with the Magen David. Nobody thought of asking the permission of the authorities, since no help from them was expected and it seemed such a natural act just a year after the war ended. The believers

Fig. 7 - The Smilovitsky family in 1929. L-R, Boruch-Motl (1892), Chaim (1920), Leib (1925), Liza (1900)

requested to fence off the functioning Jewish cemetery in Rechitsa and the authorities promised to supply the necessary timber provided the work was done by volunteers.[32]

In May 1946, the Belorussian Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia issued a decree "On keeping the graves of Red Army men and partisans in order, perpetuating the names of places and events on the territory of the Belorussian SSR related with the Great Patriotic War". In June 1946, acting on this decree, the Rechitsa town Soviet adopted a decision to undertake a series of steps, such as to have cemeteries guarded and well-tended, to transfer single graves located in unsuitable places (swamps or gullies) to civil and military cemeteries, to keep a register of the buried with brief information about them. Two streets - 1st Polevaya and 2nd Polevaya - were renamed, respectively Gastello and Zaslonov streets, although these two Heroes of the Soviet Union - Nikolai Gastello (a pilot) and Konstantin Zaslonov (a partisan) were not connected with Rechitsa in any way.[33] However, this important decision remained practically unrealized.

In July 1948, the Gomel Regional Soviet noted that a great number of graves had not been put in order. No fences had been put up, no trees or flowers planted, there were no

monuments, and the wooden fencing and obelisks some graves had were in a poor condition. The names on wooden plaques had been bleached by the sun and rains and some plaques had been torn off. After the regional authorities' inspection, the reburial of the remains of the killed and those who had died of wounds was started. Monuments were erected on the cemetery in the region of the new hospital, at the common cemetery on Vokzalnaya Street and in the central public garden on Sovetskaya Street. The anti-tank ditch, however, that last resting place for 800 Jewish families killed on November 25, 1941, was not marked in any way. It was only in 1973, when the town was preparing for the 30th anniversary of its liberation, that in the park on Frunze Street a drab obelisk appeared. The standard inscription reads: "To the peaceful civilians of the town of Rechitsa who were killed in the years of the Great Patriotic War." No mention is made concerning who most of these "peaceful civilians" were.[34]

In 1993, the Rechitsa executive committee registered the *Ami* Jewish organization (*Ami* means "my people" in Hebrew), and immediately work on erecting a monument to the victims of Nazi genocide started. Money was coming from former Rechitsa residents now scattered all over the world, but mainly from Israel. The *Krasny Oktyabr* factory (director - M.N. Smirnov) and the pilot hydrolysis plant (director - A.N. Turok) took an active part in this work. The black granite monument put up at the Rechitsa Jewish cemetery bears the somewhat laconic inscription: "3000! What for?"[35]

Through the 1960s-1980s, the remaining synagogue buildings in Rechitsa were demolished. The synagogue building which had housed the skin and venereal outpatient clinic was burned down in 1985. For some time religious life was smouldering in the *minyanim* on Proletarskaya, Kalinin, Michurin, Lunacharsky, Karl Marx and Frunze streets until only one was left. Gathered for the *minyanim* were Vasilevsky, Vinnitsky, Chechik, Ovetsky, Bykhovsky, Demekhovsky, Rumanovsky, Rogachevsky, Latukh, Malikin, Mnuskyn and some others. The last *minyan* gathered at the home of Genya Shmuilovna Levina (Krigel) on 49, Karl Marx Street. The law-enforcement authorities were anxious to know if children and adolescents were also praying. Worshipping was taking place with the shutters closed. On Saturdays and holidays more people came to say prayers than on weekdays. The hosts habitually locked the shutters facing both street and courtyard. In the mid-1970s, a pogrom was staged at night. Breaking the shutters and windows facing the street, some thugs entered into the anteroom shouting abuses and threatening to put an end to the "synagogue of the kikes". Nobody was apprehended and the Jews had to repair the damage at their own expense. Despite the pogrom Genya Levina continued to host the *minyan*.[36]

For a long time some elderly Jews used to tie their wrist with a handkerchief on Saturdays so as not to put their hand into the pocket even to get keys or money. *Matsot* were baked by Ester-Frada on Kalinin Street and some others.

Although it was supposed to be done in secret, every year the lists of their "clients" were sent to the Rechitsa town communist party committee. A few people were buried as the Jewish tradition required. Among them were Yehuda Pinsky (a *shoikhet*), Izrail Chechik (a *melamed*), Gershl Rogachevsky (a glazier) and his wife Zelda, Nokhem Pugach (a blacksmith), Motel Smilovitsky (a carrier), Lea Fainshmidt (a midwife), Aron Vainer (a stove maker), Zakhar Kopelyan (in charge of timber procurement), Khaim Gumenik, the Khasin couple, Iser Rudnitsky, Sofa Arotsker and others. In the autumn of 1986, during the Jewish holidays, the Rechitsa Jewish group gathered for the last time. Assimilation was proceeding at its own pace. Seeing little prospect for themselves in Rechitsa, Jewish young people were leaving the town.[37]

Today there are 450 Jews in Rechitsa. At least 300 of them are elderly people. Regrettably, the clearest traces of the Jewish presence are to be found at the cemetery and in the memory of the old-timers. The cemetery is big, but few prewar graves have been left. Taking care of it are mainly those who are still in Rechitsa. After the *Ami* society applied to the authorities, on orders from the town Soviet a cast-iron enclosure and a gate were installed and a road made. Yet anti-Semitic sallies keep occurring. On the night of February 16, 1999, as many as 24 monuments were damaged. The monument to the victims of Nazi genocide was broken into several parts. It was the fifth act of vandalism in six years. Two of these took place at Russian Orthodox Church cemeteries, but Jewish graves were the main targets.[38]

Jewish Rechitsa is practically no more. The postwar restoration pushed out those whom the town had for centuries been proud of and to whom it had owed its glory, those who used to multiply its successes and pass the wisdom acquired over the centuries to new generations. In this sense Rechitsa shares the fate of other Belorussian shtetls which have forever lost their Jewish traces.

Notes

[1] Acts of the Vilno Central Archeographic Commission, vol. 3633 (Bershadsky's papers)

[2] B.I. Umetsky. *Rechitsa: Kratkii istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* [Brief historical-economic essay], (Minsk, 1963), p. 8.

[3] F.A. Brokhaus and I.A. Efron. *Yevreiskaya Entsyklopedia* [Jewish Encyclopedia] (SPtsbg, 1913), vol. 13, p. 755.

[4] F.A. Brokhaus and I.A. Efron. *Entsyklopedicheskii slovar* [Encyclopedic Dictionary] (SPtsbg, 1899), half-vol 54, p.488-489.

[5] L. Smilovitsky. *Yevrei Belarusi iz nashei obshchei istorii. 1905-1953* [Jews of Belarus: From our Common History, 1905-1953], (Minsk, 1999), p. 219.

[6] According to the materials of the Rechitsa Museum of Regional Studies.

[7] Author's archive. Maria (Mera) Rubinchik's letter from Ashkelon dated May 23, 2000.

[8] According to the materials of the Rechitsa Museum of Regional Studies. Cf. the table of renamed Rechitsa streets in the supplement.

[9] Author's archive. A talk with Yakov Plekhov, leader of the Rechitsa Jewish religious community, recorded in Rechitsa on September 18, 2001.

[10] Author's archive. A talk with Alla Shkop, chairperson of the Rechitsa Ami Society, recorded in Rechitsa on September 20, 2001.

[11] Author's archive. Sara Ber's letter from Rechitsa dated May 5, 2000.

[12] Frenkel and his four sons were artists. From 1929 to 1932 they maked furniture, in 1936 they were awarded a Gold Medal at the International Handicrafts and Industries Exhibition in Cairo and won the right to be official suppliers of King Farouk. After 1935 they started making animated cartoons and produced the first sound-track animated cartoons film in Arabic. During 1936-1964 they shot 30 animated cartoons. After the Israeli War of Independence in 1948, they were persecuted by the Egyptian authorities and left for France. Cf. *Mishpokha*, no. 5, 1999, p. 113.

[13] For details see L. Smilovitsky. "Pogrom in Rechitsa, October 1905", *Shvut*, no.5 (21)// Tel Aviv University, 1997, pp. 65-80.

[14] *Bulleten Gomelskogo gubernskogo statisticheskogo buro* [Bulletin of the Gomel Gubernia Statistics Bureau] published by the RSFSR Central Statistical Board, no.1 (Moscow, 1923), pp. 13-15.

[15] Yehuda Mendelson. *Skvoz dymku snov-vospominaniy* [Through the Haze of Dreams and Reminiscences]. (Jerusalem, 2001), pp. 248-250.

[16] *Where Once We Walked: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust*. Edited by Garry Mokotoff and Sallyann Amdur Sack (New Jersey, 1991), p. 283.

[17] Mordechai Altshuler (ed.). *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR, 1939*. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Center for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 40.

[18] Author's archive. Letters by Moisei Gorelik from Ashdod dated December 11, 2000, and by Faina Rudnitskaya from Hadera dated January 7, 2001.

[19] National Archive of the Republic of Belarus (NARB), coll. 4, invent. 21, file 2075, p. 2532.

[20] At present it houses the Union of Consumer's Cooperatives of Rechitsa District.

[21] L. Smilovitsky. *Katastrofa yevreyev Belorussii* [Holocaust in Belorussia]. 1941-1944. (Tel Aviv, 2000), p. 266.

[2] Yad Vashem Archives. M-33/476, p.19; M-33/481, p. 6.

[23] State Archive of the Russian Federation, coll. 7021, invent. 85, file 217, p. 14.

[24] In the mid-1990s, Olga Anishchenko was conferred the title of the "Righteous of the World." Her medal was presented to her son Oleg at the Yad Vashem Memorial Institute in Jerusalem.

[25] Author's archive. Letter by Isaak Wolfson from Beer-Sheva dated June 30, 1999.

[26] Rechitsa Zonal State Archive (ZSA), coll. 342, invent. 1, file 4, pp.30-34; file 12, p. 26.

[27] *Ibid.*, file 6, p. 94.

[28] *Ibid.*, file 6, p. 258;. file 14, p. 161.

[29] NARB, coll. 952, invent. 1, file 16, p. 8-9.

[30] Author's archive. A talk with Zalman Gurevich recorded in Rechitsa on September 21, 2001.

[31] NARB, coll. 845, invent. 1, file 55; coll. 851, invent. 1, file 16, p. 339.

[32] Rechitsa ZSA, coll. 342, invent. 1, file 6, p. 94.

[33] Ibid., coll. 342, invent. 1, file 7, p. 39.

[34] *Pamyat. Rechitsky raion. Istoriko-dokumentalnaya khronika* [Memory. Rechitsa District. Historical-documentary chronicle], (Minsk, 1998). vol. 1, p. 248-249; Marat Botvinnik. *Pamyatniki genotsida yevreyev Belorussii* [Monuments of Genocide Against Belorussian Jews], (Minsk, 2000), p. 225.

[35] Author's archive. A talk with Alla Shkop in Rechitsa recorded on September 18, 2001.

[36] Author's archive. Letter by Lev Levin from Brooklyn dated March 5, 2001.

[37] Author's archive. Letter written by Samuil Rozhavsky from Hadera dated December 31, 2000.

[38] The damage was made good by the Rechitsa authorities, cf. *Aviv* no.2/1999.

Fig. 8 - The author at Rechitsa's road sign

No.	Old Names	New Names	Year
1.	Proboinaya. Uspenskaya since 1872 (the year the Cathedral of Holy Dormition was consecrated)	Sovetskaya	1925
2.	Preobrazhenskaya	Lenin	1924
3.	Alexandrovskaya	M.I.Kalinin	-
4.	Vygonnaya	I.V.Michurin	1925
5.	1st Polevaya	N.F. Gastello	1947
6.	2nd Polevaya	K.S. Zaslonov	1947
7.	Polevaya	N.D. Scherbitov, fighter for Soviet power in Rechitsa and Rechitsa District	-
8.	Novo-Polevaya	Yuri Gagarin	-
9.	2nd Naberezhnaya	Avrora	-
10.	Sapozhnitskaya	Proletarskaya	-
11.	Andreyevskaya	A.V. Lunacharsky	-
12.	Vladimirskaya	M.S. Uritsky	-
13.	Mikhailovskaya	Karl Marx	
14.	Semyonovskaya	V.I. Chapayev, Civil War Hero	1921
15.	Tyuremnaya	Komsomolskaya	-
16.	Soldatskaya	Krasnoarmeiskaya	-
17.	Bezymyannaya	V.V. Zhilyak, fighter for Soviet power in Rechitsa and Rechitsa District	-
18.	Nikolayevskaya	Rosa Luxemburg	-
19.	Rudnyanskaya	E.P. Mitskevich, fighter for Soviet power in Rechitsa and Rechitsa District	-
20.	Lugovaya	P.M. Khlus, organizer of the town's public health system, Merited Doctor of the BSSR (1958), the town's Citizen of Honor	1983
21.	1st Pochtovaya	F.A. Trifonov, Hero of the Soviet Union, killed in battle for the liberation of Rechitsa in 1943	1973
22.	Parkovaya	I.K.Dvadnenko, Hero of the Soviet Union, killed in battle for the liberation of Rechitsa in 1943	1973
23.	Dachnaya	I.V. Krasikov, Hero of the Soviet Union, killed in battle for the liberation of Rechitsa in 1943	1973
24.	Kulikovskaya	K.I. Naumov, Hero of the Soviet Union, killed in battle for the liberation of Rechitsa in 1943	1973
25.	Rudnyanskaya	Marshal M.V. Tukhachevsky	-
26.	Kazarmennaya, Kooperativnaya	Marshal I.I. Konev	
27.	Trudovaya	I.A. Senkin, militiaman killed when performing his duty	
28.	Industrialnaya	V.L. Snezhkov, Party functionary, participant in the partisan movement	
29.	1st Kladbishchenskaya, Aviatsionnaya	M.F. Turchinsky, leader of the partisan movement of Rechitsa District during the Great Patriotic War	1985
30.	2nd Kladbishchenskaya	Tankovaya	
31.	Kommunalnaya	P.P. Opyakin, a military commander who liberated Rechitsa and Rechitsa District during the Great Patriotic War	
32.	Kolkhoznaya	35th Guards Mortar Brigade	
33.	Druzhby	M.M. Seredin, a military commander who liberated Rechitsa and Rechitsa District during the Great Patriotic War	
34.	Vokzalnaya	M.P. Sydko, Hero of the Soviet Union, lived in Rechitsa since 1963	1983
35.	Fabrichno-Zavodskaya	V.G. Massalsky, Hero of the Soviet Union, was born in Rechitsa	-
36.	Fabrichno-Zavodskoi Lane	Kommunisticheskoi Roty	1965

Table compiled from resources at the Rechitsa Museum of Regional Studies

Researching Stalin's Victims

by Dave Obee

Brothers Robert and Sephrin Tiede should have been, to the rational mind, unlikely candidates for any plot to overthrow a government. In the 1930s they were peasants with young families, working on a collective farm in the Pulin area northwest of Zhitomir, Ukraine. Their roots in the area were deep; their grandfather, Michael Tiede, had come to the Pulin area from Poland 70 years earlier. But Robert and Sephrin had the misfortune of living in Ukraine under the regime of Josef Stalin, the dictator whose rule was delivered with an iron fist and terror. The Tiedes were both arrested by the Ukrainian NKVD in February, 1938, and taken to a jail in Zhitomir. Their families never saw them again.

The brothers were charged with being members of a counter-revolutionary organization and of carrying out counter-revolutionary activities. After they waited months in prison, their trials were relatively short and highly predictable. Both men were found guilty and sentenced to death. The sentences were carried out on Sept. 24, 1938, just four days after the verdicts were given, leaving little time for an appeal. Not that anyone would have dared to appeal, of course; 1938 was a particularly bloody year in the Zhitomir oblast with thousands of people being arrested and killed, or sent to a labor camp where death was almost as certain, but not as immediate.

In the 1930s and early 1940s, about 56,000 Germans were arrested by the NKVD in the Zhitomir area. It would be hard to find a family in 1930s Ukraine that was not touched in some way by Stalin's reign of terror. The Communist leader was remarkably democratic in his killing; opponents, supporters and people who didn't care either way were just as likely to be his victims. And Stalin's henchmen went after Ukrainians, Germans, Poles and just about every ethnic group found in the country. There are no hard numbers on the number of people killed by terror or starvation in Ukraine in the 1930s. The total number of dead is, however, well into the millions. It has been estimated that 90 per cent of the people sent to labor camps died there.

Research into the people who were killed or imprisoned during the Stalinist purges of the 1930s is possible using records of the NKVD and its successor organization, the KGB. (NKVD stands for *Narodnii Kommissariat Vnutrennykh Del*, or People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs; KGB stands for *Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti*, or Committee of State Security.)

In the Zhitomir area, where the Tiede brothers were arrested, tried and executed, these records are held in the Zhitomir Oblast State Archive, which is in a building which formerly held the Communist Party archives. Not all of the NKVD files are held at the archives — it includes just those cases held by troikas, special committees and other non-judicial executive bodies which had no legal power to

sentence. The files of cases which were determined in proper courts — in other words, legally — have been retained by the KGB. The files held in the state archive are open to the public. An alphabetical card index, which is the key to access the files, is restricted to archive staff members. The staff members are, prompt in bringing files to the reading room.

The files are, for the most part, comprehensive. They include documents completed to justify an arrest; information on the arrest itself; a biographical sheet signed by the person arrested; a summary of the interrogation; testimony from witnesses; and documents showing the sentence and, if the sentence was execution, an attestation that it was carried out. Many of the files also contain photographs of the people who were arrested; they are standard prison mug shots, taken from the front and side, but in many cases they could be the only surviving photos of those people.

Old NKVD and KGB records are to be found in archives throughout Ukraine and Russia. Most have been indexed in some form. And several of the archives are producing printed guides to their holdings, which will be a tremendous aid to researchers. Access to the material varies in each archive, but in general, research must be done on site. That means genealogists will have to travel there or hire someone to do the research on their behalf.

Fig. 1 - Examples of KGB records

The files are comprehensive and generally in chronological order. For the average file, it will take at least an hour for a competent person to translate the key documents from Russian. It would pay to have a translator who is both comfortable with 60-year-old Russian handwriting, and familiar with the charges faced by the people arrested.

The Germans arrested and tried in the 1930s were generally charged under Article 54 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, which deals with counter-revolutionary

crimes designed to overthrow, undermine or weaken Soviet power. Article 54 had 14 basic components:

Article 54-1: high treason

Article 54-2: bourgeois separatism and nationalism

Article 54-3: being an accomplice to enemy

Article 54-4: being an agent of the world bourgeoisie

Article 54-5: inciting a foreign power to declare war

Article 54-6: espionage

Article 54-7: conducting subversive activities

Article 54-8: terrorism

Article 54-9: committing acts of sabotage at transport, communications and water supply system

Article 54-10: conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation

Article 54-11: being a member of an anti-Soviet organization

Article 54-12: not informing the Soviet authorities about forthcoming or already perpetrated counter-revolutionary crimes

Article 54-13: committing crimes against the working class or revolution movement

Article 54-14: committing economic sabotage and not fulfilling the duties in order to weaken the Soviet power.

The Ukrainian Article 54 was based on Article 58 of the Russian republic's criminal code, which is described in greater detail in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*.

It doesn't take much browsing through the old NKVD files before they start to get quite predictable. Most of the Germans arrested were charged with 54-10 and 54-11. The charges may seem minor, but in Stalinist Ukraine, they were enough to earn someone a bullet in the brain. Sephrin Tiede, for example, was charged under both 54-10 and 54-11. The 41-year-old from Wjasowitz was accused of being a member of a counter-revolutionary fascist organization, having held illegal meetings, having had contact with the German consulate in Kiev, and having formed counter-revolutionary organizations. He had also, the Soviets alleged, received money and material for counter-revolutionary acts.

These charges were typical of those faced by most of the Germans arrested — and as with so many other cases, Tiede's file revealed that the NKVD was remarkably short on specifics. There was no clear indication that the Soviets had any hard evidence to back up their statements. That didn't seem to matter, though, because guilty or not, Tiede ended up quite dead. For genealogists, a key ingredient in every file is the biographical information that was provided by the people arrested. The file of Albert Karl Reschke is a good example.

Reschke was one of the last people taken into custody after the Nazis invaded on June 22, 1941. Reschke was arrested by the NKVD on June 24 — and as a result of the lightning speed of the German *Wehrmacht*, the Soviets had to quickly move Reschke out of Zhitomir. He ended up in a jail in Shakhti, about 60 kilometres north of Rostov-on-Don in Russia. He was accused of carrying out anti-Soviet propaganda. As a result of the move to Shakhti, Reschke had

to be charged a second time, under Article 58 of the Russian criminal code. The charges were the same, despite the difference in the numbers.

Reschke was one of the lucky ones, in that he was sentenced to a labor camp and not sentenced to death. His file has no information on his fate in the camp system, where hundreds of thousands of people died over the years as a result of starvation and exhaustion.

The family information that Reschke provided to the authorities was impressive. He said he was born in 1885 in Kischelowka in the Baraschi region northwest of Zhitomir. In his household at the time of his arrest were his wife Sarah, 46, his mother-in-law Mary, 73, and his daughter Alicia, 14.

Fig. 2 - Arrest form for Albert Karl Reschke

Reschke said that when he was 15, his mother died, and he had to go to work for a rich peasant. He served in the Tsar's army for two years, starting in 1909; and then worked for a rich peasant for a year. In 1913 he married Sarah, who was from Iwanowitsch, so they lived there for a while. In 1914 he was taken into the tsar's army again, and served until he was taken prisoner on March 6, 1915. He was initially sent to a camp in Austria, then moved to one in Germany for the duration of the war.

On his return to the Zhitomir area, he lived in the colony of Florowka until 1927, then moved to Iwanowitsch, a few kilometres to the east. He joined the collective farm in 1931.

The files may also contain information about the financial status of the people arrested. We learn, for example, that prior to the collectivization of agriculture, Reschke's brother-in-law, Arnold Friedrich Weiss, had 15

desiatins [about one hectare] of land, a house, two barns, agriculture machines, five or six cows, three horses, and regularly hired three workers.

Weiss was an unwilling participant in collectivization, as his interrogation shows:

Question: "You were arrested in 1931 as a kulak and exiled. We want evidence."

Weiss: "I was arrested in 1931 and escaped. I went to Omsk in exile for about three months, and returned in 1931. Before 1934 I worked in different places. In 1934 I returned to Iwanowitsch and worked in the collective farm."

Many of the files include plenty of information on other residents in each village. That is because the Soviet system of trials and terror was built on people implicating other people.

In some cases, the information given would be of little use to the Soviets — but genealogists could find it quite interesting. On August 2, 1941, for example, Albert Reschke was asked to tell the authorities about some of his friends in Iwanowitsch. Here is what he said:

"Meisner Adolf is a German. He works at the collective farm. He has lived in Iwanowitsch for a long time. He was in Siberia and came back to Iwanowitsch in 1931.

"Schneider Wladislaw worked in the collective farm. Before the collective he worked as a shoemaker.

"Reimer Josef worked in different light jobs because of his age. Before the collective he lived in Wjasowitz. In Iwanowitsch before the collective, he had no property. He had two sons, one is Hermann, who was arrested in 1934 because he stole grain. I have no idea about his location today.

"Hartmann David worked in the collective farm and belongs to middle-class peasantry.

"Hartmann Hermann is a peasant, he belongs to the middle-class peasantry. His son Hartmann Hermann was accused of speculation.

"Schlender Theodor worked in the collective. Before the collective he worked in the Donetsk area as a miner. His wife Schlender Natalie works in the collective.

"Shielke Assaf Gottlieb — before the collective he had a mutual estate with his father-in-law Neumann. His father-in-law was a kulak. During the collective time he was deprived of his property and exiled to Siberia."

The records in the NKVD files would indicate that the Communists had a relatively easy time getting people to confess. Consider, for instance, the interrogation of Robert Tiede in the NKVD barracks in Zhitomir on Feb. 26, 1938:

Question: "You carried out counter-revolutionary propaganda activities."

Tiede: "I never carried out any propaganda. I am not guilty."

Question: "You lie. We know you are guilty of it."

Tiede: "No. I am not a member of any organization, and I have not carried out any propaganda."

Tiede had proclaimed his innocence twice, and then it was the turn of NKVD Lieut. Baumann to get involved in the interrogation.

Question: "You tell us — you are lying again. You can't lie to us ... Yes or no — were you are member of a counter-revolutionary fascist organization in Pulin and the Wolodarsk district?"

Something about Baumann's approach changed Tiede's mind. Consider what he said next:

Tiede: "I acknowledge that I tried to conceal some facts about counter-revolutionary organizations in the Pulin -

Fig. 3 - Documentation of Sephrin Tiede's execution by firing squad
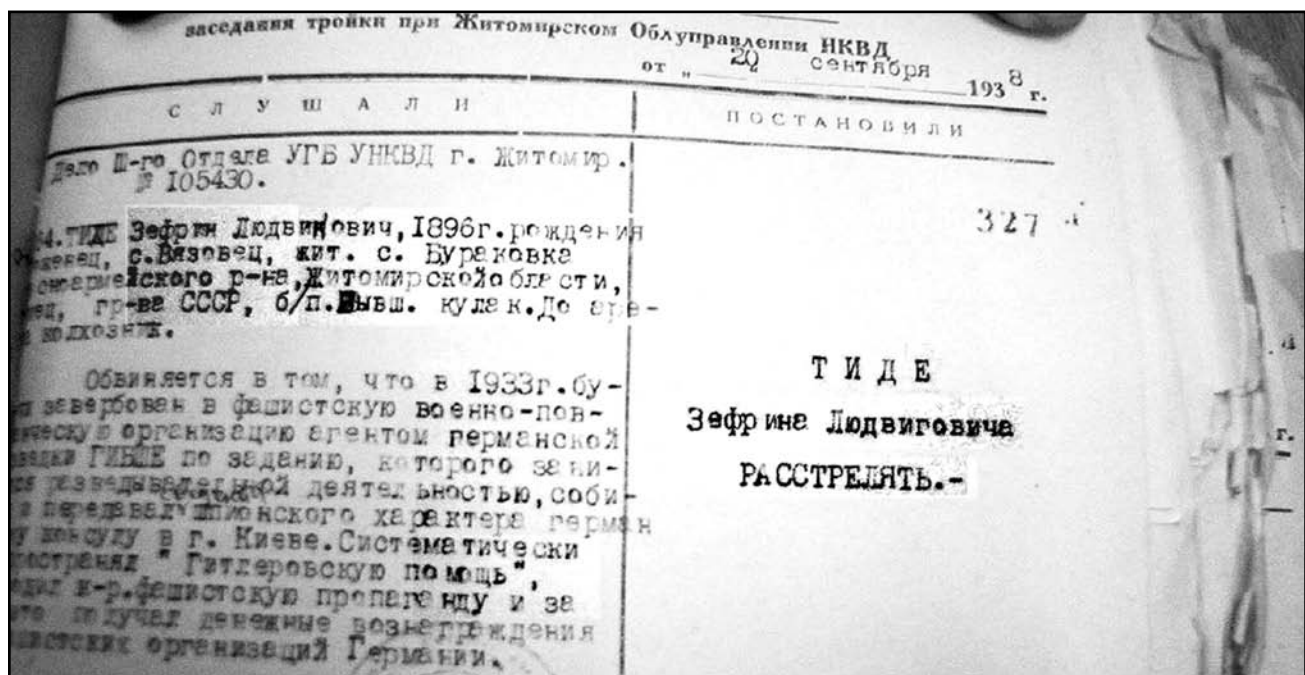
Chernigov - Wolodarsk area, but after some thought I have decided I have no choice. I have decided to tell everything. I am a member of the counter-revolutionary organization since 1932. Lebudski Assaf put me in the organization. Lebudski Assaf Emil in Solodyri. In 1935 he came to Iwanowitsch. He visited the German consulate in Kiev. In 1936 he was arrested because of counter-revolutionary activity and sent away. His father Lebudski Emil went to Germany in 1933."

Question: "When did you become a member of a counter-revolutionary fascist organization?"

Tiede: "Because of property of my father. He was a rich peasant. I was expelled off my property in 1929 and afterward had a negative attitude toward the Soviet power and carried out anti-Soviet propaganda among the German population. Lebudski invited me to his place and I started to visit frequently. We had counter-revolutionary talks. In a 1932 talk he told me we lived badly but we were to be liberated by Germany because of the coming war. Later he told me of his visit to the German consulate in Kiev with his wife. The German diplomat gave him the task of organizing a counter-revolutionary fascist organization among the German population. He was to agitate against the Soviet power. He was fulfilling that task.

"He also proposed I join the counter-revolutionary organization. I agreed, so I ended up a member of the counter-revolutionary organization."

But Tiede was just getting started. When asked for names of other people involved in counter-revolutionary work, he quickly rattled off the names and approximate ages of 10 of his neighbors. He identified Gustav Zander, 45; Reinhold Schulz, 45; and Friedrich Domke, 50; all of Solodyri, as being involved in his organization. Working with them were seven people from Iwanowitsch: Hermann Hartmann, 40; Richard Hartmann, 35; David Reschke, 40; Ephraim Bonikowsky, 43; Gustav Bonikowsky, 50; Hermann Tiedtke, 70; and Gustav Tiedtke, 74. Tiede's newfound willingness to co-operate with the authorities didn't help him. Along with his brother, Sephrin, he was found guilty and sentenced to death on Sept. 20, 1938. The sentences was carried out four days later.

Why did Tiede, and so many other prisoners, suddenly decide to tell all? Especially when, in most cases, they were guilty of nothing? There are several possible answers, but they likely lie in the interrogation methods used by NKVD officers. They had ways to extract the words they wanted from their captives. The NKVD based interrogations on the concept of securing confessions, with prisoners admitting their own guilt and implicating others. It was far easier to get prisoners to admit to crimes than to prove these imaginary crimes had ever happened.

Since there was no doubt about the final outcome, why did Soviets bother with a pretense of a trial? Did the Soviets devote the time and effort needed to interrogate prisoners, to move them from one jail to another, to feed them until they were shot, and to record the words they spoke during their fake trials? The trials were needed to give the campaign of

murder and terror a measure of legitimacy. The confessions were needed to make the trials go more quickly. Histories of the Stalin years indicate that these confessions were obtained in a variety of ways. The NKVD would sometimes interrogate a prisoner for hours on end, not allowing him to sleep, eat or drink. At times, these sessions were held over several weeks or months — as long as was needed to break the prisoner.

A faster method was to simply beat the prisoner until the confession was extracted. Sometimes a person was beaten to a piece of meat in front of 10 or 15 other people. After that, the people were asked if they wanted to give evidence. If no one agreed, another person was beaten to a pulp, and so on. Eventually, someone would volunteer to speak.

A crucial part of most of the interrogations was the demand for the names of other people who had also been working against the Soviet system. Prisoners were asked to speak out against friends, neighbors and relatives. The NKVD found many people willing to help them in their campaigns of death. In reading the files, some names appear
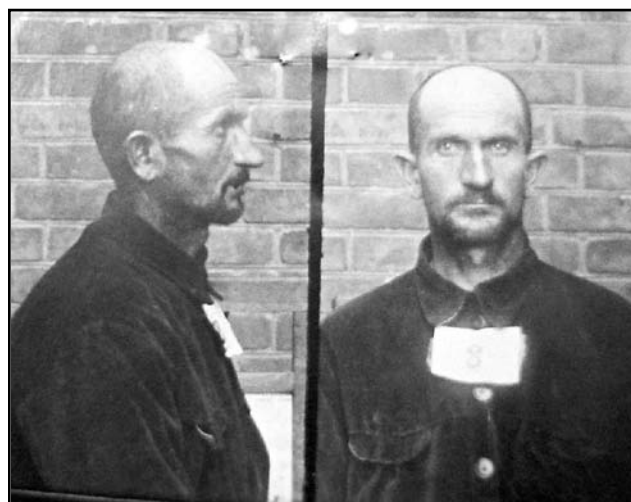
Fig. 4 - Arnold Weiss, executed as a critic of the collective farm; posthumously declared innocent on 8 October, 1958

over and over, as the same people testify against people from their villages. This assistance was rewarded by the NKVD. The informants themselves were not arrested, and the rumour in the villages was that the informants were being paid for the information they were providing.

Going through the files for residents of the Iwanowitsch-Solodyri area, two names keep appearing: David Adolf Mertin and Adolf Meisner. Both men kept themselves busy, telling the Soviets all about the real or imagined sins of their neighbors.

At times, the NKVD's informants did more than just provide testimony. They were allowed to face their victims in the court and make their accusations part of the official record. When Arnold Weiss was being interrogated, David Mertin was invited to take part. Mertin said that before 1930 Weiss was a kulak, had on occassion found fault with the

collective in Iwanowitsch, and had praised individual initiative.

"In a collective farm, you work hard and have nothing," Mertin quoted Weiss as saying. Weiss was then asked if he disputed what Mertin said.

"I do not admit it. I and the other kulaks were not carrying out such a thing in 1930," he said. "Do you admit you were carrying out counter-revolutionary propaganda?" "I don't remember," Weiss replied.

Beyond the unmentionable encouragement that was being given to the prisoners while they were being interrogated, there is no doubt that the official record — the one in the files — is usually incomplete. Consider, for example, this questioning of Albert Reschke on August 11, 1941:

Question: "Have you ever been a member of a religious community?"

Reschke: "Before 1934 I was a member of the Baptist community. A lot of neighbours were Baptists. In 1934 the Baptist community disappeared. The house where we met was occupied by the collective as a barn for grain. Besides, in 1935 our pastor Hornbacher Eduard left the colony and went to Zhitomir. There is no pastor in Iwanowitsch any more."

Question: "What was your task as a member of the Baptist community?"

Reschke: "Before 1931 I was the leader of the choir. After that, regular services were not taking place because we were busy in the collective."

Question: "We know that while in Iwanowitsch you systematically expressed a hostile attitude to life in the Soviet Union and often glorified life in fascist Germany. Explain it."

Reschke: "I did not express any negative emotion regarding life in the USSR, and I did not glorify life in fascist Germany. That's all, I cannot give you any evidence concerning that."

Question: "Who is Bunkowski Eduard and Nickel? What relation did you have?"

Reschke: "Before the collective Bunkowski Eduard was a rich peasant and lived in Neudorf, 10 kilometres from Iwanowitsch. Nickel Hermann lives in Iwanowitsch and works in the collective Third International. Before the collective, he was a middle-class peasant. I had no relations with Bunkowski Edward and don't know where he lives. I had contact with Nickel, we worked together. I had no other relations with him."

Question: "Did Hornbacher Eduard and Bunkowski Eduard visit your place? When? Why?"

Reschke: "Pastor Hornbacher Eduard often visited my place as a friend. Bunkowski Eduard never visited my home."

Question: "We know Hornbacher and Bunkowski were persecuted by the Soviet power and at that time they found shelter in your home."

Reschke: "They were never hidden in my house. It's a lie. Pastor Hornbacher went to Zhitomir. He rented a horse wagon for that purpose. I can't tell anything about Bunkowski. Perhaps he was repressed by Soviet power, but he has never hidden in my house. I deny it."

If the minutes of the interrogation are to be believed, that exchange amounting to just 335 words in English, lasted 155 minutes, from 1:25 p.m. to 4 p.m.

It's hard to understand why some of the people arrested were allowed freedom as long as they did. Richard Gustav Tiedtke of Solodyri is one example. Tiedtke was from a wealthy family, and had already spent time in custody for carrying out propaganda and listening to radio programs from Germany. His father was sentenced to a concentration camp in 1936 for having contacts with people from abroad, and his brother was also jailed. Tiedtke readily admitted receiving money from relatives in Germany and America, and admitted that he was a member of a counter-revolutionary organization that had been organized by the school teacher in Solodyri. The organization was apparently known as the Union of Young Strong Germans.

He was arrested on Sept. 5, 1937. The final straw appeared to be the fact that he had hosted a party. "The party was organized for no purpose other than we had finished the agricultural work in the hops plantation," Tiedtke said during his interrogation.

Several witnesses told the NKVD about the party. Guests included Adam Kuhn, August Schulz, the manager of the collective and anti-Soviet agitators. It was claimed that Tiedtke had told several people that it was a pity that

Fig. 5 - Ella Reschke: five years at the Marinsk concentration camp; final fate is unknown
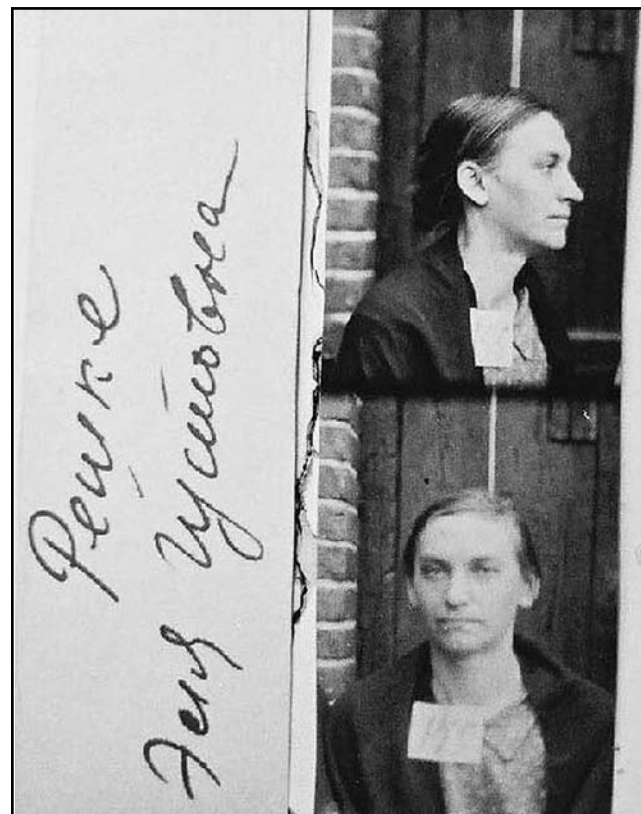
Red Army leaders Mikhail Tukhachevsky and Ion Yakir had been killed, suggesting instead that Stalin and a senior Communist official, Kliment Voroshilov, should have been killed.

It was also alleged that Tiedtke had destroyed the hops plantation in the collective. One witness said that the crop would have been worth 30,000 roubles to the collective, 30,000 roubles it would not get because of what Tiedtke did. There is no indication in the file about how one man would go about destroying the crop. On Sept. 16, 1937, Tiedtke was sentenced to be shot. The sentence was carried out at 12:49 p.m. on Sept. 29, just 26 days after the fateful party.

And then there was Auguste Weiss of Solodyri. Not related to Arnold of Iwanowitsch, Auguste was the wife of Richard Weiss, who was shot as a German spy on Oct. 29, 1937. Besides her unfortunate choice of spouse, Auguste's greatest crime was that she was not a good parent. Her file said her children were little devils, and added that the children had been selling furniture to the neighbours. Whatever the reason, Auguste was exiled to a concentration camp in Kazakhstan for five years.

At times, the Soviets showed a remarkable sense of caring. Consider the cases of David Jonathon Reschke and his wife, Ella. David was arrested in 1937. He was accused of having sent letters about the situation in the Soviet Union to a brother in North America as well as to Bernhard Goetze, a Baptist pastor in Poland who had served in Iwanowitsch before the First World War. It was also claimed that Reschke had received money from abroad and carried out propaganda about a future war. It appears Reschke wasn't shy about expressing his opinions. "He told me, 'Let the stupid people work in the collective'," one witness told his trial. Another witness quoted Reschke as saying "there are enough stupid people to work for the Soviet power, but I do not want to work." David was shot on Nov. 26, 1937.

Ella was arrested two weeks after her husband. The NKVD alleged that she had known about her husband's counter-revolutionary activities, and charged her under article 54-12. She was eventually found guilty, and sentenced to five years in the Marinsk concentration camp. The file has no information about whether she survived.

But before the Soviets could send the two Reschkes off to their fates, there was a slight problem: seven-year-old Edith, their only child. The NKVD fired off a letter to the village council in Iwanowitsch, asking whether Edith was alright. The village council responded that yes, Edith was in good hands; she was living with her aunt. With the council's letter to comfort them, the NKVD proceeded with its plan to kill Edith's parents.

Edith survived the terrible 1930s, ending up after the war in Kazakhstan. And, half a century after her parents were arrested, she made another appearance in her parents' files. "Have you got the possibility of paying some compensation?" Edith asked in a 1989 letter to the KGB. "We lived in a collective farm. My parents had a private house and some property, all was confiscated except my clothes, which was thrown to me through a window. They wanted to send me to an orphan house but my grandmother asked them to give me to her house and I was living with her. I was the only child of my parents."

The KGB responded in a variety of ways. It asked residents of Iwanowitsch if anybody remembered the Reschkes, but nobody did. This should not surprise use, considering that the Germans who lived there in the 1930s were in the West, in Kazakhstan, or were dead. It also sent a formal letter to Edith to tell her what it knew about the fate of her parents. It ordered a death certificate for her father to be issued by the registry office in Chernigov, north of Zhitomir. And it started the process to have Edith's parents "rehabilitated" — basically, to have them found innocent, posthumously.

There is one notable thing that the KGB apparently did not do. If Edith was awarded any compensation, there is no hint of it in the files. Many of the files contain letters from descendants of the people arrested. Most were written in the late 1980s from Kazakhstan, where the families were moved after the Second World War. Two of Arnold Weiss's children, Arthur and Helga, wrote individual letters to the KGB in 1989, asking for information on the fate of their father. In response, the KGB provided information from Arnold's file and added the two new letters to it. These modern-day letters can help researchers find distant cousins, who can provide even more information on what happened to the family.

Most people have individual files. In some cases, two people are included in one file; an example is Albert Reschke, who shares a file with a man arrested on the same day and taken away in the same truck.

The two Tiedes are included in a 26-volume criminal case, number 7605, that covers 350 people. They were allegedly all part of a secret German fascist organization that had been carrying out anti-Soviet propaganda since 1923. The 26 volumes are generally divided by type of document rather than by person — so there could be references to one person in as many as a dozen volumes.

Several of the volumes have comprehensive lists of the people, including birth place and year, which makes searching relatively easy. On Oct. 8, 1958, it was decided that all 350 people in the case were, in fact, not guilty of the crimes. As a result, they were rehabilitated; the Soviets cleared their names.

Unfortunately, this bit of rational thinking came about half a century too late for Robert Tiede, Sephrin Tiede, and the 348 others.

Case numbers

Reschke, Albert Karl — 24834
Reschke, David Jonathon — 23424
Reschke, Ella Gustav — 19946
Tiede, Robert Ludwig — 7605
Tiede, Sephrin Ludwig — 7605
Tiedtke, Richard Gustav — 20207
Weiss, Arnold Friedrich — 26285
Weiss, Auguste Julius — 27293

Galicia: A Multi-Ethnic Overview and Settlement History with Special Reference to Bukovina

by Irmgard Hein Ellingson[1]

tam i kiedys - there once upon a time

Family history researchers place great value upon primary source documents. We want to seek out the original church records, ship lists, census lists, land records and other forms of documentation that may establish someone's presence at a certain location and at a particular point in time. Most will begin by visiting a local Family History Center to determine record availability and as soon as possible, want to read films to find ancestors and their family groups.

Very few, however, take any time to read and learn about the people, places, and the times in which their ancestors lived. Instead they tend to dive into the records with a Star Trek mentality: *Genealogy, the final frontier. These are the voyages of the family history researcher. My continuing mission: to explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life and new civilizations, to boldly go where no one has gone before*. All of this, we believe, will take place within the library walls. That is where we expect to find our family story, preserved on the microfilm in that was written in a place that we cannot locate, in a language that we do not speak and do not trouble ourselves to learn, but one that we believe will somehow speak to us from the bygone frontier past.

The frontier mentality often serves as a kind of prism that we use to examine and interpret the records that we collect and collate. We like to picture an immigrant ancestor to this continent as a lone adventurer from some remote, unknown place, perhaps a stowaway or a runaway who survived only by his or her own ingenuity in alien circumstances. But that ancestor actually followed siblings, uncles and aunts, cousins, and neighbors halfway around the world, in turn prompting others to leave the old world to join him. These chain migrations created networks of family and friends that maintained ties between the old and the new world and within them, we can identify push-and-pull factors that cause emigrants to leave a place on the one hand and on the other, attract them to new ones. Recognizing this may enable us to place our ancestors in communities and in migration streams, thereby helping us to direct and focus our own research.

We may also be tempted to use this frontier prism to draw false conclusions about earlier migrations and settlements. Since our North American grandparents homesteaded large tracts of land to establish ownership, broke the virgin sod, and saved money to expand and upgrade their farms and ranches, we envision more distant ancestors doing the same kind of thing in Bukovina, Galicia, West Prussia, and other parts of central Europe. We envision a young man taking off from the homeland and heading east and south across Europe alone in seek of vast new lands that had been opened for settlement. Because we do not know the name of the village from which he emigrated or the place in which he settled, we assume that no one does - and that we will be the ones to discover the family's "origin."

If you had German ancestors in Galicia or Bukovina, whether they were Evangelical or Catholic, from southwestern Germany or from Bohemia, much of this information may already be a matter of record and has been for decades. Researchers such as Dr. Franz Wilhelm and Dr. Josef Kallbrunner as well as Ludwig Schneider reviewed lists of late eighteenth-century immigrants who registered at various points on the route to settlement in the eastern Habsburg empire. Wilhelm and Kallbrunner's *Quellen zur deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte in Südosteuropa* [Sources for German Settlement in Southeastern Europe] and Schneider's *Das Kolonisationswerk Josefs II. In Galizien* [The Settlement Work of Joseph II in Galicia][2] present not only surname lists but relevant historical summaries. Historians and philologists, including Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and later Walter Kuhn, began to visit the German villages in the Habsburg, Prussian, and Russian empires where they observed the daily life, the religious practices, social interaction, education, and the extent of cultural assimilation or preservation, and then published their research. Local village historians, often Galician-born schoolmasters like Ernst Hexel and Johann Christian Dressler, were motivated to investigate the origins of their villages and the people of various ethnic backgrounds who lived there. They made a special point of doing genealogical research for others, searching parish records for places of origin and then writing to distant churches to verify data and obtain additional information. They also published their research.

These researchers have examined the same primary source records that you seek to document your family story. To understand these documents, it is vital that you have engaged in some focused reading that helps you enter the contexts and the times in which they were drafted. Set aside the American homesteading mentality and read about the place called Galicia. Particularly insightful and reliable are the sections pertaining to Austrian Poland in *God's Playground, A History of Poland, Volume II, 1795 to the Present* by Norman Davies as well as Robert Kann's *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*, Paul R. Magocsi's *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*, and *Ukraine, A History* by Orest Subtelny.

You may say, "My ancestors were from Bukovina. What relevance does Galicia have for me?" Briefly stated, when many of your ancestors left their native villages in the 1780s, they headed for Mährisch-Neustadt (Neustadt, Moravia), which was the first emigrant checkpoint, next to

Vienna for another check, and then to Lemberg, Galicia where they registered for settlement. From there they were directed to temporary lodgings as they waited to be assigned places to live and work. Other ancestors may have first migrated to lands that Prussia's Frederick II had opened for settlement and after only a short time there, moved on to the eastern Austrian empire where they registered first at Zamosc and then at Lemberg. Out of the first twelve *Erbzinsler*, or settlers endowed with hereditary rights, in Illischestie, Bukovina, nine had been quartered in Lemberg, one in Zamosc and two in other Galician districts. The first colonist families in Fratautz had each been quartered in Galicia for an average of about two years.[3] Other Germans were Bohemian glassworkers who moved as communities to Bukovina and Galicia.[4]

Who were all these Germans? Where were their homelands, the villages in which they were born and married? What is known about them and what prompted them to emigrate?

The German Homelands

The Palatinate, or *Pfalz* in German, a small area of only 503 square kilometers divided between seven rulers, was swept with emigration fever. Völklingen in Nassau-Saarbrücken was the ancestral home of the Hubich, Kurtz, and Wagner families who eventually settled in Tereblestie and Alt-Fratautz, Bukovina. It is described in a 1756 report reproduced in Wilhelm Messner's *Die schwäbisch-pfälzische Bauernsiedlung Deutsch-Tereblestie von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung 1789-1940*, pages 184-185. In translation, it reads:

Völkingen in 1756 as reported by Christian Lex, an official of the Saarbrücken lord

The village is solely subject to the Nassau-Saarbrücken sovereign domain, and the subjects are serfs. Without counting the church, there are seventy-four houses here, of which three are unoccupied. Nineteen houses have tile roofs and the others have straw thatch roofs; therefore it follows that twenty chimneys are built of stone and the others of wood. Sixty-five commoners with compulsory labor duties and four widows of the same class live here. There is only one contributing smallholder who pays a fee for the lord's patronage and protection, and no widows in that class. Six persons are free from compulsory labor, namely the pastor, the Lutheran schoolmaster, the hunter, the bailiff, and the two shepherds. The lord's steward on the Völkingen manorial estate is of course free from compulsory labor duties ...

... Two fire escapes and two fire pokers ... hang under the roof at the schoolhouse. There are three common spring-fed wells with troughs for watering livestock in addition to many private wells here. The Köllerbach, which flows nearby, suffices in the place of a communal watering place. There is no mill or farmyard; the serfs are directed to the mill at Wehrden.

There is much forest but it belongs to the community, not the lord. There is no fishpond here, but there is fresh water in the Saar, the Köllerbach and the Framersbach streams. His Grace the Lord has all hunting and fishing rights but permits the serfs to fish in the Saar with their hands and small nets. His Grace has imposed customs fees as well as traveling charges. On the other hand, the community pays His Grace 5 Gulden and 1 Batzen for the former Bannbackofen [oven], and traveling fees. Finally the written village ordinance is kept in a community chest at the steward's house and read aloud once a year.

There are nineteen Catholic commoners and two Reformed women here; the rest of the people are Lutheran. The resident Lutheran pastor is named Seidel, the Catholic who comes from the Wadgasser monastery is named Koch, and the Reformed pastor, who lives in Ludweiler, is named Faesch.

In this village stand a church and a Lutheran school house, and the Lutherans and Catholics from Fürstenhausen, Geislautern, and Wehrden, as well as part of Klarenthal, belong here but the Reformed people belong to Ludweiler ...

... The main support of the local people is the cultivation of the land but since this is not adequate, handcrafts must supply the difference ...

... Of the people here, five are prosperous, eighteen of average means and property, and all the rest are in obviously poor condition ....

The Palatinate people were poor, according to Messner and other sources, and lived upon properties that under terms of inheritance law had become so splintered that many could not exist upon what they had. Here serfdom, failed harvests, oppressive taxes in the form of payments and *Fronen*, or compulsory labor, all contributed to emigration. So did reforms such as those of the Margrave Karl Friedrich von Baden, who attempted to reform agriculture but antagonized conservative farmers by ordering that animals be fed in the barns so that manure could be collected for fertilizer, and that clover be planted rather than grain crops. Further emigration incentives were provided by Prussian, Austrian, and Russian recruitment agents who praised the opportunities and conditions in their own countries.

Approximately fifty kilometers to the northwest of Saarbrücken was the Principality of Birkenfeld, where serfdom continued until 1783. This was the homeland of the Rein family of Fratautz, Bukovina, the Nunweiler and Weber families (Satulmare), the Leib family (Arbora), the Engel and Germann families (Neu-Itzkany), the Hehn, Massier, Pfeifer, and Sauer families (Tereblestie), the Brenner and Knieling families (Illischestie) and others who immigrated to Galicia and eventually to Bukovina.

The Birkenfelders in the late 1700s were serfs who had to fulfill various obligations if they wished to emigrate.[5] First, a fee had to be paid simply to present a request to be released from serfdom. In order to be released from serfdom, a fee called the *Manumissionstaxe*, or release tax consisting of ten per cent of the individual's property, had to be paid.

An *Abzug*, a closing or departure fee consisting of a legally fixed portion of goods/crops produced, had to be paid in addition to *Landschaftsgeld*, a provincial fee consisting of two percent of the serf's valuation. Finally, an *Exeditionstaxe*, a fixed chancellery fee, was levied upon every completed manumission document. Clauses typically stated that emigration had to take place within a specified time frame, or the individual would fall back into serfdom. This would also happen if the emigrant returned to his homeland as clearly stated below in the *Losschein*, or release certificate, of Georg Ludwig Hubich. It is translated from the *Deutsch Tereblestie* book, pages 182 and 183.

The *Losschein*, or Release Certificate, of the Immigrant Georg Ludwig Hubig (Hubich)

"We of the government of the principality of Nassau Saarbrücken, the official president, privy councillor, court and government councillor, hereby document and consent to the proper request of the serf Georg Ludwig Hubig of Völklingen in the Grafschaft (earldom) Saarbrücken to be free and released from the serfdom in which he was held by His Grace and further that if he and his family return for a short or a long time, to any place or location where serfdom is found in His Grace's domain, where he settles with the permission of His Grace or simply stays there on a day to day basis, then he will be obligated to the duties of serfdom as he was before, and will remain in that state. This was documented in Saarbrücken on 29 May 1784 with the principality's governmental seal and the signature of D. Pammerer, official president, privy and government councillor of Nassau-Saarbrücken's district government."

Johann Hubich, nicknamed *der krumme Schmiedt* ("the stooped smith"), great-grandson of Georg Ludwig, lived in Tereblestie from 1838 until 1909. His autobiography, which is published in the *Deutsch-Tereblestie* book on pages 186-190, includes the family history as he had heard it. He wrote, "My grandfather was named and called himself Ludwig Huwig and came the village Völkingen in the earldom Saarbrücken in Alsace-Lorraine. He was released from serfdom in 1786, which was when Emperor Joseph II was head of the Austrian royal house of Habsburg. The Habsburgs recruited Germans to come to Galicia, Bukovina, and Hungary, where each family would receive 28 *Joch* [note: 1 *Joch* equals 0.575464 hectare, 1 hectare equals 2.471 acres], of land, a house, barn, shed, and farm implements. In addition, each person received 35 *Florin* for daily expenses and travel costs from Germany. No emigrant had any property; each was only the serf of his lord and was released as such.

"My great-grandfather Ludwig Huwig migrated from Germany to Lemberg and supposedly arrived in the autumn and because winter was coming, lived there at government expense until the spring. During the winter, he was supposedly married in Lemberg and in the spring of 1787 was settled as a colonist in Satulmare, Bukovina ..."

The villages of origin for other *Pfälzer* who immigrated to Galicia and eventually settled in Bukovina have also been established. These localities and their associated families were as follows:

Rockenhausen (*Kreis*): Böhmer (see note in Fratautz book, p. 17), Hodel, Kerth, Kissinger, Wendling, Taub
Kaiserslautern (*Kreis*): Burghard, Mang, Mock, Walther
Worms (*Kreis*): Radmacher, Schmidt
Alzey (*Kreis*): Armbrüster, Hassel
Rorodt (near Hunsrück): Manz
Weitersborn (west of Bad Kreuznach): Kelsch

A separate *Pfälzer* group included a small group of Mennonites from the Anabaptist tradition, excellent farmers who settled in Einsiedel, Falkenstein, and Mostki in the Lemberg area and in Neuhof and Kiernica near Gródek.[6] Although over a third of the first settlers moved on to Russia, their significance outweighs their numbers. Because they did not undergo the privations experienced by the Evangelicals, they managed to expand their holdings by purchasing rather than leasing land beginning with Neuhof in 1830. When others gave up their holdings, the Mennonites acquired them, speculating on purchases, making them profitable, and then reselling the lands in smaller tracts to Poles and Ruthenians.

Other Germans in this region emigrated from villages located further in east in neighboring Hesse-Nassau, according to Massier, Messner, and Dressler. These localities and their associated families include:

Löhnberg: Bock
Bissingen (*Kreis* Wetzlar): Kieper/Kipper
Zeilhard (*Kreis* Dieburg): Rau

Southwestern Germany, including the Duchy of Württemberg and Baden-Durlach, was another center for German emigration that eventually led to West Prussia and/or Galicia, and then Bukovina. Although the constitution specified that people had the right to leave at will, the Duke was opposed to emigration and ordered his officials to impede it whenever possible. Here also, Bukovina village historians have identified villages of origin for emigrants. They may be generally located as follows.

Vaihingen (*Kreis*): Clemens, Ganther, Reh, Theilmann
Calw (*Kreis*): Dürr, Glass, Schönthaler
Tuttlingen (*Kreis*): Irion, Kohler
Horb (*Kreis*): Schlotter, Huncker
Balingen (*Kreis*): Ast, Scherle
Pforzheim (*Kreis*): Bessai, Schumm, Zachmann
Maulbronn (*Kreis*): Schäfer
Karlsruhe (*Kreis*): Schrey
Rottweil (*Kreis*): Jäckle, Etter

Civil and church records contain clues about chain migration among these Swabians. Max Miller's book *Die*

Auswanderung der Württemberger nach Westpreussen und dem Netzegau 1776-1786 gives an overview of the former type of record. Miller summarized past research, identified archival resources in Württemberg and Berlin, and described emigration movements from 1781 until 1786. He also presented two sets of Prussian lists: emigrants passing through Potsdam and Berlin, and Württembergers who settled in the Netze River district and the Marienwerder-Bromberg areas beginning in 1781. Included are the Bessay, Deutscher (Diescher or Tiescher), Dirr (Dörr, Dürr), Glaß, Irion, Jäkel, Jetter (Etter), Klemens (Clemens), Merkle, Näher (Neher), Reh (Rehe), Ringwald, Scherle, Schönthaler, Schrey, Stahl, Thielmann, and Zachmann (Zogmann) families.

The Württemberg state archives hold no emigration records prior to 1781. The emigration records in the state archives, as described by Miller, include:

• *Kabinettsregistratur* (p. 12). Persons desiring to leave were required to present written and personal applications to the Duke. These have apparently been lost.
• *Der Geheimrat* (p. 13) was the top central governing body and as such, supervised the governmental actions and handled emigrant reports. The 1781 Geheimratsakten emigrant lists include Friedrich Schäfer, Hardthof; Johann Georg Merkle, born in Meissheim, living in Leonbronn, paid 150 florins; Johann Georg Schäfer, Heimertigen, paid 75 florins; Friedrich Irion, shoe maker from Tübingen; and Michael Huncker from Vöringen.
• *Die Herzogliche Regierung,* or *Oberrat* (p. 13) has the most emigrant records: 25 volumes for the 1757-1806. Miller used the four volumes for 1781,1782, 1783, and 1784. Although the record quality varies, they do accurately portray the emigration movement.
• The 1781 *Oberratsakten* emigrant lists include the repeated applications of Matthias Schrey, Michel Huncker from Vöringen, "Klein, Friedrich = Lorenz Schönthaler, Ludwig Merkle from Neuenberg" and Ludwig Ringwald from Balingen.

• The 1782 *Oberratsakten* emigrant lists include Lorenz Näher with Hansjerg Lupolt (Luipolt?) and Martin Schott from Dürrwangen in the Balingen district, Adam Reeh and his sister Elisabeth from Ötisheim, Maulbronn; and Johann Seger from Wildberg.
• *Stadt- und Amtsschreibereien* (p. 13-14) document all legal emigration cases which were presented with birth and character references to the city and district authorities, which is rather helpful when studied with church record books.
• *Sonstige,* or miscellaneous records, for 1781 cite Glass, Jakob Friedrich from Gechingen.

Many Württembergers chose to immigrate to Prussia. In the first Partition of Poland in 1772, Prussia obtained lands linking East Prussia with Pommern and Brandenburg when Austria annexed Galicia/Lodomeria. Miller notes the records in Berlin documenting this migration:

• *Preuß. Geheim. Staatsarchiv* in Berlin-Dahlem (Miller 14) holds record from the *Khl. General-Ober-Finanz-, Krieges- und Domänes-Direktoriums,* also known as the *Generaldirektorium.* The material includes reports and tables about colonists in the West Prussian and Bromberg *Cammerdeputationen.* Two volumes specifically relate to colonists from Württemberg, Baden-Durlach, and other regions.
• *Spezialakten des Generaldirectoriums* includes 1781 settlement records of the *Westpreußisches Cammerdepartment* (or Marienwerder) and the *Netzedistrikt Cammerdepartment* (Bromberg) for emigrants from Württemberg and Baden-Durlach. These include colonist settlement petitions, some made in person in Potsdam, others sent from their homeland to the *Generaldirektorium.* Although regular *Namentliche Nachweisungen* verified the names of the immigrants, their family and property circumstances, only rather general replies were recorded for *Herkunft* (place of origin). Officials often returned baptismal certificates and immigration passes to the applicants without making copies.

Table 1 - Settlers assigned to the Netze District (Bromberg)
1 June - 30 November 1781

Amt (district)	*Vorwerk* (farm settlement)	Colonist
Strelno	Bielsko	Michael Theilmann, wife
"	"	Chr. Clemens
"	"	Adam Rehe
"	Ciechrz	Johann Schäfer
"	"	Fr. Zachmann = Zogmann
"	Stodoly	Jakob Bessey
"	"	Sam. Etter

Table 2 - Settlers assigned to the Netze District (Bromberg) 1 December 1781 - 31 March 1782

Amt	Vorwerk	Colonist	Herkunft (Origin)
Bromberg	Oplawitz	Michael Huncker	Vöhringen
Kruschwitz	Cykowo	Mart. Merkle	Zillhausen
"	"	Balth. Jetter	Weilheim
"	Sierakowo	Fr. Glaß	Gechingen
"	"	Lor. Schönthaler	Feldrennach
Murzynno	Schadlowitz	Mart. Scherle	
"	"	Joh. Kiesinger	
"	"	Jak. Jotter = Jetter	
"	"	Ludw. Ringwald	
"	"	Mich. Huncker	
"	Spital	Mich. Schlotter	
"	"	Jak. Schlotter	
"	"	Erh. Ruf	
"	"	Lorenz Nehr	
Nakel	Sadke	Martin Jäckle	

Table 3 - Settlers assigned to the Netze District (Bromberg) 1 December 1782 - 31 March 1783

Amt	Vorwerk	Colonist	Herkunft
Strelno	Bielsko	Joh. & Konr. Irion	Tabingen

Within a year or two, the disillusioned Swabians in West Prussia abandoned their settlements. Some crossed into Poland and then to Galicia; others went directly to Galicia where they registered for settlement in Zamocz or Lemberg, where they waited for settlement.

The German Bohemians in Galicia consisted of two main groups: the *Egerländer* and the *Böhmerwäldler*, both Roman Catholic, according to the research of Walter Kuhn.[7] People in the Machliniec area, which included the mother colonies Machliniec, Nowe Siolo, Kornelówka, and Izydorówka, were exclusively *Egerländer* from villages around Plan, Tachau, and Pfraumberg, and between Bischofteinitz and Pilsen. Those in the Felizienthal area, however, came from both these Egerland areas and from Bohemian Forest villages around Kuschwarda, Wallern, and Prachatitz. Kuhn identified these places of origin by studying birth places noted in the Roman Catholic marriage records in the Machliniec and Felizienthal parishes.

The Bohemian Forest, one of the largest forest areas in Europe, reportedly had vast areas never been disturbed by an axe by as late as 1870. In the center, along the *Kubani*, is the primeval forest from which the Felizienthal people emigrated. This area had only slowly been penetrated for settlement in the course of wood cutting for the glassworks

cottage industry. Woodcutters, *Köhler* [charcoal burners] and *Aschenbrenner* [potash burners], a primitive people who lived in simple huts in the deep forest, were the vanguard of civilization. Only gradually were small farms established in clearings around the abandoned glass huts and in the process, the woodcutters became smallholders.

Even before the migration to Galicia, some Bohemians went to Bukovina and established a glassworks called Althütte in 1793. Here as in Bohemia, wood was utilized in *Pottaschebrennen*, and then the cleared woodland was settled. Only later in the 1800s would German Bohemian farms appear in Bukovina.

In Galicia, a German Bohemian glass hut was established at Lubaczow, but the workers soon moved to Bukovina. An *Eisenhütte*, or iron works, led to the settlement of Ludwikowka and after it failed, it became a woodcutter settlement like Jammersthal and Pöchersdorf in the Felizienthal area. But even the farming communities like Machliniec and Angelówka were placed upon cleared forest land. The old people in Mariahilf said that when their ancestors came to Galicia, they were offered land in the Kolomea area but declined and instead selected the most remote, overgrown land in the district. They came from the forest and that was where they wanted to be.

The German Bohemians were not settled in Galicia under the terms of any state initiative or program. Rather, they came at their own risk and at their own expense, often without a known destination, prepared to settle wherever they found an opportunity to do so. They were allotted forested lands but had to come up with everything else on their own. They built their houses from wood that they felled; they did not receive any livestock or implements or funds to support their settlement. It must be noted that the three youngest Bohemian settlements, Pöchersdorf, Neu-Mizun, and Jammersthal were formed with state sponsorship upon tillable land but by this time, after 1830, the state's program was completely different than it had in the 1770s and 1780s.

Galicia: The Land and Its People

Galicia, sometimes called Austrian Poland in North American census lists and texts, was the destination for these immigrants in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It lies in the central European borderlands, spreading north from the Carpathian foothills across the Sarmatian Plain and reaching from the Biala, a tributary of the Vistula River, in the west to the Zbrucz in the east.

The duchy of Halych was annexed by Poland in the fourteenth century and was included in the Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth formed in the 1569 Union of Lublin. Land was increasingly concentrated in the hands of aristocratic Polish landlords including the Tarnowski, Zamoyski, Potocki, Gołuchowski, Lubomirski and other families, who only numbered about 95,000 or 3.4% of the province by the late eighteenth century.[8] The vast majority of the population consisted of the enserfed peasants who provided their landlords with five and even six days of labor per week, with domestic service, and with a proportion of their agriculture produce in exchange for tiny plots of land. They identified themselves as *tutejszy*, "people from here," or locals.[9] The term *Nationalisten* or indigenous peoples, is typically used for them in population estimates and censuses dating from the time of Austrian annexation until the mid-nineteeth century. When the term is employed in Galicia, for example, it refers to Poles and Ruthenians, who are counted together and not separately. Therefore Kann refers to Schuselka, who in 1843 estimated that 4.35 million Poles and Ruthenians, "no breakdown between them," lived in Galicia and Bukovina.[10]

Who are the Ruthenians? Kann explains that although *Ruthenian* is a latinization of the word "Russian," it historically refers to the most western branch of the Ukrainian people who lived in eastern Galicia and northeastern Hungary.[11] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Austrians referred to them as Ruthenians (*Rusyny*) and Russians called them *Malorosy*, or "Little Russians." Although the word *Ukraine*, which means "borderlands," first appeared in 1187 in the Kievan Rus chronicles, it referred to lands around Kiev, located further east. The people in this region referred to themselves as *Rusyny*, not Ukrainians, until the late 1800s.[12]

For hundreds of years, the Ruthenian people had been Orthodox Christians and for that reason were persecuted by the Roman Catholic Poles. In 1596, a group of Orthodox bishops and the Roman Catholic Church in Rome signed an agreement called the Union of Brest. This stipulated that the rites and traditions of the Orthodox Church would be preserved while acknowledging the primacy of the Catholic pope. The actions of the Orthodox bishops caused much strife but most of the Ruthenian people living under Polish jurisdiction followed the bishops in what is called the Uniate, or Greek Catholic, Church. It was the Greek Orthodox monasteries that dotted the countryside at the time of the Austrian annexation of Galicia.

The Jews, a third segment of the population of Galicia in the late 1700s, were already mentioned as living in Lwów (Lemberg) in 1356. Several hundred years later, the region was the center of *Ashkenazi*, or mainstream, Judaism and was experiencing two important movements. The first, *Hasidism* with its pious and emotional mysticism, developed as a response to Orthodox Judaism in the wake of church-sponsored pograms and revolts in Poland and Ukraine. The *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment, encouraged its adherents, the *maskilim*, to study secular subjects in preparation for new professional fields, and attempted to assimilate into society by adopting prevailing European dress, language and customs. This contributed to the Reform movement as well as to Zionism. By 1776, four years after the Austrian annexation of the region, a census indicated that over 144,000 Jews were living in Galicia and that three-quarters of them lived in the east, mostly in cities and towns.[13] They represented 13.2% of Galicia's population in 1773.[14]

In 1772, the increasing weakness of Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth prompted Europe's three great powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to join in the first partition of that land. Austria's share was 18% of the territory, including Galicia-Lodomeria, and 32% of the population. The western half of Galicia was mostly Polish and the eastern part Ruthenian. Although it was without agricultural development, it did have a significant population of 2.6 million people, or 33 persons per square kilometer. No vast open areas awaited settlement here.[15]

At the time that Empress Maria Theresa gained Galicia in the first Partition of Poland, she was working to reform social conditions. Serfdom (*Leibeigenschaft*) still existed in the Habsburg empire and she sought to restrict or modify it into *Unterthänigkeit*, a lord-subject relationship, which also existed in the realm. The empress envisioned bringing German farmers and artisans to the region to develop it and also to serve as a buffer along the empire's eastern frontier but her military advisors opposed her plans. Several years later, she acquired Bukovina from the Ottoman Empire to serve as a link between Galicia and Transylvania. Bukovina's 10,422 square kilometers were sparsely populated in contrast with Galicia: only about 60,000 persons, or about six persons, mostly shepherds and poor peasants, were counted per square kilometer in 1775.[16]

Her son and successor, Joseph II, carried on and expanded the reforms. He regarded Galicia, in particular, as a place where experiments to restructure society might be conducted with the intention of improving socio-economic conditions and productivity, and decided that conditions could not be improved until the lot of the peasant class was improved. His *Unterthanenpatent*, an edict intended to lead to the abolishment of serfdom, was issued in September 1781. It limited the number of days per week and the services that a landlord could demand from his peasants, and also recognized a peasant's right to work his land, to marry without his lord's permission, to move to other places, and to file legal complaints against the lord.

His social experiments in Galicia were also supported by his *Patent of Toleration* (1781) and *Patent of Settlement* (1782) which promised various settlement incentives including freedom of conscience and religion, exemption from military service for the oldest son in each family, land, a house, animals, farm equipment, seed, household furnishings, free transportation from Vienna, ten years exemption from property taxes, and funds for support until settlement.

Maria Theresa and Joseph II both applied parity in state relations with Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches. The appointments of Greek Catholic clergy were no longer subject to the Polish landlords and furthermore, their status and well-being was enhanced by government salaries. The money came from the *Religionsfond*, a fund that the state established when it closed the Greek Orthodox monasteries and leased the land. A significant event was the re-creation of the office of the Greek Catholic metropolitan in Halych, which had not existed for over four hundred years, and provided the Ruthenian peasants with their only social institution.[17]

Hapsburg reforms also extended to education. Since elementary schools were virtually non-existent, they introduced a system with several types of schools: one-class primary schools taught in the native language of the village, three-class primary schools taught in German and Polish, and four-year schools that were intended to prepare students for further education. In 1784, Joseph also founded a university in Lemberg, the first in the Ukrainian lands of central Europe, to train civil servants and priests.[18]

Immigration and Early Colonist Life

Approximately thirteen thousand Germans immigrated to Galicia in response to Emperor Joseph II's patent.[19] Most from parts of modern southwestern Germany, arriving as early as 1783 although some were not actually settled until 1790. Others came in the early decades of the nineteenth century from Egerland or Bohemia within Austria. The settlements included closed ethnic colonies as well as *Einsiedlungen* established in the villages of other nationalities. Walter Kuhn's statistical overview of German settlements in Galicia from his work *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien*, pages 37-41, is translated, edited and presented in the appendix.

The Germans from the Rhine Palatinate, mostly farm laborers and artisans, were predominately Evangelical: Lutheran and Reformed. Their *Stammsiedlungen*, or mother colonies, were established with the assistance of the imperial government in the 1780s and 1790s. Due to rapid population growth, *Tochtersiedlungen*, or daughter colonies were soon established. The colonists received an average of twenty to twenty-five *Joch* of land with a house, barns, sheds, livestock, farm implements and tools.

Five immigrant classification groups were identified, and plans outlined for the settlement of each in Galicia. On page 10 of her translation of Massier's book, Dr. Sophie Welisch describes them as follows:

1. Privileged colonists who held more assets received larger land allotments with more buildings, animals, and implements.

2. Disadvantaged colonists could claim only a so-called "half" allotment under the terms of the settlement patent.

3. Private colonists had limited assets, similar to those in no. 2, and were to be placed upon large, privately-owned estates subject to contractual agreements with the owners.

4. Those colonists who came on their own initiative, without a certificate for receipt of land or without financial resources, could attempt to buy/lease land on their own in the first instance, or seek work as laborers in the other.

5. Republican colonists included those of other nationalities who, like the Germans, were free to apply for land but did not receive the same settlement incentives.

Because the Austrian settlement commission were not prepared for the large numbers of immigrants, the actual implementation of plans fell far behind Joseph's expectations. The houses had not been built, and settlers were accommodated in the huts of Polish or Ruthenian farmers or the homes of Jews, or within the Greek Orthodox monasteries that the state had dissolved. Massier reports, for example, that " ... lodgings at that time often meant accommodations of up to 'twenty' people in a Polish farmhouse. This frequently resulted in the eventual expenditure of most of the cash reserves brought on the journey with the result that the colonists to a greater or lesser degree became dependent upon the state."[20] Many families remained in these temporary lodgings for some years, obviously at inconvenience to those compelled to host them. Disease broke out; many became discouraged, returned to their place of origin, or moved on. Settlement Commissioner Ainser wrote to Vienna, "[They] are naked and destitute and one would have to be completely bereft of Christian and humanitarian feelings not to hear their lamentations and observe their distress without coming to their aid."[21]

When they were placed upon their own land, it was soon evident that most had only limited experience of agriculture:

they did not know how to produce a crop. In 1787, the Lutheran pastor Kurz had already written in the Brigidau parish book that "From August until January, a number of families had no bread in their homes. All that kept them from starvation were a few potatoes." A year later, in 1788, the wheat harvest in Brigidau failed. The people were left with only oats and peas; years of suffering and severe poverty set in. The pastor wrote, "The poverty and hunger in my congregation is so great that some families have not eaten bread in six to eight weeks. They will actually go out at night and dig up a dead ox in order to have something to eat. At church services, some people faint from weakness." Many sold out for little or nothing and moved on to Russia; others simply disappeared. A few years later, in 1793, Pastor Fasi noted that many people could not attend worship services in Josefsberg because they had nothing to wear, and that children were attending school wearing nothing more than a shirt. These people had emigrated from a well-established old culture in which most had learned to read and write. They were able to correspond with, and even visit, relatives and friends in northern Galicia or even Bukovina a few years later. But their children in Galicia were not able to do so. The Brigidau pastor was describing the Dornfeld parishioners when he wrote, "The colonists are raw, wild, uncouth people and angry Christians. On the average, they are the dregs of humanity, who exist only to make the pastor's life miserable." And yet, a visitor to the same village in 1804 reported that he had visited an old farm woman on a Sunday afternoon and had heard her read from Gellert's *Moralische Vorlesungen* (Moral Lectures).[22]

Frustrated by problems in his colonization program, Joseph II brought it to a halt in 1786. It took another full year, with a massive backlog of settlers waiting for placement in Galicia, before the government began to move some Germans from the Palatinate and Württemberg to Bukovina. Various estimates based upon registration lists and church and civil records indicate that 1,750 to 2,080 persons came to Bukovina from German-speaking areas:

• 300-350 from the Zips district of Upper Hungary (now in Slovakia)
• 350-400 from the so-called Swabian regions (the Pfalz, Württemberg, Baden)
• 1,100-1,300 from Bohemia

Sixteen of these families went to Fratautz, where they leased ground from the *Religionsfond*, in the fall of 1787. In July 1788, ten families signed a contract with the St. Ilie estate and settled in Illischestie. The following partial list of villages, settlers and places of origin includes previously - cited families from the *Pfalz* and Württemberg. Massier's and Dressler's books contain more details regarding them.

A contrasting picture is presented by the German Bohemian villages. They consisted of distinct, cohesive groups who had lived together in a community in the Bohemian Forest or in the Egerland and had remained united throughout their migration and relocation. This made it easier for them to put down roots in Galicia and Bukovina.

Their earliest settlement was Mariahilf, which was established by thirty-three families in 1811. Another was

Table 4 - Bukovina Villages and Families

Family	Place of Origin	Previous Registration/Settlement
	Alt-Fratautz	
Bessai	Niefern in Pforzheim district	West Prussia, Galicia
Etter	Flözlingen, Rottweil district, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Jäckle	Flözlingen, Rottweil district, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Glass	Gechingen, *Kreis* Calw, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Kurtz	Völklingen, *Kr.* Saarbrücken, Pfalz	Galicia
Massier	Hattgenstein, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Reh	Ötisheim, *Kr.* Vaihingen, near Maulbronn	West Prussia, Galicia
Rein	Bösen, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Schäfer	Gündelbach, *Kr.* Maulbronn	West Prussia?, Galicia
Schönthaler	Feldrennach, *Kr.* Calw, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Wagner	Völklingen, *Kr.* Saarbrücken	Galicia
	Arbora	
Leib	Sötern, Kr. Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Näher	Dürrwangen or Dewangen?	West Prussia, Galicia
Schlotter	Renfritzhausen, *Kr.* Horb, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Schlotter	Leidringen, *Kr.* Balingen, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia

Table 4 (cont.) - Bukovina Villages and Families

Family	**Place of Origin**	**Previous Registration/Settlement**
	Illischestie	
Ast	Pfeffingen, *Kr.* Balingen, Württemberg	Galicia
Huncker	Vöhringen, *Kr.* Horb, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Irion	Talheim, *Kr.* Tuttlingen, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Kerth	Waldgrehweiler, *Kr.* Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Theilmann	Wurmberg, *Kr.* Vaihingen, Maulbronn area	West Prussia, Galicia
Wendling	Finkenbach, *Kr.* Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Zachmann	Kieselbronn, *Kr.* Pforzheim, Baden-Durlach	West Prussia, Galicia
	Milleschoutz-Badeutz	
Glass	Gechingen (see Alt-Fratautz)	
Hamann	Kleinkarlbach, Kreis Frankenthal, Pfalz	Galicia
Walther	Holbornerhof, Kr. Kaiserslautern, Pfalz	Galicia
	Neu-Itzkany	
Hodel	Wartenburg, Kr. Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Kornelson	Holstein	
Rau	Zeilhard, *Kr.* Dieburg, Hesse-Nassau	
	Satulmare	
Hubich	Völkingen, *Kr.* Saarbrücken, Pfalz	Galicia
Mang	Trippstadt, *Kr.* Kaiserslautern, Pfalz	Galicia
Nunweiler	Mörschied, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Schmidt	Mühlheim, *Kr.* Frankenthal, Pfalz	Galicia
Schmidt	Durlach, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Weber	Mörschied, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
	St. Onufry	
Ast	Pfeffingen (see Illischestie)	
Daub/Taub	Alsenz, *Kr.* Rockenhausen, Pfalz	Galicia
Kohler	Schura, *Kr.* Tuttlingen, Württemberg	Galicia
Schmidt	Gundersheim, *Kr.* Worms	Galicia
Schmidt	Ellwangen, *Kr.* Aalen	Galicia
	Tereblestie	
Dirr, Dürr	Simmozheim, *Kr.* Calw, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Deutscher (Teuscher)	Eggenstein, *Kr.* Karlsruhe, Baden	Galicia
Glass	Gechingen (see Alt-Fratautz)	
Hehn	*Kr.* Kaiserlautern, Pfalz	Galicia
Hubich	Völklingen (see Satulmare)	Galicia
Manz	Rorodt in the Hunsrück, Pfalz	Galicia
Massier	Hattgenstein (see Alt-Fratautz)	
Pfeifer	Rinzenberg, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Sauer	Hattengenstein, *Kr.* Birkenfeld, Pfalz	Galicia
Scherle	Zillhausen, *Kr.* Balingen, Württemberg	West Prussia, Galicia
Schrey	Schröck by Leopoldshafen, *Kr.* Karlsruhe	West Prussia, Galicia

Machliniec, which was founded in 1823. It was located far from the nearest Roman Catholic parish, so the people gathered around a massive oak tree on Sundays and holidays, decorated it with holy pictures, lit candles, and prayed the Rosary together. They had scarcely managed to clear their land when they began to work on organizing their own parish. In one letter to the archbishop in Lemberg, they wrote, " ... since we have come into a foreign land where we cannot speak the language, we have had the misfortune of losing our property and our homeland but if we lose our religious faith, our greatest treasure, our holy hope, what a terrible calamity this will be for us and our poor children, whom we cannot help in any other way, and what hopes and expectations could we have for them if this is allowed to happen?"[23] Other Bohemian communities included Teresówka (1818), Machliniec (1823), Zakla (1825), Kornelówka and Josefsthal (1830), Ludwikówka (1832), and Felizienthal, Annaberg, and Karlsdorf (1835).

Since they arrived a half century after the *Pfälzer*s, they only established five daughter colonies: Flehberg and Rosenheck from Mariahilf, Wola Oblznica and Kontrowers from the Machliniec area, and Leopoldsdorf by Ludwikówka.

Life in the Eastern Austrian Empire

The social reforms of Emperor Joseph II were never fully implemented and were rescinded after his death in 1790. Serfdom, for example, continued for decades. The terms of their *Robot*, or compulsory labor for the landlord/leaseholder were fixed and taxation of the peasants continued to rise. The German colonists also experienced these burdens. Johann Hubich describes nineteenth century in Bukovina, which was then administratively linked with Galicia, in his memoirs[24]:

... But he [Ludwig Huwig] did not live there [in Satulmare, Bukovina] very long. One winter he walked to Radautz in a big blizzard and in the evening, on his way home, sat down to rest at the cross before you get to Satulmare, and there he froze to death. Then his son Sebastian supposedly sold the estate rights for 40 Fl. and moved to Tereblestie. When exactly that was, I do not know. I just know that I have had in my hands a document stating that he was magistrate in Tereblestie in 1810 and that he had supposedly received the ground and house at Tereblestie #137, which is still in the family's possession, from the Guts- und Domänenpächter [the estate and crown's leaseholder] Sedorovitsch. This land had originally been measured by the government for the Tereblestie colony but the colonists had not taken possession at that time.

Sedorovitsch utilized the opportunity and placed my grandfather in possession. In return, Grandfather had to perform Robot, or compulsory labor, for Sedorovitsch for a specified time although he filed a report stating that the land was not subject to lord-subject conditions but rather belonged to the colony. The report went to the privy councillor, and the colony asked him to review the matter of the properties received from the state but unfortunately they could barely hang on to their fields. This parcel had been

alloted as colony or community land. Seven colonists received their land parcels all in a row. The eighth colonist got his land from this, had objected and claimed exemption from Robot, paiding an annual tax of 13 Fl. Ö.W. ...

... I attended what is now the Romanian school but at that time was called the Normalschule. Four times every day I passed the estate building with the Propenation offices on one side and the imperial Cameralamt, the imperial area office of the Mandatar, or the authorized government minister, on the other. The crown's leaseholder was the greatest authority or power in the village. No Romanian passed the building without removing his cap, not even if it looked like the building was empty. If anyone saw the leaseholder or the Mandatar, one had to kiss his hand and if not, then one could be seized and at the very least, receive twenty-five cuts with a rod, stick or cane. The bench upon which this punishment would be executed always stood at the leaseholder's door. If someone complained when four to six Decurats, or services to the lord, were reckoned as a punishment, the leaseholder would simply say, 'Der Himmel ist hoch, der Kaiser ist weit, und die Herren habe ich in der Tasche' (heaven is high, the emperor far, and the gentlemen in my pocket). Then the person would be jailed by the Mandatar for another eight to fourteen days, starving if he did not negotiate with the police to obtain forbidden bread.

This is the way that it was with the Zehnt, or tithe: one-tenth of everything that the farmer produced in his fields and gardens was the property of the estate owner or imperial leaseholder whose agent on horseback come out to question everything. No one dared moved any of his harvested crop until the leaseholder's agent, or Auszehner as he was called, rode out on his horse to personally survey the field, measured the pile of grain, and selected what he wanted, whereupon the farmer had to deliver the specified grain to a designated receiver in the farm yard of the leaseholder. If the receiver was not there, then the poor farmer had to wait for him before unloading anything, no matter what the weather was. If it happened to rain, then the wet grain would not be received. Then the farmer had to either dry it there in a room or take it home and dry it there, then bring it back again. Only then could he think about his own grain waiting piled in the field. I remember that in summer, I used to watch as the procession of farmers waited with hats in hand to plead with the Auszehner and kowtow to him. Everyone simply wanted to be done with it because of the weather. It resembled a funeral procession led by the mounted and obviously bored Auszehner, who idly flicked his leather horse whip upon those who followed.

The obligations of the subject who worked for an estate lord were indeed regulated by an imperial patent but it did not help. First, no education was available. No farmer could read or write with any fluency aside from the German colonists who did not have to perform Robot or pay the Zehnt, but rather paid an annual tax of 13 Fl. Ö.W. to the area office. They allowed their children to be taught to read and write by teachers whom they supported out of their own means. Granted, this was inadequate instruction because

the children only went to school in the winter; in the summer they had to herd cattle and do other light work. If the father was poor or if the child was an orphan, then there was no possibility of attending school. The child was simply confirmed by the pastor in the Evangelical Lutheran faith at the age of fourteen years. For this it sufficed if the child knew the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles Creed . . .

The conditions of servitude continued until 1848. Then a law was passed so that the farmer had to buy his land from the authorities in order to be freed from the Robot and the Zehnten. A land release tax was instituted to compensate the crown's leaseholders for their losses ...

Hubich's memoirs reflect the limited socio-economic conditions in the eastern Hapsburg lands. The government intended to keep the eastern half of the empire agricultural and to encourage industry in western provinces like Austria and Bohemia, which only made matters worse. Galicia was more or less as an internal colony of the empire, a source of food and raw products, and a market for finished goods.[25]

Although Joseph II had attempted to reform the landlord/peasant relationship, *corvée* or *panshchyna* in Ukrainian continued to exist in less developed regions such as Galicia. *Corvée* required peasants to work on the lands of their lord for two or three days per week for the use of their plots. This caused much dissatisfaction among the Galician peasantry, contributing to a revolution that led to its abolition in 1848.[26] But emancipation did not improve the economic lot of the peasants. Although the government had promised land to them and had promised to cover the cost, the financial burden was shifted to the peasants in the form or direct and indirect taxes.[27]

The peasants were most enraged by the so-called servitudes. Under the conditions of the emancipation, the landlords generally retained ownership of the servitudes, that is, forests and pastures to which villagers had previously had free access. The peasant now had to pay the landlord's price to obtain firewood, building materials, or livestock feed. These figures were often so high that peasants felt that they had simply exchanged one kind of serfdom for another. Their expenses increased and in the process, their land holdings and income dwindled. A major factor was the subdivision of a peasant's land among his children, usually three to four per family. Wealthy estate owners bought up the tiny plots of peasants who could not survive upon their holdings. In 1859, 66% could be classified as poor, or owning less than twelve acres of land, in 1859. By 1902, this had increased to 80%. About 2400 large landowners who held over 40% of the arable land in Galicia and the remainder, 60%, was divided into hundreds of thousand of tiny peasant plots (according to Subtelny, p. 309-310). Over 400,000 peasant holdings in Galicia in 1902 were described as being so small that they could only supply food for the average family for three months of the year (see Davies, *Heart of Europe,* p. 256).

Limited opportunities to earn extra money existed. Laborers on an estate received the lowest wages in the Hapsburg empire, which were only about a quarter of wages paid in the Austrian heartland. Banks that lent money did not exist and moneylenders charged 150 to 250% annual interest. At such rates, indebtedness only increased and the peasant who could not meet his payment would find that his creditor had the right to confiscate and auction off his property.

An 1887 study titled *The Misery of Galicia*[28] paints a grim picture. Rural overpopulation was higher than in all other parts of Europe and was approaching that of China and India so that Galicia's people were in a worse condition than the Irish at the beginning of the potato famine. The productive capacity of a Galician was one-fourth of an average European but his food consumption was one-half. "As compared with the standard of living in England at that time, the average Galician produced only one-quarter of the basic foodstuffs, ate less than one-half of the standard English diet, possessed only one-ninth of the Englishman's propertied wealth, and received barely one-eleventh of the English farmer's return on his land, yet he paid twice as high a proportion of his income in taxes," Davies writes. Alcoholism was a tremendous problem, due in part to the estate owners who monopolized alcohol production and to the tavern keepers who controlled sales. In 1900 in Eastern Galicia, there was one tavern for every 220 inhabitants, but only one elementary school per 1500 inhabitants. Eighty-one percent of the peasantry was illiterate. Health conditions and medical care in Galicia were just as appalling. Although the entire Habsburg empire averaged one hospital per 295 inhabitants in 1900, Galicia had only one per 1200. More than 50% of the children died before age five due to disease and malnutrition. About fifty thousand deaths per year were attributed to malnutrition and/or famine. Of all the three Partitions of Poland, Galicia had the highest birth rate and the highest death. A quarter of the population could have emigrated without significantly improving the conditions - and emigrate they did. Two million left in the twenty-five years before World War I and 400,000, or 5% of the population, left in 1913 alone.

Galician Daughter Colonies in Bukovina

The upper Sereth River valley and northwestern Bukovina up to the Czeremosch River were not affected by the early German colonization but across the decades and with private initiatives, German settlements did arise here. Most colonists were Germans from existing Bukovina communities such as Hliboka (Adancata), Tereblestie, and Illischestie as well as from Bogucice, Bolechow, Kolomea, Konstantowka, and other Galician villages where they had lived among other ethnic groups. Their stories appear in various sources including Konrad Gross's *Alexanderdorf and Katharinendorf: Evangelical Lutheran Communities in Bukovina from 1863 until 1940*, which this author translated for publication in the quarterly *Galizien German Descendants*, and in Edgar Müller's *Die evangelische Kirchengemeinde Neu-Zadowa und Nikolausdorf von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung 1883-1940.*

The exact date [of the establishment of Alexanderdorf and Katharinendorf) is not known. It is certain that the first settlers came from Galicia and bought land from Ukrainian farmers without any restriction or impediment. The community was called Heckendorf because of the Hecken (hedges) that covered the land. Before the colonization of the village Alexanderdorf, Heinrich Lindenbach and Georg Gross, the author's uncle, bought land from Ukrainians. If the dates in the Evangelical Lutheran Church records in Czernowitz are correct - and there is no doubt of that - the first settlers were in Heckendorf by 1840. This allegation is based upon the following entry in the Czernowitz parish record: 'On 15 July 1865 Johann Georg Gross, a son of Georg Gross and his wife Katharine Adam, born in Alexanderdorf, age twenty-two years, single, was united in marriage with Katharina Goeres, daughter of Friedrich Goeres and his wife Katharine Pfeiffer, born in Alexanderdorf, twenty years old, single, by the Roman Catholic priest Adalbert Kubinski of Wiznitz. Witnesses were Peter Jagloski and Heinrich Lindenbach.'

A second supporting document is a Lutheran marriage record in Czernowitz. The farmer Karl Kraemer, born in Alexanderdorf, age twenty-one years, married the eighteen-year-old daughter of Friedrich Klein. She had been born in Augustdorf. There must have been other settlers besides Heinrich Lindenbach and Georg Gross in Heckendorf, and they must have become the residents of Alexanderdorf. These include Jakob Kraemer, the father of Karl, as well as Johann Wilhelm Rickerich from Josefsberg, Galicia, and others. Settlements of Heckendorf and Alexanderdorf probably began at about the same time and others joined the first settlers ...

... [The] first settler Georg Gross ... said that others had come from Galicia with him, intending to settle there, but were discouraged by the difficulties presented and moved on elsewhere. Many came and went ... [but others] persevered and thereby attracted ever more settlers from Galicia.

Baron Alexander v. Wassilko sent agents to Galicia to recruit German settlers who would cultivate the land. The neighboring Ukrainians were not prepared to rent and till the land. At first Baron v. Wassilko divided his land into parcels located one kilometer off the Kaiserstrasse in the hope that this would attract settlers. This attempt produced in a sluggish manner. Then he parcelled the land along the Kaiserstrasse and found willing candidates. In time, the communities that bore the name of the baron and his lady were established: Alexanderdorf in honor of the baron, and Katharinendorf for the baroness Katharine v. Wassilko. Since the land parcels were not too small, they attracted families with large numbers of children who hoped to provide each son with his own farm. The land was rented for ninety-nine years, according to early documents. Because of the constant immigration and emigration, the rental contracts were entered in Czernowitz on 27 August 1892 for twenty-five years, expiring on 1 November 1917, according to the imperial county court decree Zl. 19 615/1892.

The hereditary right to the land was secured by each family for their children and grandchildren. The contract was written so that the proprietor incurred no risk and his rights were completely protected ...

Neu-Zadowa was established in the late 1880s on the left bank of the Sereth River on lands from the estates of the lords Joan Baloscheskul, Constantin Baloscheskul, and David Krantz among others. About forty-eight families lived there in 1888. About a kilometer north of Neu-Zadowa was Eichenau, established as a cooperative venture in 1913-1914 on the estate of the de la Scala family. The settlers, about twenty Catholic families, came from Mariahilf and Kolomea, Galicia. About eight kilometers northeast of Neu-Zadowa was Nikolausdorf, established upon the estate of Baron Nikolai Wassilko, for whom it was named. Most of the twenty-six settlers came from Nadworna, Brettheim, Diamantheim, and Ugartsthal, Galicia, as well as some from Tereblestie and Lichtenberg, Bukovina.

But where are the records?

In 1880, Gustawicz noted the locations of various denominational and regional church offices in Galicia:

1.   The Roman Catholics were under the jurisdiction of their archbishop of Lwów (Lemberg) and three subordinate bishops located in in Kraków, Tarnów, and Przemyl.

2.   The Greek Catholics (Uniates) were under the authority of their metropolitan in Lwów and the bishop in Przemysl.

3.   The Armenian church had its own archbishop.

4.   The Jewish national rabbinate was located in Lemberg with twenty-six district rabbinates. Each community had its own *szkolnik*, or sexton.

5.   The "Churches of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions" are the Protestant churches: Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed. The jurisdiction of the Galician superintendent, who was based in Lemberg, included both Galicia and Bukovina.

a)   The Augsburg (Lutheran) superintendent had three regions: the west with seven parishes, the central with ten, and the east with five including Radautz, Czernowitz, Jakobeni, and Illischestie, Bukovina.

b)   The Helvetic (Reformed or Swiss) superintendent had four parishes: Andrasfalva, Königsberg, Josefsberg, and Kolomea (Kolomyja).

6.   An Eastern Orthodox chaplain was based in Lemberg.

Remember that the state religion was Roman Catholicism, but from the time that Galicia was annexed by the Austrian Empire, the Greek Catholic or Uniate faith was officially recognized. As stated above, the orthodox monasteries were closed and their properties administered by the *Religionsfond*. Many German immigrants lived on

Religionsfond lands, in point of fact. While there was freedom of religion and conscience in the Habsburg empire, the Roman Catholic church was officially designated to hold all records of births, deaths and marriages. Therefore Evangelical clergy were required to give copies of their ministerial acts to the local Catholic priest until 1849, when the Evangelical Church of Austria was recognized. You may find that an Evangelical ancestor was baptized by a Greek Catholic priest according to a Roman Catholic parish register. This does not indicate religious conversion. It simply documents that Evangelicals asked local Greek or Roman Catholic clergy to perform ministerial rites if their own pastor lived too far away.

In his article about the L'viv central state archives, Matthew Bielawa writes that "Lutherans began their own record keeping in 1849 while the Jews had to wait until 1868 for their rabbis to keep official documents."[29] A clarification must be made here. In point of fact, Lutheran records were kept from the 1791 establishment of the Evangelical parishes in Radautz and Czernowitz. These and other Evangelical records have been filmed by the Family History Library.

The following chart locating Galician church records has been adapted and updated from German Genealogy - genealogy.net at <http://www.genealogienetz.de/genealogy.html>.

EAST GALICIA

A. *Evangelical (Before 1870)*
   *A*rchiv Alter Akten in Warsaw
   Contact: Archiwum Glowne Akt Dawnych
   ul. Dluga 7
   PL-00-950 Warsawa
   skrytka pocztowa 1005
   Poland

   Evangelical (1870-1939)
   Found in the City Clerk's Office of Central Warsaw
   Contact: Urzad Stanu Cywilnego
   ul. Dluga 7
   PL-00-950 Warsawa Sródmiescie, Poland

B. *Roman Catholic*
   1. Lemberg Diocese
      Lubaszow-Archiwum Diecezjalne
      Kuria Arcybiskupia Lubaszow-ul. Miekiewicza 85
      PL-37-680 Lubaszów, Poland

   2. Przemysl Diocese
      Premysl Archiwum Diecezjalne
      Kuria Arcybiskupia Przemysl
      Przemysl, Poland

   3. Archiwum Alter Akten (see above)

   4. City Clerk's Office of Central Warsaw (see above)

   5. Archiwum Akt Zaburzanskich in Warsaw
      ul. Juzuicka 8
      PL-00-281 Warsawa, Poland

C. *Eastern Orthodox*
   These books remained in East Galicia and are probably in the local city clerk's office or archives. It has been reported that were filmed and the films kept in Kiev.

II   WEST GALICIA

A. *Evangelical*
   For communities and parishes still in existence original records are still held in parish offices, duplicate records for the years from 1810-1870 are at State Archives

   For communities that have been dissolved, disbanded or closed: records dating from before 1870 are kept in the state archives, records dating from after 1870 are kept in local city clerk's office

B. *Roman Catholic original records*
   These are still held in parish offices (*Katolickie Biuro Parafialne* [P]) but those that are 100 years old or more are held at the diocesan archives (Archiwum Archidiecezjalne [P]).

   Roman Catholic duplicates
   1810-1870 - kept in the state archives
   After 1870 - kept in the local city clerk's office

It may also be helpful to note the present location of church denominational and regional offices in Ukraine and in other countries:

1.   The Roman Catholic Church has five archdioceses in Ukraine: Lviv, Kyiv-Zhytomyr, Kamjanets-Podolisky, Lutsk, and the Apostolic Administration of Carpathians in Mukacheve. In Poland, an ecclesiastical reform was instituted in 1992 but the archival system, established in 1926, remains in effect. Records dating from before the twentieth century are usually stored at diocese archives but not all churches have submitted their record so check with parish offices before visiting the archives.

2.   The Greek Catholic, or Uniate, diocese offices are located in Ivano-Frankivsk, Kolomya-Chernivci, Sambor-Drohobych, Ternopil, and Zboriv.

3.   Information about Jewish records from Galicia is available at the <www.jewishgen.org> and <www.avotaynu.com> web sites.

4.   Many Evangelical Lutheran church records were taken to Germany during World War II and can be found in one of two archives, both of which have published inventories. Note that the EZA has moved from its former address at Jebenstrasse 3 in Berlin:

Evangelisches Zentralarchiv (EZA)
Bethaniendamm 29
D-10623 Berlin Deutschland / Germany
Telephone: 49 (030) 22 50 45 20
Fax: 49 (030) 22 50 45 40
E-mail: archiv@ezab.de or kirchenbuchstelle@ezab.de
Web site with English option: <http://www.ezab.de>

Die Zentralstelle für Genealogie
Sachsischen Staatsarchiv
Schongauer Str. 1
D-04329 Leipzig Deutschland / Germany
Telphone: 49 (0341) 2 55 55 51
Fax: 49 (0341) 2 55 55 55

An additional important center for research regarding Evangelicals is the *Galiziendeutsches Heimatarchiv* in Kaiserslautern, Germany. It is housed at the *Institut für pfalzische Geschichte und Volkerkunde* which is a records repository for over 300,000 persons who emigrated from the Rheinland-Pfalz. They maintain a file with a card for each individual listing name, place of settlement, spouse, date/place of death and burial location, occupation, religion, and the village of origin with date of emigration. This file has proven to be valuable in facilitating Galician and Bukovina research. Furthermore, the preeminent Galician researcher Ernst Hexel organized his files prior to his death in recent years and donated it all to the *Heimatarchiv*. The collection includes his handwritten manuscripts *Gemeinde- und Ortsverzeichnis von Galizien mit Hinweisen auf die zuständigen Pfarrämter* (Galician vilage list with parish references) and *Verzeichnis der deutschen Siedlungen und Einsiedlungen in polnische und ukrainische Dörfer in Galizien mit Hinweisen auf die zuständigen Pfarrämter* (list of German settlements in Polish and Ukrainian village with parish references). Publication of the latter is planned.

Heimatarchiv Galizien
Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkerkunde
Benzinoring 6
D-67657 Kaiserslautern Deutschland / Germany

Galicia and Bukovina researchers like Schneider, Kaindl, Hexel Dr. Wilhelm Deutscher and others relied upon the civil and church archives in Lemberg for their work. The Galician provincial and governor's archives were housed in the former St. Bernard monastery which had been seized and appropriated as a regional archival site in 1783. The two sections, one for the Galician provincial and another the governor's archives, included land survey registers called cadastral surveys, appraisal books, village summaries, and tax lists, according to Schneider's introduction to his book.

Today the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, the *Tsentralnyy Derzhavnny Istorychnyy Arkhiv Ukrayiny, u misti L'vovi*, is located in the former Bernardine monastery (see Bielawa, "The Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, Ukraine and Polish Genealogical Research in *Rodziny:*

Journal of the Polish Genealogical Society of America (Summer 2001). The *TsDial* (pronounced Tseh-dee-ahl) card catalog includes indices for the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic church jurisdictions, respectively called an archdiocese and an archepathy. The Genealogical Society of Utah is filming Greek Catholic Consistory of L'viv registers here as well as in Chernivtsy (Czernowitz), Ukraine, which is the former provincial capital of Bukovina. More about the L'viv project is posted on the Federation of East European Family History Societies web portal at <http://feefhs.org/ua/l'viv/gc/gcl'viv1.html>.

Summary

Galicia served as an internal colony for the Habsburg empire from 1772 until 1918. Although Emperor Joseph II envisioned that it would serve as a laboratory for social and economic reform experiments, the initiative had been lost by the time of his death due to inadequate planning and preparations. Deteriorating conditions contributed to disease, famine, and starvation and led people to emigrate to other parts of the Empire, other parts of Europe, and the Americas.

Endnotes

[1] Irmgard Hein Ellingson is the current president of the Federation of East European Family History Societies, a co-founder and international director of the Bukovina Society of the Americas, and a editorial board member for the *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*. She holds a bachelor's degree in political science and history from Winona (Minnesota) State College and a master of art's degree in ministry from Wartburg Theological Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa. She is presently serving in an adjunct faculty position as German instructor at Waldorf College in Forest City, Iowa.

[2] The book has been translated in installments and published in a serial format in the quarterly *Galizien German Descendants*. It is posted on the Federation of East European Family History Societies web portal with <http://feefhs.org/gal/ggd/gkjg/gkjg-idx.html> as the front page.

[3] Immigrant lists are presented and disscussed in Johann Christian Dressler's *Chronik der Bukowiner Landgemeinde Illischestie* (Freilassing: Pannonia-Verlag, 1960), Erwin Massier's *Fratautz und die Fratautzer: Vom Werden und Vergehen einer deutschen Gemeinschaft in der Bukowina* (Pleutersbach: by the author, 1957), and Wilhelm Messner's *Die schwäbisch-pfälzische Bauernsiedlung Deutsch Tereblestie von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung* in the Kaindl-Archiv publications (Heubach/Württemberg: by the author, 1985).

[4] See Walter Kuhn's *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien, Ein Betrag zur Methode der Sprachinselforschung*, which was published in the series *Deutschtum und Ausland, Studien zum Auslanddeutschtum und zur Auslandkultur* in *Schriftenreihe der Forschungsstelle für Auslanddeutschtum*

und Auslanddeutschtum Kunde, e.V., 26/27 Heft. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930.

[5] Messner (pages 38 ff) and Massier (7 ff), describe serfdom in the Rhineland Palatinate at this time.

[6] Kuhn identifies and discusses these Mennonites as does Bronislaw Gustawicz. William F. Hoffman translated Gustawicz's work in "From the *S ownik Geograficzny*: Galicia," in *Rodziny: The Journal of the Polish Genealogical Society of America*, vol. 19, no. 2, Aug. 1996.

[7] See Kuhn, 44 ff. The following paragraphs are excerpted, translated, and edited in from Kuhn. A map of the Egerland and Bohemian Forest villages appears after p. 56.

[8] Davies, Norman, in *God's Playground, A History of Poland, Volume II, 1795 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 142, and Subtelny, Orest, in *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 215.

[9] The term *tutejszy* and its significance are discussed by Anna Reid in *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2000) and by Luiza Bia asiewicz and John O'Laughlin in "Re-ordering Europe's Eastern Frontier: Galician Identities and Political Cartographies on the Polish-Ukrainian Border", a paper prepared at the University of Colorado in Boulder and posted at <http://www.colorado.edu/IBS/PEC/johno/pub/galicjafin.pdf>.

[10] Kann, Robert A., *A History of the Hapsburg Empire 1526-1918* (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc. by arrangement with the University of California Press, 1992), 606.

[11] Kann, 163, and Subtelny, 201.

[12] Subtelny, 23.

[13] See <www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Drohobycz/dz_galacialost.htm> and <www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Svencionys/religious_movements.html>, for example.

[14] Kuhn, 21-22.

[15] Subtelny, 218 and Kuhn, 26.

[16] Raimund Friedrich Kaindl cites data collected by General von Splény, Bukovina's first military governor under Hapsburg rule, in *Das Ansiedlungwesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Österreich* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1902), 4.

[17] Kann, 191, and Subtelny, 217.

[18] Subtelny, 217.

[19] Kuhn, 26.

[20] See Dr. Sophie Welisch's translation *Frautautz and the Frautautzers: The Rise and Fall of a German Village Community in Bukovina* (Regina: Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, 1992), 10.

[21] *Ibid.*, 11.

[22] Kuhn, 52-56.

[23] *Ibid.*, 57-59

.[24] This passage from Hubich's autobiography appears in Messner, 186-187.

[25] Subtelny, 218, 309 ff.

[26] *Ibid.*, 245.

[27] *Ibid.*, 309.

[28] The material in this paragraph is variously cited as S. Szczepanowski, *N dza Galicji w cyfrach* in Subtelny, 310; as S. Szczepa ski, *N dza Galicyjska w cyfrach* in Davies, 145-147; and as Szczepanowski in another work by Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 256.

[29] See <http://www.halgal.com/TsDialarticle.html>.

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OVERVIEW OF GERMAN COLONIES IN GALICIA
from *Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien*, pages 38-41
by Walter Kuhn and translated by Irmgard Hein Ellingson

Key

Settlement Date
A: formed between 1781-1795
B: formed between 1796-1810
C: formed between 1811-1818
D: formed after 1848

Origins
a: *Pfälzer* mother colony
b: Pfälzer daughter colony
c. Bohemian mother colony
d. Bohemian daughter colony
e. Silesian mother colony

Religion (with towns of mixed population)
m: Mennonite
p: Protestant
k: Roman Catholic

Miscellaneous
a: independent, self-sustaining community
ß: mother colony established within an existing community of other ethnic group
●: German majority in 1930s
○: German minority in 1930s
- : settlement abandoned

. Western Counties

D e k	*a*	Zabnica Kol., ca. 1850, -			
"		Hundstal (Psia Dolina), ca. 1880, -			
D e k	*ß*	Zlatna, ca. 1860, -			
"		Rycerka, ca. 1870, -			

II. Sandetz Group

A	p *ß*	Deutsch-Lednica	1785	
"		Neu-Gawlów	1784	-
"		Neu-Majkowice	1784	○
"		Trynitatis	1785	-
"		Wojtowstwo (Vogtsdorf)	1785	-
"		Strawawieś-Weber	?	-
"		Hundsdorf (Całmiec)	1783	○
"		Deutsch-Biczyce	1788,	○
"		Hutweide (Gaj)	1785	-
"		Deutsch-Dąbrówka	1787	○
"		Unterbach (Podrzecze)	1783	○
"		Stadlau (Stadlo)	1788	○
"		Deutsch Golkowice	1783	○
"		Deutsch-Gaboń	1783	-
"		Deutsch-Barcice	1788	-
A	k *a*	Neudörfel (Podmajerz)	1783	-
A	k *a*	Wiesendorf (Łączki)	1783	-
"		Zaundorf (Podegrodzie)	1786	-
"		Bratucice	1783	-
"		Bogucice	1783	○
"		Krzeczów	1783	-
"		Wachendorf (Strzeszyce)	1783	-
"		Zbikowice	1783	-
"		Świniarsko	1788	-
"		Nassendorf (Mokra wieś)	1788	-
"		Juraszowa	1788	-

A	p *ß*	Naszacowice	1783	-
"		Olszanka	1784	○
"		Kadschau (Kadcza)	1785	-
"		Laufendorf (Biegonice)	1783	-
"		Rytro	1788	-
"		Kamionka wielka	1788	-
A	k *ß*	Kamionna (Steindorf)	1783	-
"		Książnice (Fürstenau)	1783	-
"		Ernstdorf (Szczereż)	1784	-
"		Zagorzyn	1786	
"		Mystków	1788	-
B	a p a	Grodzkie	1800	-

III. Głuchoniewmcy Group
No colonies.

IV. Vistula-San Triangle

A	*a* p	Hohenbach	1783	●
"		Padew-Kolonie	1783	○
"		Reichsheim	1783	●
"		Ranischau	1783	○
"		Steinau	1783	○
"		Königsberg	1786	○
"		Gillershof	1783	-
A	*a* k	Josefsdorf	1783	-
"		Schönanger	1783	●
"		Tuszów-Kolonie	1783	●
"		Deutsch-Ostrowo	1783	-
"		Rauchersdorf	1783	-
A	k *a*	Dornbach	1786	-
"		Tanefsau (Wólka Tanefska)	1783	○
"		Wildenthal	1783	○
A	k *ß*	Jeżowe	1783	-
"		Jata	1783	-

B a p *a*	Hirschbach (Baranówka)	1801	-
"	Neu-Dornbach	1800	-
C b k	Korziarnia	1812	-
"	Sulichów	1872	-
D e k *a*	Preppendorf	1852	-

V. Reichau Group

A p *a*	Reichau	1783	o
"	Felsendorf	1783	-
"	Lindenau	1783	-
"	Deutschbach	1785	-
"	Berdikau Kolonie	1783	●
"	Kleindorf	1790	-
"	Moosberg	1786	-
"	Schumlau	1785	o
"	Kuttenberg	1792	-
"	Rehberg	1788	-
"	Lubaczów	1783	-
A k *a*	Burgau	1783	o
"	Freifeld	1783	-
"	Münchenthal (Mużylowice Kol.)	1783	●
"	Fehlbach	1783	●
A k ß	Ostrowiec	1783	-
C b p	Niemcy zu Oleszyce	?	-
D b m	Trościaniec Kolonie	1870	-

VI. Bandrów Group

A p *a*	Bandrów Kolonie	1783	●
"	Obersdorf	1783	●
"	Prinzenthal	1784	●
"	Steinfels	1783	●
"	Siegenthal	1788	●
"	Makowa Kolonie	1783	●
" k *a*	Rosenburg	1783	o
"	Engelsbrunn	1783	o
"	Falkenberg	1783	o

VII. Lemberg Group

A p *a*	Neu-Burczyce	1785	●
"	Neu-Kupnowice	1783	●
"	Hartfeld	1783	●
"	Rottenhan	1785	●
"	Schönthal	1785	●
"	Kaltwasser	1783	o
"	Dornfeld	1786	●
"	Einsiedel	1786	o
"	Falkenstein	1785	●
"	Lindenfeld	1788	●
"	Neu-Chrusno	1785	●
"	Reichenbach	1789	●
"	Rosenberg	1786	●
"	Unterbergen	1785	●
"	Weinbergen	1785	o
"	Unterwalden	1784	●

"	Uszkowice Kol.	1784	-
"	Dobrazanica Kol.	1786	o
"	Einsingen	1783	●
"	Deutsch-Smolin	1783	●
A k *a*	Kaisersdorf (Kalinów)	1783	●
"	Kranzberg	1783	●
"	Neudorf by Sambor	1783	-
"	Brunndorf	1788	●
"	Burgthal	1788	●
"	Ebenau	1791	●
"	Vorderberg	1788	-
"	Weißenberg	1788	o
"	Ottenhausen	1788	●
"	Ernsdorf	1795	-
"	Mühlbach	1786	●
"	Rehfeld	1786	●
"	Kimirz Kolonie	1785	o

(VII. Lemberg Group, continued)

A k *a*	Bruckenthal	1786	●
"	Mokrotyn Kolonie	1786	●
"	Wiesenberg	1788	●
"	Josefinendorf	1790	●
B a p *a*	Walddorf	1805	-
B e k *a*	Sygniówka	1801	-
C b m	Neuhof	1830	●
"	Kiernica Kolonie	1848	o
C b k	Müllersdorf	?	●
"	Michalówka	1849	●
"	Kobyla by Krużyki	1840	●
D b m	Neu-Horożanna	1850	-
"	Ehrenfeld	1864	-
"	Podusilna	1870	-
D b p	Heinrichsdorf	1882	-

VIII. Brigidau Group

A p *a*	Brigidau	1783	●
"	Gassendorf	1784	●
"	Neudorf by Drohobycz	1783	●
"	Josefsberg	1785	●
"	Ugartsberg	1785	●
"	Gelsendorf	1786	●
"	Neu-Oleksice	1786	●
A k *a*	Königsau	1783	●
B a p ß	Dobrohosłów	1805	●
B a k ß	Lużek dolne	1805	-
C c k *a*	Korost	1833	●
D b k *a*	Dobrowlany Kolonie	1875	-
D b p	Podhorce Kolonie	1870	-
"	Glinka Zu Wownia	1885	-

IX. Ugartsthal Group

A p *a*	Ugartsthal	1785	●
"	Landestreu	1783	o

A k *a*	Neu-Kalucz	1783	●	D d k	Rosenheck	1866	●
"	Hoffnungsau	1784	●	"	Wola Oblaznica	1868	●
B a p *a*	Neu-Babylon	1800	●	"	Leopoldsdorf	1870	●
B a p β	Horocholina	1803	ß	"	Kotrowers	1899	●
B a k β	Roslucz	1805	o				
"	Wolcze	1805	o				
C a p *a*	Engelsberg	1811	●	**X. Josefów Group**			
C b p	Debelówka	1817	●	A p *a*	Josefow	1785	●
C b p	Baginsberg	1818	●	"	Mierów	1785	●
"	Mogila	1820	●	A k *a*	Beckersdorf	1784	●
"	Konstantynówka	1820	●	"	Bedrykowce	1785	-
"	Knihinin Kolonie	1823	o	"	Łopuszno	1785	-
"	Neu-Huziejów	1834	o	B a p *a*	Hanunin	1797	●
"	Broczków	1835	●	"	Zabawa	1797	-
"	Augustdorf	1836	●	"	Antonin	1797	●
"	Siłauerówka	1838	●	"	Sapieżanka	1804	●
"	Neudorf by Ottynia	1842	●	"	Windmühle		
"	Dąbrowa	1845	●		(Szczygielówka)	1806	●
"	Oblizka	1845	●	"	Heinrichsdorf	1810	●
"	Mikulsdorf	1848	●	B a k *a*	Krzywulanka	1805	●
C b k	Borynia	1818	o	B a p β	Stanin	1797	●
C c k *a*	Mariahilf	1811	●	B c k *a*	Jagonia	1803	o
"	Teresówka	1818	●	B e k *a*	Deutsch-Łany	1804	-
"	Zakla	1825	●	C a p *a*	Teodorshof	1824	●
"	Machliniec	1823	●	C b p	Romanówka	1815	●
"	Kornelówka	1830	●	"	Polowce Kolonie	1819	●
"	Josefsthal	1830	●	"	Sobolówka	1829	●
"	Ludwikówka	1832	●	"	Zboiska	1836	●
"	Felizienthal	1835	●	"	Bronislawówka	1838	●
"	Annaberg	1835	●	"	Kazimirówka	1838	●
"	Karlsdorf	1835	●	"	Konopkówka	1839	o
"	Pöchersdorf	1836	●	"	Sabinówka	?	●
"	Neu-Mizum	1844	●	"	Swadkowce	?	●
"	Jammersthal	1848	●	C c k *a*	Angelówka	1829	●
C c k β	Izydorówka	1830	●	"	Maleniska	?	-
"	Nowe Siolo	1830	●	C e k *a*	Zbaniów		
"	Lubsza	1830	●		(Stanislówka)	1823	●
"	Mazurówka	1830	●	"	Neutitschein	1835	-
"	Smorze górne	1830	●	C e k β	Krasiczyn	1844	o
C d k	Flehberg	1842	●	"	Rożanka-Ignacówka	1844	o
D b p	Zbora	1870	●	D b p	Karolówka	1865	o
"	Slawitz	1873	●	"	Rudolfshof	1880	-
"	Bredtheim	1881	●	D d k	Henrykówka	1858	●
"	Rudolfsdorf	1883	-	"	Konstantówka	1872	●
"	Mariendorf	1895	-	"	Rehdorf		
"	Sewerynówka	1889	●		(Sarnówka)	1883	●
"	Diamantheim	1901	●				

Estonian Genealogical Research

by Kahlile B. Mehr

Estonia is a small country of less than two million people located on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. Though it developed a distinct cultural identity over time it was not independent until this century. The gentle spirit of this country is perhaps best exemplified by the hundreds of thousands who gather at the national song festival held every five years since 1869 at an outdoor amphitheater in Tallinn to sing the songs of their heritage.

Estonians have lived along the Baltic Sea for several thousand years. Waldemar II, King of Denmark (1170-1241) invaded Estonia in 1219 and built the Tallinn (Reval) Castle. In the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, the Teutonic Knights, a German military and religious order, gained ascendancy over Estonia as well as Latvia. Southern Estonia and Latvia became known as Livonia. In 1561 the Teutonic Knights were disbanded. Tallinn and the nobility of northern Estonia then submitted to the protection of the Swedish crown and Poland gained ascendancy over southern Estonia, including the region around Tartu. Under Swedish rule a system for local church records was established and consistory archives established. Disasters destroyed two-thirds of the Tallinn consistory archive in 1684 and the Saaremaa archive in 1710. Still, some parish registers dating to the 17th century have been preserved.

While the Swedish period brought many positive developments in record keeping and preservation, the bitter wars of the period resulted in the destruction and dispersal of many archives. Swedish officials also took many documents to Stockholm before Livonia was lost to Peter the Great. In 1710 Peter conquered Estonia and in 1721 formally annexed it to Russia by the Treaty of Nystad. Russian rule effected considerable changes in record keeping as many earlier records were turned over to paper factories or sold to merchants as wrapping paper.

A native Estonia property-owning class came into existence as a result of agrarian reforms that began in 1849 and continued into the 1860s. At the end of the 19th century, the press aided an Estonian cultural revival and nationalist literature began to emerge. Political movements demanding autonomy sprang up in Estonia after the Russian political turmoil of 1905. Russian rule ended with the Russian revolution of 1917. Estonia proclaimed itself independent on February 24, 1918.

Based on a secret protocol with Germany, Soviet forces occupied Estonia along with the other Baltic republics of Latvia and Lithuania in June 1940. When Germany invaded Russia during the war, German troops occupied Estonia as well. As the Germans retreated from their defeat in Russia late in 1944, the Russian army returned. Over 60,000 Estonians fled from the Soviet occupation to Sweden and Germany.

Estonia responded quickly to the power vacuum caused by the abortive coup of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and declared independence on August 20, 1991. Its status as a new nation was recognized internationally and the last of the Soviet occupation troops left in 1994. Estonians have survived centuries of domination by neighboring powers. Symbolic of their persistence is the oak, long regarded as a sacred tree in Estonia.

When Estonia was conquered by the Teutonic Knights at the beginning of the 13th century there were some 100,000 Estonians. As of the 1989 census the total population was 1,565,662. In 1994 it was estimated that 64% of the population were Estonians, 29% Russians, and the other 7% consisting of Ukrainians, Belorussians, Finns, Tatars, Jews, Latvians, Poles, and Germans. Tallinn is the capital and largest city with a population of 442,700 in 1994. Other important cities are Tartu (formerly Dorpat), Narva, and Kohtla-Järve. Estonians are traditionally Lutheran while a minority belong to the Russian Orthodox, Baptist, and other religions.

Genealogical Sources

Parish registers. While a few parish registers extend back to the 1600s, most begin in the 1700s. There were no general rules for the maintenance of early registers and they followed no particular format. Baptisms included the name of the child and father, father's residence and baptismal date. Marriages had information on residence and social status (widowhood was noted particularly for women) and residence as well as names and the date of marriage. Burials listed the name of the deceased, place of death, and date of burial. After the Northern War in 1710, the quality of the registers improved. Names of mothers and godparents were mentioned more frequently. Birth dates were recorded along with baptism dates. The age of the deceased, reason

Fig. 1 - Modern Estonia

for death, and date of death became common in burial registers. In the 18th century transcripts of the local registers began to be made for use by higher church or civil authority. In some parishes family registers were maintained in which the vital statistics for a single family were compiled into family entries. The language of the records was German and Estonian; and less frequently, Latin and Swedish. Russian was mandated after 1892 and Estonian after 1920. A standardized and printed format for the registers was introduced in 1926. Parish registers since 1834 have been systematically preserved. Original parish registers through 1940 are presently housed at the State Historical Archive in Tartu. Some originals parish registers are in the local churches. Those from churches in Tallinn are in the city archive. Some originals 1834-1926 are at the central civil registry office in Tallinn, though these will eventually be transferred, if not so already, to Tartu. Transcripts 1926-1940 are located at the central civil registry offices throughout the country. The Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah, has microfilmed of most parish registers through 1940.

Fig. 2 - A portion of the Tallinn city wall

Civil registers. In 1946, the Soviet controlled government established a civil registration system based on the Russian model. A separate document was created for each registration of birth, marriage, or death. These records are centralized at the Central Civil Registration Office in Tallinn. These are only available for official purposes at that office or at local civil registration offices.

Revision lists. The revision is a tax list created to establish the amount of the poll or head tax assessed each household. The earliest revision preserved in Estonia is 1782. Subsequent revisions were initiated in 1795, 1811, 1816, 1834, 1850, and 1858. Each revision was conducted over a span of years. Revisions list the number of the household; name, parentage, current age and age at time of last revision, sex, nationality, social rank, family relationship, and change of status since the last revision of all those in a household. Females were not recorded in the 1811 revision. The revisions are filed at the State Historical

Archive in Tartu and at the Tallinn City Archive; but, as is the case with parish registers, the Family History library has microfilm of them in its collection.

Local census. In the absence of a national revision system, Estonia established its own system of local censuses conducted annually from 1858-1917. The lists are called variously as family lists, community member lists, and resident lists. In some cases the local copy of the 1897 national census is preserved and is interfiled with the local census records. As a minimum these censuses include the same information as the revisions and often more such as occupation, marital status, religion, and birth place. The lists are preserved at the State Historical Archive in Tartu and the Tallinn City Archive. There are 13 fonds and an estimated 1,200 census volumes for town administrations and 463 fonds and an estimated 3,500 volumes for the districts of Harjumaa, Järvamaa, Läänemaa, Virumaa, Saaremaa, Viljandimaa, and Võrumaa. Many have been filmed.

Guild records. These are membership and family records of those in a guild of merchants, craftsmen, tradesmen, skilled laborers, and those indentured to learn an

Fig. 3 - Tallinn Civil Registration Office

art, trade or skill. The records list names of skilled and unskilled laborers in all types of occupations, ages or dates of birth, places of origin and residence, family relationships, types of skills, etc. Many records list all the family members with marriage dates of couples and birth dates of their children. These records are found in the Tallinn City Archive but microfilm copies are available in the collection of the Family History Library.

Name change records. All Estonians between 1830-1836 received surnames. Prior to that time, the people followed the naming customs according to their ethnic heritage. Estonians used nicknames and parents names along with their given name, i.e. Murrista (nickname) Jaco (father's name in the genitive case) Madde (given name). Germans used surnames. Swedes followed the patronymic system of the Nordic countries rather than using surnames. When choosing surnames the Estonians were greatly influenced by their everyday world. Their surnames abound

with the names occupations, trees, wild animals and birds, tools, household commodities, furnishings, kitchen utensils, food, drinks, clothing, and field crops. Some adopted patronyms such as Juhanson. Some opted for maintaining the old nicknames as surnames. Still others derived their surnames from the farm names where they had lived for generations. The records consist of about 200,000 cards which list the old name and then the new name. There are also name application forms which list the old and new names. These records are a must for extending research into earlier periods. There are filed at the Central Civil Registration Archive, Tallinn.

Recruit/conscription lists. These are lists of those entering military service or being drafted, 1797-1917. Drafting of selected groups began earlier but as of January 1, 1874, all 21 year-old males were subject to military service. Conscription occurred each year in October. Initially, the term of service was 6 years active and 9 years reserve. The length of active duty was reduced to 5 years in 1876 and then varied between 3-5 years thereafter. Deferments were granted for only sons, sole breadwinners, etc. Over 50 percent of the draftees were not inducted. The records include the name of the recruit/draftee, age (recruit lists), birth date (conscript lists), religion, marital status, literacy, and residence. Recruit lists include a physical description such as color of hair and eyes. They can be researched at the State Historical Archive, Tartu.

Genealogy/nobility collections. There are five collections at the State Historical Archive in Tartu. One pertains to Estonian nobility and a separate one to the nobility of Oesel (Saaremaa), an Estonian island in the Baltic Sea. There is a general collection of Estonian genealogy. Finally, there are the records of the Estonian Bureau of Genealogical Research, and the Dorpat Genealogical Society. The records consist of family histories, personal books, pedigree books and charts, lineage registers, family documents, miscellaneous genealogical notes documenting family names, relationships, and dates of birth, marriage and death.

Research opportunities

Because of the LDS Church microfilming program, one can do considerable Estonian research at the Family History Library. Since filming of Estonian genealogical sources began in 1992, over 24,000 volumes of material have been acquired: 18,000 vols. of vital records, 7,000 vols. of revision and census lists, and 1,600 guild books on 3,303 rolls. The vital records are from the Lutheran, Russian Orthodox and Jewish religions. Filming has been at the State Historical Archive in Tartu as well as the City and Civil Registration Archives in Tallinn. Be aware that film prints are not stored in the main library because of limited space and that desired films either need to be ordered in advance or at the beginning of a visit to the library.

There is an excellent gazetteer to assist researchers in becoming acquainted with the localities in the records: Hans Feldmann, *Baltisches Historisches Ortslexikon* (Baltic

Historical Dictionary), Wien: Böhlau, 1985, Teil 1 (Part 1): Estland (Estonia), (Family History Library call number: 947.4 E5fh, vol. 1). The text is in German but with a little bit of study it can be used by English speakers.

A major obstacle for most researchers will be language. The early records are in German (Gothic script), Estonian, Swedish, and Latin. Orthodox records are in Russian and in 1892, a program of russification resulted in many records being recorded in that language until independence was achieved in 1918 and Estonian was adopted as the national language.

The Tallinn City Archive and State Historical Archive in Tartu are open to researchers and are run much like any archive in the west. The assistance is professional. There is a minor problem in that the Tartu archive is a three hour bus trip from Tallinn so a non-native speaker my need some tour assistance to get from the airport to the bus terminal and then get situated in Tartu upon arrival. The Tartu archive has an excellent web site at <www.eha.ee>. The site had more options if one can decipher the Estonian text. For instance, the guide to the collections in the archive is available in Estonian but not in English.

The Estonian Genealogical Society (*Eesti Genealoogia Selts*) was established in 1996. A home page is located at <www.aai.ee/~urmas/riisae.html>. However, there seems to be no agents providing research assistance at this time.

The Estonian genealogical past is well preserved and available for researchers to document their ancestry. Genealogical services are still primitive, but the records exist and with a basic knowledge of archives, a researcher can effectively pursue the genealogical past.

Fig. 4 - Central Russian Orthodox Cathedral, Tallinn
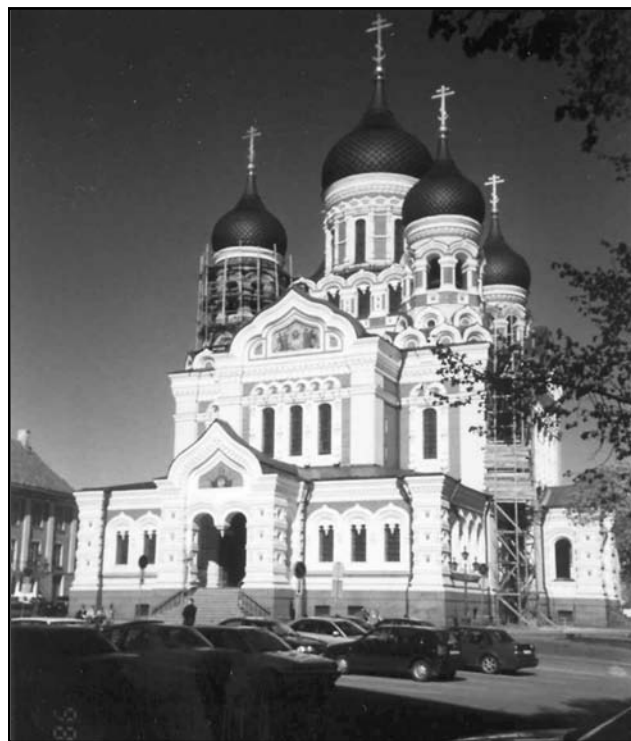
The Early German Settlement of North Eastern Moravia:
and What the Pied Piper of Hamelin Had to Do with It

by Frank Soural

Long ago, primordial forests, dark and impenetrable, surrounded the mountainous frontier, which today separates northeastern Bohemia from large parts of northern Moravia in the Czech Republic. This area was situated north of the sparsely populated flatlands of the March (Morava) River. The stillness of the forests remained largely undisturbed by man.

More than two thousand years ago, the Celts and other Germanic tribes had their settlements there. They built their longhouses in the valleys. Most, however, moved on leaving little evidence except a few shards and burial urns and perhaps a few remnants of human existence in the early villages.

During this period, the ancient "Amber Road", dating back to antiquity, was the primary trade route linking the eastern Baltic Sea with the Danube in Vienna and the port of Trieste in Italy. This road - a trail would be a more apt description - wound its way through the Moravian heartland near where the cities of Olmütz and Mährisch Trübau stand today. Except for the sparse trading traffic and a few way stations between the odd monastery and baronial estate, the land remained essentially pristine and silent.

The first attempts at colonization may have been orchestrated during the late middle ages by Heinrich Zdik (1126-1150). Zdik was the seventh in a long line of bishops of Olmütz. Surviving documents indicate that, around the seat of Zdik's Bishopric, several villages were established. Nimlau, Meedl, Bladowitz, Habicht and Müglitz were among these villages. It is possible that Müglitz may be much older than that. The name appears to originate from the Celtic word "mogul" meaning "burial mound". This is reflected in the German name Müglitz, as well as its Czech equivalent Mohelnice.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the royal line of Przemyslid Kings in Prag, closely allied with their Bavarian neighbors, hoped to populate the vacant land in the outlying areas of the kingdom. Their aim was to supplement the royal coffers by exacting sums of cash through lease and rental income from the colonized land.

Although the settlements were sporadic at first, the crown soon discovered their value. Colonization was supported by every possible means, simply because it provided increased land defense along with providing economic benefits. By allowing the land to be developed, a permanent tax base, the so-called perpetual land tax, was assured.

Besides the crown, other landowners held vast tracts of unoccupied Moravian land. Among the other landowners were secular landed gentry who received land as a royal stipend for military services rendered or special favors performed. The Holy See in Rome, represented by the Diocese of Olmütz, also owned large tracts. Each owner, for his own purpose, was interested in populating his fiefdom with young tenant farmers from the west, particularly Germany.

The local landowners soon followed the example set by their royal masters. After all, the virgin forests, aside from the occasional booty extracted from a successful hunt, provided no tangible income.

Upheaval and a new beginning

The year 1241 brought total devastation to many of the villages whose inhabitants managed to cling to the soil and eke out a living. Some historians blame the destruction on the Tartar hordes that swept in from the eastern plain. Others maintain it was the result of a power struggle between the feuding brothers Wenzel and Premysl, sons of King Ottokar I, in their battle for dominance.

Meanwhile, the gently rolling hills of the local Schònhengst, Adler and Alvater mountain ranges provided excellent watershed that drained into the Zohse, Tess and the mighty March (Morava) rivers and kept the plains fertile, ready and waiting for human habitation.

This fact was not lost on Wenzel's brother the Bohemian King Ottokar II. In an effort to enhance western influence and culture in his kingdom (and perhaps as a matter of convenience) Ottokar charged Bruno von Schaumburg and Holstein with the responsibility of colonizing the vacant vistas in northern Moravia with German settlers. Bruno was appointed Bishop of Olmütz in 1247. Ottokar soon developed a fondness for him and Bruno became a favored churchman in Ottokar's court. In 1253, the King appointed him Chancellor. In this capacity Bruno acted as the king's ambassador abroad and colonizer of the Moravian Markgrafschaft. (Margrave). Bruno maintained this position until his death in 1281.

It is evident that Bruno played a key role in opening Moravia to western settlers. He was the most prolific and successful bishop in Moravia. Not only do we know much about his origins, a wealth of information is known of his accomplishments. He has been given credit for creating a new and vigorous culture in Moravia.

Bruno founded over 200 villages and 12 cities under German city laws. Among these are Kremsier, Müglitz and Zwittau (known more recently as the hometown of Oskar Schindler). Each of these cities spawned dependent villages accountable to the city clergy, who in turn was accountable to Bruno's Diocese in Olmütz. Zwittau was settled around 1250 and furnished with a parish. The first villages founded were Hermesdorf in 1266 and Heinzendorf four years later in 1270. The founding documents for both villages survive to this day.

Settling of the Schònhengst district

Bruno's German birth, possibly in 1205, in the area of today's Lower Saxony put him in an excellent position to convince his own countrymen to follow him to the Moravian Promised Land. He brought with him tradesmen, farmers and laborers, their wives, children and animals. Judging by his accomplishments, Bruno von Schaumburg was no slouch. He was an ambitious organizer who learned his métier well during his 12 years as Governor of Luebek and Hamburg. Documents discovered during the 1920's state that he sometimes "rolled up his sleeves" and accompanied the settlers on their treks to the intended villages.

The Lokator and his responsibilities

Bruno would charge an agent, known as a "Lokator" - usually some trustworthy acquaintance from his German Weser homeland - on his own behalf with the responsibility of recruiting people for colonization. The lokator sought those of good farming stock, who were suited for the hard work that lay before them, as well as assorted tradesmen to support a thriving farming community. To attract new settlers the lokator had to look and be credible and offer incentives of free land and a tax holiday for several years. He also prepared them for their journey. Once they reached their farm allotments, the land had to be cleared and prepared for the new agricultural pursuits, stables and barns constructed and houses built for the families. The first years were filled with backbreaking work.

In payment for his work, the lokator received special pecuniary and legal rights in the newly established village. In most cases the locator was given jurisdiction to settle local disputes as "advocatus es judex" becoming the "Erbrichter" (the village judge). He was also given the right to pass the responsibility on to his oldest son. Sometimes the new village would be named after the lokator. Petersdorf and Johnsdorf are two examples of this.

The founding of a village was documented in a brief issued by Bruno himself. The founding document for the village of Hermersdorf, one of the most noteworthy surviving documents of the German settlements in Moravia, exists today and remains in the hands of the family of the

Fig. 1 - Map of Old Moravia by Dr Wolfgang Wann, showing names and locations of the early villages, some bearing their original names as vestiges of Bishop Bruno von Schaumburg's influence
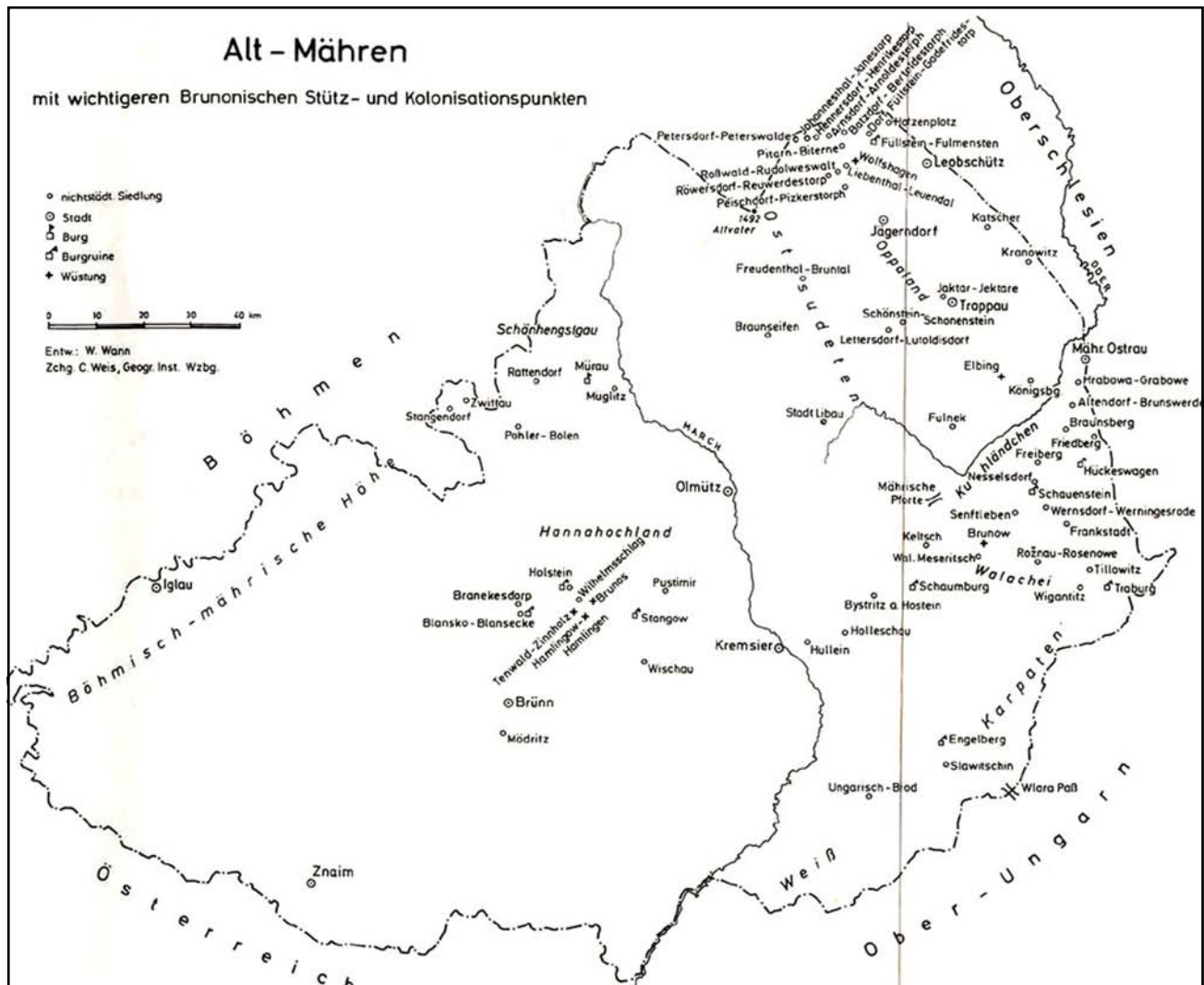
"Erbrichters" who had been the village judges for many centuries.

In this document Bruno proclaimed the name of the appointed individual, the benefits that came with the job and outlined his responsibilities. Here is an excerpt:

I, Bruno, of Gods grace Bishop of Olmütz, to all who will read this brief, or will hear it being read, for all times. Because that, what happens in time, and often is forgotten in the passage of time, carefully through the writing of authentic documentation is preserved for the contemporary as well as future world. It is attested, that we have given the layperson Ulrich the right to development and jurisdiction of the village of Hermersdorf. A list of the locators rights follows and finishes with: So that the above allotted matter remains in memory for all times we are affixing our seal to render it effective. Given at our castle residence at Mürau on the fourth day of the Holy Triumvirate octave in the year of our Lord 1266.

The villages of Hermersdorf, Glaselsdorf, Mohren, Rippau, Heinzendorf and Greifendorf are only a few in a long list of villages founded by Bruno von Schaumburg.

Bruno died in the year 1281 and was laid to rest in St. Mauritz church in Kremsier, a church he was instrumental in building years earlier. With the death of Bruno, colonizing of northeastern Moravia did not end. It is the subsequent history that takes a curious turn.

The Pied Piper of Hamelin's role

Nearly every child in the western culture has heard the tale of the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Masterfully crafted by storytellers in the 1600's, it was later presented to us as the mysterious story spun by the Brothers Grimm.

The story tells of poor sanitary conditions that existed during this medieval period and of the rat infestation that occurred as a result. It tells of a mysterious piper, dressed in a multi-colored suit, who appeared from nowhere one day in 1284. This magical piper "piped" the resident rat population into the Weser River. The story tells of human greed and the shirking of payment for the good man's trouble. The story goes on to tell us of the piper's reappearance. This time he appeared as a grim-looking hunter wearing a wondrous red cap. He arrived through the Weser gate at 7 in the morning (some say it was at noon) on the 26th of June, on the day of Johannis and Pauli. Again he played his silver whistle. All over the city children who heard him play began to follow him. When he had gathered a large number of the children he led them through the Oster Gate out of the city. A young housemaid holding a baby watched them as the little band disappeared into Calvary (Koppen) Mountain, never to be seen again. There were 130 in all, including the mayor's adolescent daughter. So much for the sad tale.

It is interesting to note that the fairytale does not begin with "once upon a time" but instead cites a year, month, day and time of the event. Many inquisitive historians noted this

curious aberration. Among them was the illustrious German Polyhistorian Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz. In 1719, Leibnitz was approached by a colleague who claimed to have come across a handwritten fifteenth century document, describing "the abduction", while rummaging through an archival Kodex in the city library of Lueneburg. Repeated attempts to locate the document were fruitless. And once again the story sank into the shrouding mists of time.

In August 1936, two historians, driven by personal interest and curiosity, riffled through the Kodex. This time the search was successful. One of the historians was Wolfgang Wann, archivist of the Sudetengerman town of Troppau. Wann was interested in locating the origins of his earliest ancestors and made it the subject of the thesis of his doctoral dissertation. The other was Heinrich Spanuth, historian and citizen of the city of Hamelin. On the very last page of the Kodex, written in 1460, they found the entry that describes the children's departure.

Fig. 2 - Woodcut of Bishop Bruno von Schaumburg

Notandum miraculum valde rarum, quod accidit in epido Hamelen… it begins. "Listen up, a rare miracle, happened in the city of Hamelin, in the year of our lord 1284 exactly on the day of Johannis and Pauli. A beautifully accoutered young man of 30, whose posture and clothing engrossed everyone who saw him. Well, we know the rest *"Et mater domini Johannis de Lude decani vidit pueros recedentes"* And the mother of the Pastor Johannis de Lude saw the children leave." This is what we know about the origins of the fable.

"Kaemmerlinge" servants of two masters

Reality, however, paints a different picture. There existed at the time, in the city of Hamelin, a centuries old tradition of unlimited robot imposed on the lowest levels of Hamelian society. Robot was a form of taxation placed on insolvent peasants, in other words, free labor. The smallest farmers, described in the annals of Hamelin as "*Kaemmerlinge* ", had their tiny farms outside the city walls but lived in the city. They were obliged to provide robot to the Monastery St Bonifaz in Hamelin. When Hamelin became a city at the end of the twelfth century, the monastery feared that their own source of free and convenient labor would vanish. In a desperate move, the monastery retained the "robot" for itself, while the city of Hamelin also imposed

their own "robot" right. As a result, the Kaemmerlinge became servants of two masters and the workload became unbearable.

In the year 1284, the same year as the abduction, a group of overworked and defiant youths and young adults refused to comply with the monastery's and the city's demands for free labor during the spring field preparation. For this offense they were hauled before the city judge. The judge gave them a choice: either recant and resume the neglected duties or be excommunicated and banished from the region. None relented. One hundred thirty young people were excommunicated on the 3rd of May 1284. When a further period for atonement expired without response, the judge had no recourse but to declare them outlaws. This took place

Fig. 3 - Original founding document of the village of Hermersdorf, issued by Bishop Bruno, circa 1266
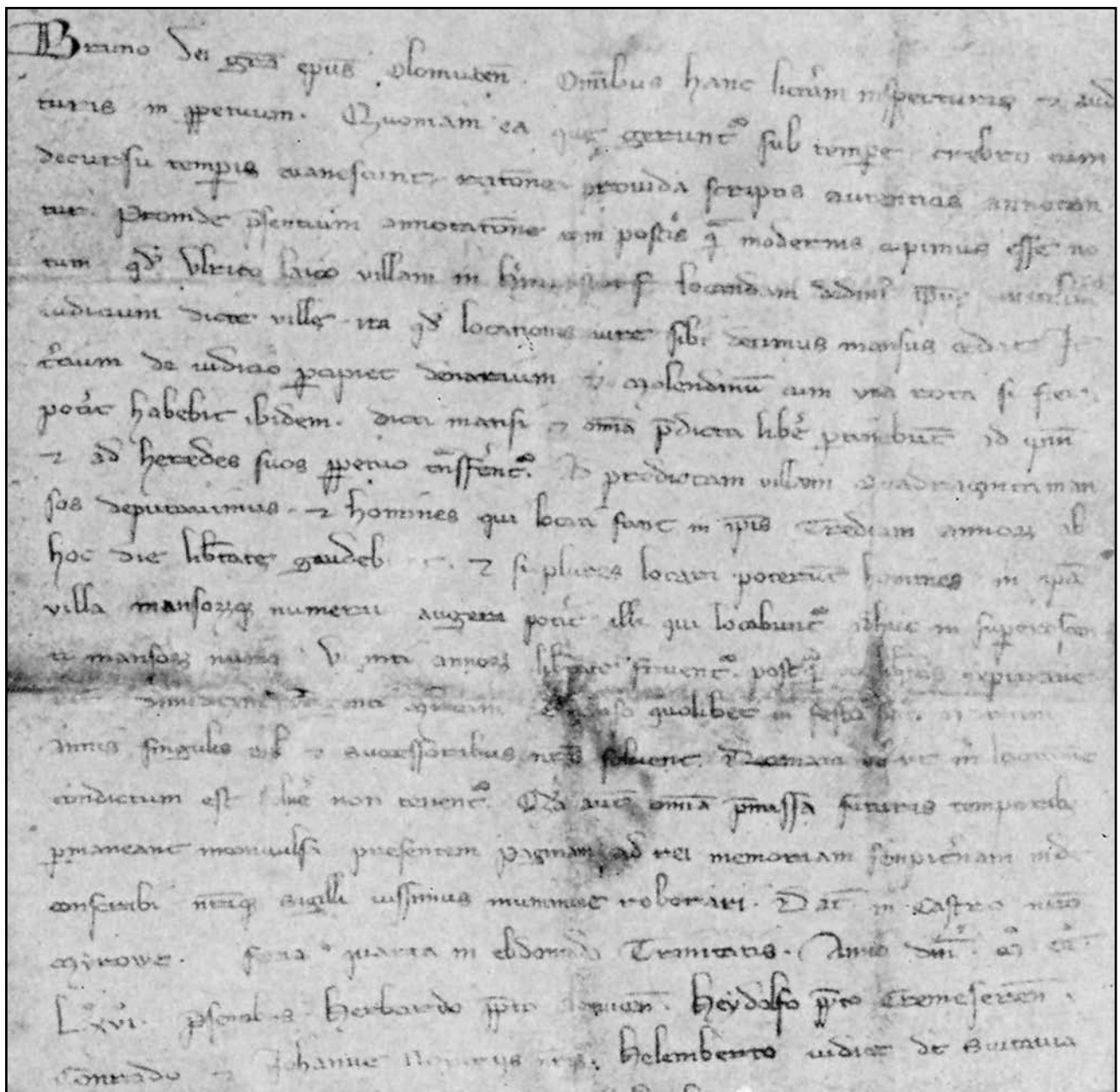
on the 17th of June. The pronouncement would have resulted in their banishment on that fateful day, nine days later, on the 26 of June 1284. The timeline fits and is confirmed to us in the following surviving passage:

Post duo centos mille; post octogina quaterque Annus hic est ille, quo languet sexus uterque. Orbantis pueros centumque triginta Johannis Et Pauli. Caros Hamelenses , non sine damnis. Fantur, ut omnes eos vivos Calvaria sorpsit.

"In the year 1284. This is the year in which people of both sexes grew weak and languished. The day of Johannis and Pauli, that has robbed us of 130 dear Hamelin children, not without judicial verdict, as it is said, swallowed by (mount) Calvaria"

Then, who was the piper?

The most common belief is that there may have been two individuals responsible for coordinating the abduction: The piper, a commoner, decked out in a multi-colored suit, who accompanied them on their journey and a nobleman by the name of Achilles von Heimsen, the younger, from an old Lower Saxon noble family. He would have been qualified and in a position to negotiate the expulsion with the governor of the monastery. Historians speculate that his father Achilles, the elder, was already a close aquaintance of Bruno von Schaumburg who, years earlier, had cut all ties with his Weser homeland to settle in Moravia. It appears that the younger Heimsen was in town that year. It is recorded that his noble friends urged him to reclaim his father's abandoned estate. History suggests that he politely refused. That in itself lends credibility to the assumption that he was indeed a recruiting agent working for the Olmuetz diocese.

If we can believe historians, it appears obvious that the successor of Bishop Bruno must have had a hand in it. It would have been under his aegis that his agent organized and led the trek of the condemned to Moravia. The jury is still out on who this person was. One thing is certain; it could not have been Bruno himself, as he died in 1281, three years earlier.

In popular memory it was the piper who was remembered in the saga, as it was he that the good people of Hamelin saw leading the small band heading east towards Moravia.

The Hamelin connection

In recent times, Wolfgang Wann's doctoral thesis is given credit for being the first attempt to relate the Pied Piper saga to the German colonization of the east. The documentary evidence Wann collected right up to his expulsion in 1945 from his homeland, and afterwards in Germany, has convinced many historians that he has uncovered the facts behind the fable. Today there is no longer any doubt that the abduction of the 130 children of Hamelin on that day in June of 1284 has its basis in historical fact. The abducted children, in reality, were young families, all children of the city. That this event was real is supported by another tale that tells of common people in the city of Hamelin had started to count subsequent years in reference to 1284 as years after the abduction. This habit appears to not have carried over into the next Century.

The villages

Bruno's legacy survived in the old village names, or variations thereof, right up to 1945 when they were converted to czech sounding names. According to Dr. Wann's research some relate back to the homeland of Bishop Bruno and the city of Hamelin. The map shown above, drawn by Dr. Wann, bears witness. In the Hannah highlands there is a Hamlingen (Hamlingow) an obvious reference to the city of Hamelin. Although, Wann does not say if the 130 Hamelin expatriates founded that village. Then there are villages that bear Bruno's name or that of his vassals. In Vallachia and the Hannah highlands there are Schaumburg, Schauenstein,Schonenstein, Schoenberg, Bruntal, Bruno, Brunow, Braunsberg, Braunseifen and Brunswerde, among others, all testifying to Bruno von Schauenburgs influence. Old established noble families who followed Brunos call also had their names preserved for posterity, like Grabowe now incorporated in the city of Ostrau and the city and fortress of Rosenowe, later known as Roschnau.

Author's note

Researching the background for this story convinced me that Bruno von Schaumburg's accomplishments were truly astounding. And yet, all this remarkable history and colonial development was destroyed with the stroke of a pen. A decision, sanctioned by the allies of WWII, allowed the Czech Benesch Government of the time to disenfranchise the German population, many of them descendants of those that followed Bishop Brunos call, and expel them from their homeland of 800 years back to Germany. Indeed a strange twist of fate.

Fig. 4 - The Bishops seal, showing a youthful Bruno

A Beginner's Guide to Austrian Research:
Using gazetteers, church records, military records and population registers to find your ancestors

by Steven W. Blodgett, AG, MLS

Introduction

Genealogical research in Austria is possible when you know the name of the place of origin of your ancestor. Records available in the United States and other countries can assist you in finding the name of this place. There are only a few possibilities for locating the name of the place of origin in Austrian records. The newly acquired soldiers' personnel files may be used to locate a surname within a given state. These files are arranged alphabetically by soldier's name within each state. A perusal of all states may be necessary if the state cannot be determined. Also the alphabetical index of military officers may help in locating a surname in Austria. These records are discussed later in this article.

Immigration from Austria to the Americas began in the late 1700's and early 1800's but remained comparatively light until the 1880s when it reached it's peak, and continued strongly until the early 1920s.

Try to find out the name of the place your ancestor came from. Search through old letters and documents to find references to the name of the place of origin. If you can't read them take them to an expert who is familiar with languages and place names. All your other searching could be unsuccessful if the place name is not found.

Write or visit relatives or acquaintances who might remember something about the place of origin, or may have records that might show the place name. Search records such as naturalization records, passenger lists, church

Fig. 1 - Map of Austria-Hungary
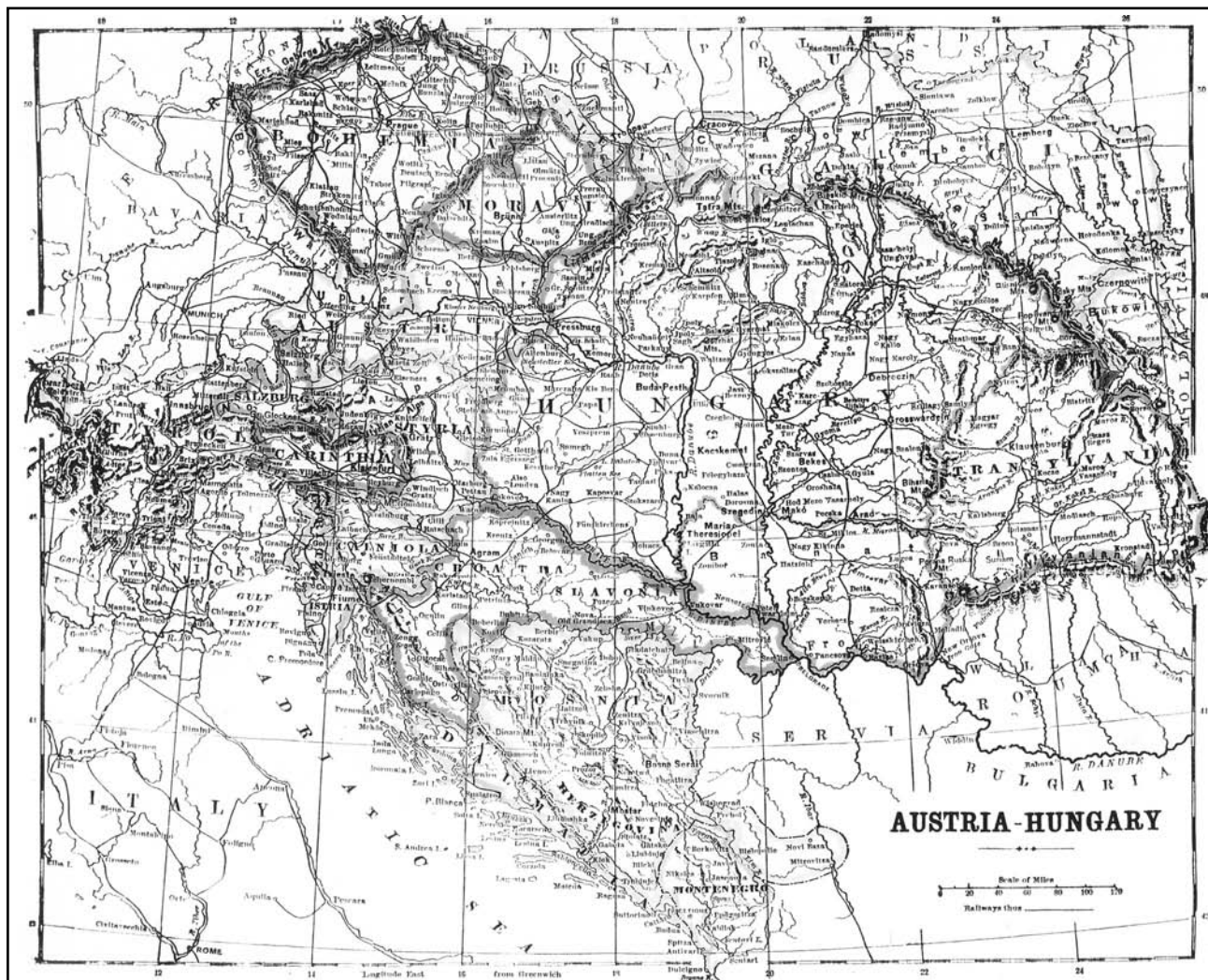
records, LDS Church files such as the International Genealogical Index for possible places where your ancestor might have come from.

Once you have the name of the place of origin of your ancestor you need to learn which records were kept for that place. There are tools available that show church and civil jurisdictions for every place in Austria. Then searches the records available for those places can be made. If the records have been microfilmed, this can be done at the Family History Library or at its branch family history centers. If the records have not yet been microfilmed, they will need to be earched in Austria.

Using Gazetteers and Maps to Find Places

Once you have learned the name of the place where your ancestor lived, you are ready to look for records that may have been kept for that town. All towns didn't keep their own records. The residents of each town were assigned to a particular Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox parish, or Jewish synagogue in the area. Depending on the religion of your ancestor, the events of birth, baptism, marriage or burial for family members were recorded in the town where the appropriate office was located.

A useful tool to help determine these jurisdiction is the Austrian *Gemeindelexikon,* a valuable detailed gazetteer for

Fig. 2 - Pages from the Gemeindelexikon of the state of Tirol. Shown are civil and church affiliations for the town of Sand, an incorporatated town whose entirely Catholic population belonged to the parishes of Taufers and Luttach

Background

Austria was subject to numerous boundary changes and political alignments throughout the history of Europe. For centuries Austria was part of the Old German Empire. It came into its own at the demise of the German Empire in 1806. The Austrian Empire existed until 1867 when it became known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire (or Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary), which lasted until the end of World War I in 1918. At times it contained all or part of the present countries of Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, the Ukraine, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Romania and Italy.

that outlines each of the fourteen states of the Austria portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that existed from 1867 to 1918.

• *Gemeindelexikon der im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreiche und Länder bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1900.* Wien : K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1905-1908. 14 v. (FHL microfilm # 1187925 items 2-4 [Niederösterreich, Oberösterreich, Salzburg], 1187926 [Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, Küstenland, Tirol, Vorarlberg]; #1187927 [Böhmen, Schlesien], #1187928 items 1-3 [Galizien, Bukowina, Dalmatien], #924736 item 1 [Mähren]).

Each volume is indexed. The main section of each *Gemeindelexikon* volume shows every town within the state, and which towns had churches or synagogues. A section in the back shows Roman Catholic jurisdictions for every town. The volumes for Galizien, Bukowina and Dalmatien also show Greek Catholic, Orthodox and/or Jewish jurisdictions. Population data are given for each town. The *Gemeindelexikon* are used for the form and spellings of names in the *Family History Library Catalog*. Often place names are shown in more than one language in these gazetteers.

A corresponding gazetteer for 1900 with an alphabetical index for the entire Austria portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire of 1867-1918 is as follows. Use this gazetteer to find in which state your place belonged:

• *Allgemeines Ortschaften-Verzeichniss der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900*. Wien : Alfred Hölder, 1902. (FHL microfilm #1186712 item 1).

"Mayerhofer's" is another gazetteer that shows religious jurisdictions for the entire Austro-Hungarian empire. It shows the location of all Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox parishes and Jewish synagogues, and affiliated towns that belonged to each office. Included are Hungary, Bosnia and Hercegovina:

• Mayerhofer, Hans. *Oesterreich-ungarisches Orts-Lexikon; enthaltend die Pfarrorte, Cultusgemeinden und Filialen aller Confessionen Oesterreich-Ungarns, Bosniens, und der Herzegowina*. Wien : Carl Fromme, 1896. 906 p. (FHL microfilm #1256324 item 4).

"Raffelsperger's" is a gazetteer of the Austrian Empire that existed from 1806 to 1866. It shows all towns in the Empire in one alphabetical sequence, and designates which towns had parish churches and other data. A drawback is that place names are often not spelled consistently, and may be difficult to find in this old and very large gazetteer. Hungary is included:

• Raffelsperger, Franz. *Allgemeines geographisch-statistisches Lexikon aller österreichischen Staaten*. Wien : K.K. Typo-Geographischen Kunstanstalt, 1845-1853. 9 vols. (FHL microfilm #1187928 item 4 - 1187933)

Dvorzsák's excellent gazetteer covers the Hungarian portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire of 1867-1918 except for Croatia-Slavonia. It shows church jurisdictions for every denomination in every town. It has a complete index. Often applicable German, Romanian and/or Slovak place names are indicated:

• Dvorzsák, Johann. *Magyarország Helységnévtára = Orts-Lexikon von Ungarn*. Budapest: Verlag Havi Füzelek, 1881. 2 v. (FHL microfilm #599564 item 3, #973041).

A gazetteer of the kingdom of Hungary prior to the World War I which includes a section for Croatia-Slavonia is the following. This gazetteer shows which towns had parishes and civil registry offices, but does not show church jurisdictions for every town. Hungarian and Croatian place name equivalents are indicated:

• *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Helységnévtára 1913*. Budapest : Pesti Könyvnyomda-Részvény-Társzág, 1913. 1,712 p.

A standard gazetteer of modern Austria is the following:

• *Ortsverzeichnis von Österreich, bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 21. März 1961*. Wien: Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, 1965. 565 p. (FHL microfilm #1181555 item 7).

Detailed maps of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are the following:

• *Militär-Landesaufnahme und Spezialkarte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*. Wien: Militärgeographisches Institut, 1879-1928. Scale 1:75,000. 600 maps. (FHL microfilm #1045395).

More convenient are the maps of Central Europe which include Austria:

• *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa. Scale 1:200,000*. Wien : Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen, 1889-1967. Scale 1:100,000. 249 maps. (FHL microfilm #1181580 item 1).

Using Church Directories

For a description of the available parish registers for modern Austria see the inventories published in the following series. The volumes are arranged by diocese or other church designation:

• *Austria sacra; II Bd. Quellen und Literaturkunde zur österreichischen Kirchengeschichte*. 1960- . 12 v. (v.1 *General*; v.2 *Erzdiözese Wien*; v. 3. *Diözese St. Pölten*; v.4. *Diözese Linz*; v.5. *Diözese Eisenstadt/Burgenland*; v. 6. *Erzdiözese Salzburg*; v.7. *Diözese Gurk*; v.8. *Diözese Graz-Seckau*; v.9. *Diözese Brixen/Innsbruck-Feldkirch*; v.10. *Orden, Klöster, und Spitäler*; v.11.1. *Ev. Kirche A. und H.B.*; v.11.2. *Die Andere staatlich anerkannten christlichen Gemeinschaften*; v.12. *Register*.

For further information on parish registers see also:

• W. Bergmann, "*Alter der Matriken in den österreichischen Kronländern*", in: *Archiv für Stamm- und Wappenkunde* 8 (1907/08), p. 35. [Age of registers in the Austrian crownlands].

• Hans Jäger-Sunstenau, "*Das Matrikenwesen in Österreich*," in : *Adler* (1948), p. 157-164. [Discussion of parish registers in Austria].

• Alfred Lorenz, "*Das Matrikenwesen in Österreich*," in: *Monatsblatt der Heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler V* (1901-1905), p. 270. [Discussion of parish registers in Austria].

For local coverage of parish registers and other records see the following.

Banat (Region under Turkey 1552- , Austria 1718- , Hungary 1779- , Austria 1849- , Hungary 1860- ;divided between Romania and Yugoslavia-Voivodina 1918). For a description of church records in the Banat see:

• Josef Schmidt. *Die Banater Kirchenbücher*. Stuttgart : Institute für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1979. 67 p. [Church records of Banat].

• "*Banater Kirchenbücher*," in : *Das Standesamt* 5 (1952), p. 119. [Church records of Banat].

Carinthia (Kärnten):

• Ernst Samonigg, "*Überblick über die Pfarrmatriken in Kärnten,*" in: *Blätter für österreichische Familienkunde* 11 (1937), p. 29- . [Overview of the parish registers of Carinthia]. (FHL microfilm #1125017 item 17).

Lower Austria (Niederösterreich):

• Gustav Schuster, *Die Matrikenbestände der römisch-katholischen Pfarren Niederösterreichs und Wien*, 1937. Also in: *Unsere Ahnen*, 1935, Folge 3, 1936/37, 52 p. [Registers of parishes in Lower Austria and Vienna]. (FHL microfilm #1183572 item 2.

Upper Austria (Oberösterreich):

• G. Grüll, "*Die oberösterreichischen (katholischen) Pfarrmatriken,*" in: *Monatsblatt der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft Adler* X (1926-1930), p. 486-491, XI (1931-1934), p. 167. [Catholic parish registers in Upper Austria].

• Georg Kuhr/Carl Seidel, "*Oberösterreichische Kirchenbücher in Listen,*" in: *Blätter für fränkische Familienkunde* 11, 8 (1982), p. 333-335, 10 (1983), p. 445-447. [Parish registers in Upper Austria].

Salzburg

• Rolf Farnsteiner, "*Kirchenbuchforschungen im Salzburgischen,*" in: *Altpreußische Geschlechterkunde* N.F. 2 (1954), p. 4 *seq*. [Research in parish registers of Salzburg].

Transylvania (Siebenbürgen, Erlely). For a description of Protestant records in Transylvania see:

• Gustav Arz, *Die Matrikeln der evangelischen Gemeinden A.B. in Siebenbürgen*. Berlin, 1939. 43 p. [Registers of Protestant parishes in Transylvania]. (FHL microfilm # 496720 item 2).

• Alfred Csallner, "*Die Matrikeln und Familienbücher der Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Kirche,*" in: *Sippenkunde des Deutschtums im Ausland* 3 (1938), p. 43-53. [Parish registers and family books of the Saxon-Transylvanian Church].

Styria (Steiermark):

• Konrad Brandner, "*Überblick über die Pfarrmatrikel in Steiermark,*" in: *Blätter für österreichische Familienkunde* 1 (1926), p. 18; 2 (1927), p. 41- ; 2 (1928), p. 11; 3 (1929), p. 10, 37. [Overview of the parish registers of Styria]. (FHL microfilm #1125017 item 15-17).

Sudeten (border areas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia; included many Germans; part of Czechoslovakia):

• "*Verzeichnung der Kirchenbücher,*" in: *Sudetendeutsche Familienforschung* 1 (1928/29), p. 21-, 64, 173. [List of parish registers of the Sudeten]. (FHL microfilm #896821 item 1).

• Heinrich Ankert, "*Die Matriken der altkatholischen Gemeinden Nordböhmens,*" in: *Sudetendeutsche Familienforschung* 4 (1931), p. 65. [The parish registers of the Old Catholic parishes in North Bohemia]. (FHL microfilm #896821 item 4).

• Erhard Marschner, "*Die Kirchenbücher des nördlichsten Böhmen,*" in: *Ostdeutsche Familienkunde* II, 6-9 (1958-1961), p. 241-243, 308. [Parish registers of northernmost Bohemia].

• Hans K. Puhrer, "*Die Matrikenbestände der an Niederdonau angegliederten Gebiete von Böhmen und Mähren,*" in: *Adler* 2 (1940), p. 12-14, 76-77. [Metrical registers of the Sudeten parishes]. (FHL microfilm #1505988 item 9.

Fig. 3 - Latin baptismal register showing name, day, hour, town, house number of event; parents, godparents of child

Fig. 4 - German language death record for the parish of Altschwendt in Upper Austria, 1893. Column headings list from left to right: death and burial year, month and day; place and house number; name, condition, residence, birth place, parents of those under 24, name of spouse, religion, last rites, age and birth date, burial place, priest

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• Hans Swoboda, "*Böhmens Matrikenbestände*," in: *Die Matrikel* 1 (1935), p. 24-35, 43-47, 51-52, 55, 79; 2 (1936), H. 3, Beilage, p. 1-4. [Bohemian parish registers].

• Julius Röder, "*Das Diözesan-Matrikenarchiv zu Olmütz*," in: *Sudetendeutsche Familienforschung* 2 (1930), p. 7-12, 122-126, 153-156. [Registers of the diocese of Olmütz]. (FHL microfilm #896821 item 2).

Tirol

• Wilfried Beimrohr, "*Die Matriken (Personenstands-bücher) der Diözese Innsbruck und des Tiroler Anteils der Erzdiözese Salzburg*," in: *Tiroler Geschichtsquellen* 17 (1987), 175 p. [Parish registers of Tirol in the Dioceses of Innsbruck and Salzburg].

Church records

Original Church records for Austria are the most important sources for locating genealogical information on your ancestors, and for extending your pedigree. Good collections of parish registers have been filmed in Tirol and Vorarlberg. Limited filming has taken place in other areas including Lower and Upper Austria.

After locating the appropriate parish and its records, searches of baptismal or birth entries, marriage entries, and death entries for your ancestors in the available records is possible. Linking ancestors from one generation to the next is possible when direct evidence is available, such as the listing of parents names in the marriage record. With this important link, it is more likely that the actual birth record of your ancestor can be determined from among the large number of possible birth records for a particular name. Often the extraction of every entry for a particular surname is necessary to ensure that proper connections are made.

Military Records of the Austrian Empire

The *FEEFHS Journal*, v. 9 (2001), p. 72-82 contains an introduction to military records of significance in Austria. The following records may be useful to supplement and enhance your search of the parish registers.

Fig. 5 - Latin marriage record from the parish of Grossgöttfritz in Lower Austria, 1734. Recorded are the bride and groom and their places of residence. Sometimes the bride's father is also mentioned
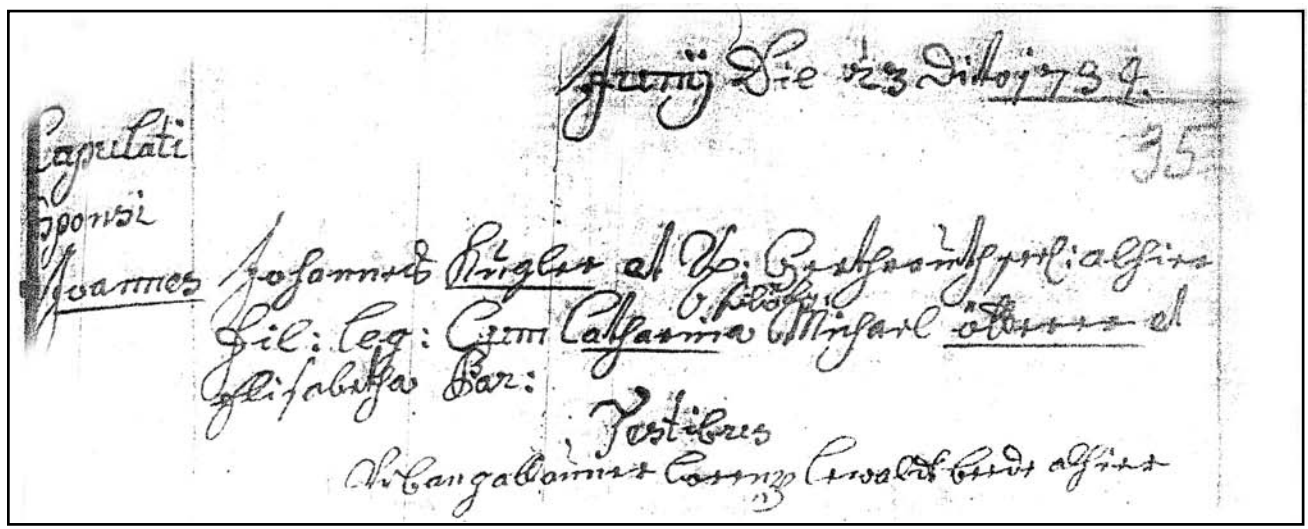
The major collections in the Vienna War Archives have been microfilmed and are available in the Family History Library and Family History Centers. Indexes to some of the records are available, particularly if your ancestor happens to be an officer, staff member or official. Approximately 10% of soldiers were officers. Enlisted men can be located when the name of the regiment or military unit, or place of recruitment can be discovered.

Major Collections of Significance

Background sheets (*Grundbuchblätter*), 1780-1930. 616 rolls of film. Personnel sheets of soldiers born within the states of the modern Republic of Austria during the years 1800-1864. Includes Vienna (Wien), Lower Austria (Niederösterreich), Upper Austria (Oberösterreich), Styria (Steiermark), Carinthia (Kärnten), Salzburg, Tirol, and Vorarlberg. Sheets are arranged alphabetically by surname within each state. A list of the film numbers was included in the *FEEFHS Journal*, v. 9 (2001), p. 77-79. Documents show year of birth, place of birth, religion, occupation and record of service. Parents' or spouses' names or other family relationships are generally not listed.

Muster rolls and formation tables (*Musterlisten und Standestabellen*), 1740-1820. 5,104 rolls of film. These records are filed and cataloged by the name of the regiment or unit. Most regiments have individual indexes, but there is no general index for all units. Information for each soldier includes name, age, birthplace, religion, occupation, and marital status. Occasionally children's names and birth dates, and spouse's names are given.

Background and formation lists (*Grundbücher und Stellungslisten*), 1820-1869. 2,884 rolls of film. These are arranged and cataloged by the name of the regiment. Each regiment or unit has its own name index and is arranged by date of mustering out. Information for each soldier includes name, age, birthplace, religion, occupation and marital status. Occasionally children's or spouse's names are given.

Officers' service records (*Dienstbeschreibungen und Qualifikationslisten*), 1823-1918. 3,408 rolls of film. These records are filed alphabetically and supplement the muster and background books with more complete information concerning the actual service of each officer, official or staff. These records give the exact birth dates and special duties and other events noted. Some information about parentage is occasionally given as well as the units in which the officer served.

Officers index (*Kartei für Musterlisten und Standestabellen*), 1740-1820. 29 rolls of film. An alphabetical file of officers' names showing the regimental unit numbers in the muster lists.

Military church records (*Militärkirchenbücher*). 1654-1922. 551 rolls of film. Church records were kept for each

Table 1 - Language preference of the states of Austria-Hungary in 1880

Includes German, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Ruthenian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Italian, Other.

Map	State	Population	Ger	Cze	Hun	Pol	Rut	Rom	SCr	Slo	Ita	Oth
14-50	Böhmen	5,560,819	37	62	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
26-48	Bukowina	571,671	22	-	1	4	41	31	-	-	-	1
16-44	Dalmatien	476,101	1	-	-	-	-	-	93	1	3	2
23-50	Galizien	5,958,907	3	-	1	54	42	-	-	-	-	-
14-47	Kärnten	348,730	73	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	2	-
15-46	Krain	481,243	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	93	1	-
14-45	Küstenland	647,934	5	-	1	-	-	-	20	29	45	-
17-49	Mähren	2,153,407	28	71	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
16-48	Niederösterreich	2,330,621	91	4	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
14-48	Oberösterreich	759,620	98	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
13-47	Salzburg	163,570	96	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
18-50	Schlesien	565,475	45	22	1	32	-	-	-	-	-	-
15-47	Steiermark	1,213,597	67	-	2	-	-	-	1	30	-	-
11-47	Tirol	805,176	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	1
10-47	Vorarlberg	107,373	93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1
	Austria	22,144,244	36	23	1	16	12	1	3	5	3	-
21-47	Hungary	13,749,600	26	14	39	-	4	10	6	-	-	1
	Austria-Hungary	35,893,844	32	20	16	10	9	4	4	3	2	-

military unit, hospital and garrison. They are cataloged under the name of the unit and by location where the unit was stationed if applicable. These records contain mostly death records, but a surprising number of births and marriages were also recorded. Only volumes that did not extend past 1886 have been microfilmed.

Military church records directory (*Militär-Matriken-Index*) 1740-1922. 5 rolls of film. Index of regiments, units, hospitals, alternate names, and places where the military parishes were stationed or garrisoned. Shows dates of the available records, names of regiments and names of places. Film numbers 1442862-1442866 item 1.

An essential guide to determining the name of the regiment in which a soldier served was shown in the *FEEFHS Journal* v. 9 (2001), p. 80. This guide shows the location where each regiment was recruiting throughout Austria.

City Population Registers

Records significant for the entire country as well as for the capital city of Vienna are the population registers and family registers. A discussion of these records appeared in the *FEEFHS Journal*, v. 8 (2000), p. 69-73. Population registers for a number of cities have been microfilmed and are available. In addition to Vienna, the following cities have been microfilmed: Graz, Krems an der Donau, Linz, Salzburg, Sankt Pölten, and Urfahr. Film numbers for these records appear in the current *Family History Library Catalog* under the name of the city followed by the subject heading "Population."

These records serve as a substitute for civil registration, which did not begin in Austria until 1938. These records begin in the early 1800s and extend into the 1900s. The arrangement is alphabetical, although often males and females are filed in separate sequences. Records include names, birth dates and places, parents' names, residence, spouse and children's names. In Vienna there are two series of records. One for individuals, and a second series which includes entire families. For Vienna alone there are several thousand rolls of microfilm.

Vienna death records are another valuable source of general information. These are contained on over 800 rolls of microfilm and cover the years 1648-1920. These are arranged alphabetically by year of death and show names, date and place of death, residence, age, spouse's name, sometimes parent's names.

Table 2 - Religious preference of the states of Austria-Hungary in 1880

Includes Catholics (Roman & Greek), Protestants (Evangelical and Reformed), Eastern Orthodox, Jews, Other.

Map	State	Population	Cath.	Prot.	Orth.	Jews	Other
14-50	Böhmen	5,560,819	96	2	-	1	1
26-48	Bukowina	571,671	15	3	69	13	-
16-44	Dalmatien	476,101	84	-	16	-	-
23-50	Galizien	5,958,907	88	-	-	11	1
14-47	Kärnten	348,730	94	6	-	-	-
15-46	Krain	481,243	99	-	-	-	-
14-45	Küstenland	647,934	99	-	-	-	1
17-49	Mähren	2,153,407	95	3		2	-
16-48	Niederösterreich	2,330,621	92	2		5	1
14-48	Oberösterreich	759,620	98	2	-	-	-
13-47	Salzburg	163,570	99	1	-	-	-
18-50	Schlesien	565,475	85	13	-	2	-
15-47	Steiermark	1,213,597	99	1	-	-	-
11-47	Tirol	805,176	99	-	-	-	1
10-47	Vorarlberg	107,373	99	1	-	-	-
	Austria	22,144,244	91	2	2	5	-
21-47	Hungary	13,749,600	58	23	14	5	1
	Austria-Hungary	35,893,844	78	10	7	5	-

The Dachau Indexing Project

by Nolan Altman

Thanks to the combined efforts of volunteers from JewishGen and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C., researchers will be able to search a database of approximately 120,000 prisoners who were imprisoned at Germany's Dachau concentration camp. The searchable database will include Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners that entered the camp between 1933 and 1945. Due to database size, records will be available incrementally as the work proceeds. Approximately 37,000 records are currently on line with another 20,000 awaiting final data validation

Dachau: The First Camp

Less than two months after Adolf Hitler seized power in January of 1933, an old munitions plant at Dachau, Germany, was outfitted to imprison political enemies of the Nazi regime. Beginning in March of 1933, Social Democrats, Communists, monarchists and other members of prohibited political organizations and trade unions were the first to be imprisoned in Dachau, beginning in March of 1933. Dachau's importance, as the first concentration camp, was that it gave the Nazis the opportunity to create a model camp that would be used when building subsequent camps across Eastern Europe. The Dachau model included separate areas for prisoners and administrative staff, used spaced guard towers and electrified fences. Dachau was also used by the SS to train soldiers for other camps. As the Germans continued to advance through neighboring countries in 1938 and 1939, the population of Dachau began to reflect a mix of ethnic Europeans. Prisoners arrived from Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland and France. When Germany advanced into Russia in 1941, thousands of Russian prisoners of war were sent to Dachau to be shot. In total, more than 200,000 prisoners from over 30 countries went through Dachau.

Life In The Camp

When prisoners arrived at Dachau, they were given a prisoner number and a colored triangle that was to be worn on their clothing. The colored triangles were used for identification by guards, and inadvertently by the prisoners. The triangle designation led to a social hierarchy amongst the prisoners. The following list describes the colors used:

Green   Common criminals
Black   Communists, Socialists, Gypsies and asocials
Blue   Slave laborers from occupied countries
Purple Jehovah's Witnesses
Pink   Homosexuals
Red   Political prisoners

For Jewish prisoners, two yellow triangles were used to make a six pointed Star of David. Combination stars were used for prisoners who were both Jewish and a member of any of the groups above. Therefore, a half yellow and half black Star of David meant that prisoner was both Jewish and a Communist. Since Dachau was primarily a labor camp, prisoners did not have their numbers tattooed on their arms. Tattooing was done in death camps, such as Auschwitz, where after prisoners were stripped of all clothes and personal belongings, the tattooed number was the only means of identification.

Prisoners were used as cheap labor. In some cases, they were hired as laborers by private firms, their "wages" going to the camp. A number of subsidiary camps were set up near Dachau, including Kaufering and Mühldorf, where the prison labor became essential to Germany's ability to produce munitions for the war effort. Originally, prisoners were fed three meals a day for the work they produced. As the war progressed, and resources became scarce, prisoners suffered from extremely long workweeks and were fed little to eat. A prisoners' daily allotment might be a piece of bread and some watery soup. The deadly combination of food shortages and inhuman working conditions led to mass

Fig. 1 - Front gate at Dachau camp

infections and malnutrition. Most of the 30,000 registered deaths at Dachau were from starvation, exhaustion, sickness or torture.

Liberation

As WW II was coming to an end and the Russians advanced on Germany from the east, the SS evacuated the Eastern European concentration camps. Any living prisoners were marched further and further west into Germany. Thousands died during these marches from the cold and sickness or were murdered from not keeping up. Dachau became grossly overcrowded. Just before liberation, the camp which was originally designed for 5,000 prisoners saw a population in the main camp and its subsidiary camps of 67,000. A typhus epidemic during December of 1944 killed thousands. On April 28th, 1944, the SS abandoned Dachau. The next day, April 29th, the US liberated the camp. Unfortunately, even food and medical

help could not save many prisoners who still died due to sickness and advanced malnutrition.

The Dachau Indexing Project

When the US troops liberated Dachau, they found the German's prisoner records. US Occupation forces compiled the prisoner lists from the captured documents and brought both sets back with them to the US. (The originals were sent back to Germany in the 1950's.) Along with other Holocaust records, the prisoner lists were microfilmed and sent to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. In 2001, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum purchased the records, which include millions of names. Amongst these records are the Dachau lists with approximately 120,000 prisoners, half of which were Jewish and half of which were not. The lists were digitized and it is from those digitized lists that approximately 40 volunteers from 10 countries are helping to create an on-line searchable database of all the available Dachau information. The project is being coordinated by JewishGen, and the USHMM. CDs of the raw data are available for sale from JewishGen at their web site. The

Fig. 2 - Dauchau gate house

Dachau Indexing Project is the first of hopefully many projects to make captured information available on line for relatives, researchers and other interested parties.

The Dachau Lists

The prisoner registers list the following information: Family Name, Given Name, Date of Birth, Place of Birth, Last Place of Residence, Street (or other address), Prisoner Number, Category of Prisoner, When Arrived and From Where and Disposition of Prisoner. A review of the lists reveals some interesting historical facts. Some prisoners were designated the category of "NN". Under the "Nacht and Nebel Decree", prisoners in occupied territories who resisted Germany's rule were deported to camps in Germany and were said to have disappeared into the Night and Fog. No one knew were they went or what happened to them. Another prisoner category is "Inv. Tsp." or Invalid Transport. These were prisoners who were aged, insane or incurably ill. Deemed "undesirable" by the Nazis, they were transported to asylums or hospitals and executed. Another

interesting find was that there are a number of prisoners who were born in the USA. These American born prisoners lived in the overrun countries and were imprisoned well before the US entered WW II.

How I Got Involved

JewishGen (<www.JewishGen.org>) is an invaluable resource for family history and learning about Jewish genealogy. The many searchable databases and "how to" information files that can be accessed from the JewishGen site were made available through the efforts of other volunteers. The site also lists projects in progress and looks for volunteers to help complete them. I got involved with the Dachau Project last year as a data entry volunteer. A few months later, I was asked to be a data validator. I am now Project Coordinator for this effort. This article is the result of research I have done on Dachau and from the experience of working with the Dachau records since December 2001.

Fig. 3 - Camp records of prisoners

Project data is available to the public at <www.jewishgen.org/databases/holocaust>.

How You Can Help Too

JewishGen is still looking for volunteers who wish to help with the project. A familiarity with Microsoft Excel and an ability to send and receive files through e-mail is required. If you wish to help please contact me at <u>nta@pipeline.org</u>.

Doukhobor Names and Naming Practices

by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff

One of the foremost challenges in Russian genealogy is understanding names and naming practices. Names in Russia consisted of a personal name with several diminutive forms, a patronymic middle name, and a surname. In addition, nicknames were frequently used to distinguish individuals. In the New World, however, the names of Russian immigrants often underwent dramatic changes in both form and spelling. This paper discusses the naming practices of the Doukhobors, a Russian Christian movement founded in the 18th century, 7,500 of whom migrated to Canada in 1899 to escape persecution for their views, which included rejection of ecclesiastical and state authority.

Personal Names

Names in Russia

In the pre-Christian period before the end of the 10th century, ancient Russians were identified by a single personal name which they received at birth. These were pagan names of Slavic, Scandinavian and Turkic origin. Following the introduction of Christianity in A.D. 988, Biblical names of Greek, Latin and Hebrew origin predominated.

For centuries in Russia, name-giving was exclusively in the hands of the Church. Tsarist law required that children be named by an Orthodox priest during an official baptismal ceremony, for a fee. The name was often selected by the priest and not the parents. Sometimes the parents suggested a name which the priest then approved. Occasionally a child received an ill-sounding name if the priest disliked, or was displeased with, the parents. The godparents took the infant to the church. The parents were not usually present for the baptism. Often, the parents did not learn the chosen name of their child until the baby was returned home by the godparents. This practice continued until the late 18th century, when Doukhobors outwardly rejected Orthodox Church rites, refused to attend baptisms, and christened their children themselves, with names of their own choosing.

Not all Orthodox naming practices were abandoned by the Doukhobors. The custom of naming a child after the Orthodox saint on whose feast day the child was born continued in isolated cases. Hence, Doukhobor leader Peter Vasilievich Verigin (1859-1924) was named for the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29th, on which he was born.

It was also common to name Doukhobor children after revered spiritual leaders such as Ilarion Pobirokhin (1720-1792), Savely Kapustin (1743-1820), Vasily Kalmykov (1792-1832), Ilarion Kalmykov (1816-1841), Peter Kalmykov (1836-1864), Lukeria Kalmykova (1841-1886), Peter Verigin (1859-1924) and others.

Most often, however, Doukhobor children were named after a parent or grandparent. As a result, one finds personal names repeating every few generations within families. Consider the following example:

Generation	Name	Born
First	Alexander Kalmykov	1780
Second	Dmitry Kalmykov	1816
Third	Alexander Kalmykov	1840
Fourth	Dmitry Kalmakoff	1871
Fifth	Alex Kalmakoff	1897
Sixth	Alex Kalmakoff	1920

Table 1 - Doukhobor naming patterns

It is not unusual to find more than one sibling with the same name. Infant mortality rates were high in Russia, and Doukhobor parents tended to pass the name of a deceased child on to the next infant born of the same sex. Occasionally one may find more than one living child with the same name, but this is rare and usually occurred when there was a great age difference between the children, or where the children were from two different marriages of the father.

The pool from which Doukhobor names were drawn from was remarkably small. For example, among 9,198 Doukhobor immigrants living in Saskatchewan in 1905, we find only 112 names in use. Of these, sixty-nine (61.6%) are men's names, while only forty-three (38.4%) are women's names. These numbers are even more remarkable if we consider that there were over 2,600 names in use in Russia at this time.

A frequency count reveals that some names were exceptionally popular among Doukhobors, whereas others were quite rare. For example, among the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan in 1905, roughly one in every two Doukhobors bore one of the top five names: Vasily, Ivan, Nikolai, Petro or Feodor among the males; Maria, Anna, Anastasia, Pelagea or Agafia among the females. In contrast, only one in every 2,300 Doukhobors bore the names Vakul, Fedot, Zinovia or Alexandra.

According to Doukhobor custom, family members, young and old alike, addressed one another by their personal names rather than by titles such as "father", "mother", "son", "daughter", etc. Such titles were avoided because their use implied authority, the larger over the smaller, contrary to the Doukhobor belief in brotherhood and equality.

Diminutives

Doukhobors commonly addressed one another by the diminutive form of their given names. Diminutives are casual, short forms of names used to express familiarity or

1905 MEN'S NAMES			
Rank	Name	Frequency	% of Total
1	Vasily	782	8.5
2	Ivan	645	7.0
3	Nikolai	440	4.8
4	Petro	386	4.2
5	Feodor	335	3.6

1905 WOMEN'S NAMES			
Rank	Name	Frequency	% of Total
1	Maria	773	8.4
2	Anna	613	6.7
3	Anastasia	589	6.4
4	Pelagea	382	4.2
5	Agafia	283	3.1

Table 2 - Popular Doukhobor given names

endearment between friends and relatives. They are similar to English pet names such as William > Bill, Theodore > Ted, Susan > Sue, Elizabeth > Liz, etc. The formation of diminutives is so unpredictable that no simple rule can be formulated for use by those not familiar with Russian. Several diminutives can be formed from a single given name, and often the form of diminutive used depended on the particular tastes of one's kith and kin. Consider the name "Ivan" for example, the diminutives of which include the following:

Vanya, Vaniusha, Vanechka, Vansha, Ivanka, Ivanya, Ivaniukha, Ivaniusha, Ivasya, Ivasik, Ivakha, Ivasha, Isha, Ishuta, Vaniukha, Vaniura, Vaniusya, Vaniuta, Vaniutya, Vanyata, Iva, Iv, Ivaka, Ivanei, Ivanets, Ivanechka, Ivanishche, Ivanko, Ivanok, Ivanochka, Ivantei, Ivanushka, Ivanhcik, Ivanchuk, Ivaniui, Ivaniushka, Ivasenka, Ivasisha, Ivasechka, Ivas, Ivaska, Ivashenka, Ivashechka, Ivashka, Ivashok, Ivik, Ivga, Ivka, Ivonka, Ivochka, Ivushka, Ivashko, Ivash, Ishenka, Ishka, Ishechka, Ishuta, Ishutka, Ishutonka, Ishutochka, Vanaika, Vanei, Vanen, Vanion, Vanenka, Vanionka, Vanenka, Vanechek, Vanik, Vaniochek, Vanka, Vanko, Vaniunenka, Vaniunechka, Vaniunka, Vaniuk, Vaniunya, Vaniurka, Vaniurochka, Vaniurushka, Vaniuska, Vaniusenka, Vaniusechka, Vaniutka, Vaniutochka, Vaniutushka, Vaniusha, Vaniushenka, Vaniushechka, Vanyai, Vanyaika, Vanyaga, Vaniushka, Vanyatka, Vanyatochka, Vanyatushka, Vanzha, etc.

Canadianization of Names

One often hears that "the name was changed by immigration officials in 1899". No it was not, despite the popular myth. Many Doukhobor immigrants did eventually change their names, but this came later, as part of the assimilation process. They adopted new personal names after they began working or attending school outside the home. Often it wasn't the immigrant who invented their new name; it might have been an Anglo-Saxon co-worker or schoolteacher. The new Canadianized names fall into one of three categories:

Language Equivalents. If an English language equivalent existed, that name was often the one adopted. Hence, most men with the Russian name Mikhailo took the English name Michael and most women named Marfa became Martha. However, the English equivalent name was not always the name chosen. For example, despite the fact that the English version of the Russian name Semeon is Simon, virtually all Doukhobors named Semeon became Sam.

Phonetic Similarity. When many Doukhobor immigrants changed their name, it was to an English name that sounded phonetically similiar. Often no more than the first sound or letters coincided. Thus, someone named Elena in Russia might take the new name Elaine, Ellen, Ella, Eleanor, Elsie, Helen, Evelyn, Eva, Lena or Lillian. It is important to note that the new English name could be based on either a diminutive form or the full form of the Russian name.

No Connection. In a small number of cases, Doukhobor immigrants adopted a new name that had nothing to do with their Russian name. Hence, Sergei became John, Kuzma became Charlie or James, and Anastasia became Mabel.

Fig. 1 - Doukhobor home, circa 1902

Patronymics

Russian Patronymics

After the 10th century, Russians were identified by a patronymic in addition to their given name. Patronymics are derived from the father's name and function as a middle name. For males, they are formed by adding the suffix ending -ovich ("son of") to the father's name. For females, they are formed by adding the suffix ending -ovna ("daughter of") to the father's name. For example, the name "Feodor Trofimovich" refers to Feodor, son of Trofim and "Anna Trofimovna" refers to Anna, daughter of Trofim. It is important to note that the patronymic is always used alongside a formal given name; it is never used alongside a diminutive.

Patronymics can greatly assist family researchers by supplying a more precise identification of a person. In some cases they may be the only clue to an ancestor's parentage. They also allow one to differentiate between people with the same name. This is very useful in Doukhobor research, given the small pool of personal names and surnames. For example, among the Doukhobors living in Saskatchewan in 1905, the name "Vasily Popov" occurs 42 times and the name "Ivan Popov" occurs 39 times. Hence, without knowing the patronymic, it may be very challenging to locate the particular person one is looking for.

Canadianization of Patronymics

Many Doukhobor immigrants eventually changed their patronymic to the Canadianized form of their father's name or to an initial. For example, Nick, son of Semeon might be known as "Nicholas Samuel" or "Nick S." rather than "Nikolai Semeonovich". Since the 1940's, it has become increasingly less common for Doukhobor children to receive patronymics as middle names.

Surnames

Russian Surnames

In comparison to most European nations, the use of surnames occurred relatively late in Russia, arising among the nobility only in the late 15th and early 16th century. Fixed, hereditary surnames did not become common among the Russian peasantry until the late 17th century and early 18th century.

Russian surnames are characterized by special suffix endings. The most common endings are -ov, -ev (Nazarov, Zaitsev) and -in (Konkin, Tomilin). Surnames ending in -oy (Bokovoy, Chernoy) and -iy (Uverenniy, Bozhiy) occur less frequently. Names ending in -enko are typically Ukrainian in origin, however they may appear Russianized by the addition of the letter -v (Savenkov, Zubenkov). Surnames ending in -sky (Podovsky, Eletsky) are widespread and may be Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Polish, Jewish or Russian in origin. It is important to note that women's surnames in Russia have a special form and take the additional ending -a (Kalmykova, Larina, Dimovskaya).

The pool of Russian Doukhobor surnames is remarkably small. For example, among the Doukhobors living in Milky Waters in 1845 and in the Caucasus in 1853, we find only 370 surnames in use. Among the Doukhobors in Canada, we find only 268 surnames. These numbers are quite remarkable if we consider that the total number of surnames in Russia exceeds one hundred thousand.

Origin and Meaning of Surnames

A study of the origin and meaning of Doukhobor surnames reveals many clues about our family history. Some family names are very common and widely distributed in Russia, such as Popov or Kuznetsov. Others, such as Dukhoborov or Samorodin have uniquely Doukhobor origins or are "Doukhoborized" versions of existing Russian

surnames. Many Doukhobor surnames may indeed have a single-family origin. Given the small size of the founding population, this conclusion need not surprise us.

Doukhobor surnames, like other Russian surnames, are derived from four basic sources: (i) first names; (ii) trades or occupations; (iii) nicknames; and (iv) places of residence or ethnic origin. A frequency count of 454 known Doukhobor surnames reveals the proportions in each class as follows:

Surname Type	Frequency	% of Total
Personal Names	158	34.8
Occupational	46	10.1
Nicknames	212	46.7
Locational	38	8.4

Table 3 - Surname class proportions

Personal names form the basis of 34.8% of known Doukhobor surnames. Most are formed from men's names and are said to be patronymic: Tarasov (Taras), Danshin (Dansha, a diminutive of Danila). Less common are matronymic surnames formed from women's names: Anyutushkin (Anyutushka, a diminutive of Anna), Darin (Daria). Both the full form and the diminutive form of a name may give rise to a surname, and many different surnames can be formed from a single name: Ivanov (Ivan), Beloivanov (White Ivan), Vanin, Vanzhov, Ivashin, Ivin (all diminutives of Ivan). Many of the personal names which have given rise to surnames are no longer in current use. These include Old Russian names such as Nechvolod (Nechvolodov) and Muzhilo (Mzhelsky). Unfortunately, it is very difficult (and often impossible) to trace a family back to the ancestor whose personal name forms the surname they now bear.

Fig. 2 - Saskatchewan Doukhobor village, circa 1902

Occupational surnames form the basis of 10.1% of known Doukhobor surnames. Surnames of this type may be formed from administrative titles: Dyakov (scribe), Tolmachev (interpreter). They may relate to social or economic status: Argatov (labourer), Pobirokhin (beggar). Some are formed from military ranks: Esaulov (Cossack captain), Voikin (warrior). Others are formed from trades or occupations: Rybalkin (fisherman), Plotnikov (carpenter).

Fig. 3 - First shipload of Doukhobor immigrants arriving in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1899

Still others relate to religious office: Popov (priest), Ponomarev (sexton).

Nicknames form the basis of 46.7% of known Doukhobor surnames. Surnames of this type may refer to body parts: Gubanov (lips), Zhivotkov (belly). Many relate to descriptive characteristics: Malov (small), Khudyakov (thin). Others relate to physical defects or disabilities: Shcherbakov (pock marked), Glukhov (deaf). Some relate to behaviour or personality: Dutov (boastful), Lezhebokov (sluggard). Others are derived from moral attributes: Mudrov (wise), Bludov (lecherous). Some were given by superstitious parents as a sign of good luck: Khabarov (lucky), Korolev (kingly). Many are formed from names of birds: Perepolkin (quail), Lebedev (swan). Others derive from the names of fish: Shchukin (pike), Kostrikov (perch). Still others derive from names of animals: Medvedov (bear), Zaitsev (hare). Several relate to clothing: Shapkin (cap), Kabatov (over-shirt). Some are formed from names of food: Kapustin (cabbage), Repin (turnup). While the literal meaning of a nickname may be clear, the reason why it was given often remains obscure, and centuries later, can only be speculated on. A nickname might be complimentary or insulting, genuine or ironic, true or false, depending on the particular circumstances and individual concerned.

Locational surnames form the basis of 8.4% of known Doukhobor surnames. Surnames of this type may indicate the village or town where an ancestor originated: Baturin (town of Baturin), Eletsky (city of Elets). Others indicate the region where an ancestor originated: Rezantsev (Riazan province), Vyatkin (Vyatka region). Some are formed from Old Russian place names that are no longer in current use: Trubetskoy (princely estate of Trubets), Dimovsky (village of Dimov, Dimovka or Dimovsk). Many are derived from

features of the landscape, either natural or man-made: Nagornov (hill-dweller), Ozerov (lake-dweller). A number of surnames denote the ethnic, tribal or national origin of an ancestor: Kalmykov (Kalmyk), Kasagov (Circassian). This last type may also derive from nicknames and in some cases do not necessarily indicate any true ethnic or national origin.

Surname Changes in Russia

Surviving records and accounts indicate that many Doukhobor surnames were deliberately changed or altered in 19th century Russia. The reasons for these changes often varied. Consider the following examples:

Sometimes a man took the surname of the woman he married if her family had no male heirs to continue that name. This appears to have occurred among the following families: Strelyaev, Sopov, Mzhelsky, Sherstobitov.

Where the father was a soldier, a son might take his mother's surname so that he would not be automatically liable for conscription and would instead take his chances drawing lots for recruitment. For example, when the wife of Doukhobor leader Savely Kapustin (1742-1820) was pregnant she was sent to her father's household. When their son Vasily was born, he was proclaimed illegitimate and given his mother's surname Kalmykov. Hence the Kalmykov leaders among the Doukhobors were actually members of the Kapustin family. According to oral tradition, Kapustin himself took his mother's surname and was actually the son of Doukhobor leader Ilarion Pobirokhin.

Some family names may have been discarded because they derived from unflattering nicknames that were embarrassing and undesirable. Other surnames may have been changed to conceal the identity of military deserters or escaped serfs. Hence, a new surname provided a fresh

beginning while concealing a family's immediate background. This appears to have occurred among the following families: Parfenkov (formerly Parfenov), Zarshchikov (formerly Zarshchenkov).

Doukhobor leaders such as Savely Kapustin did not discourage the idea of taking a new family name. On the contrary, he himself gave new surnames to a number of Doukhobor families including: Samorodin (formerly Tolmachev), Uglov (formerly Kruglov) and Solovyov (formerly Saburlev). No doubt there were many other such instances which oral tradition has not preserved or kept in reasonable clarity.

Several Ukrainian surnames among the Doukhobors were Russified by adding an -ov suffix ending. These include: Vanzhov (formerly Vanzha), Chuchmaev (formerly Chuchmai), Shtuchnov (formerly Shtuchniy), Svetlichnov (formerly Svetlichniy), Vasilenkov (formerly Vasilenko), Arishchenkov (formerly Arishchenko), Lavrenchenkov (formerly Lavrenchenko), Savenkov (for-

Chursinov (formerly Chursin). The prefix 'A' was added to several surnames. These include Astafurov (formerly Stafurov) and Abarovsky (formerly Barovsky).

Spelling Variants in Canada

When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada in 1899, there was no standard system for transliterating Russian (Cyrillic) spellings into the English (Latin) alphabet. To complicate matters, in the South Russian dialect spoken by the Doukhobors, certain letters were capable of more than one pronounciation. That is the letter G may also be spelt as H; the letter V may also be spelt as W; the letter F may also be spelt as Kh; and the letter O may also be spelt as A. Furthermore, most Doukhobor immigrants were illiterate and had no notion that any one spelling of their surname was more correct than another. As a consequence, the spelling of Doukhobor surnames in Canada became largely a matter of chance, and many English spelling variants arose for each name. Consider the following examples:

Original Surname	English Spelling Variants
Strelyaev	Strelaeff, Strelieff, Strelioff, Strelieve, Strelove, Streliaoff, Strelov, Strilioff, Strelyaev, Strelayev, Streliaev, Straloff, Striloff, Streleoff, Strilive, Strulow, Strelaioff, Strellioff, Strilaeff, Stroloff, Stralieff, Strilaiff, Strelow, Strelaeff, Streliev, Strilaeff, Strelaff, Strellaeff, Strelleaff, Strelau, Strelive, Strelayeff, Streliaeff, Streleaff, Strelaif, Streliaiff, Streleiff, Strealieff, Streloff, Streleff, Streliaff.
Chevildeev	Chevelday, Cheveldov, Cheveldave, Cheveldae, Cheveldeff, Cheveldeaw, Cheveldeoff, Cheveldieff, Chivildave, Chivildeff, Cheveldayeff, Ciwildieff, Cheveldayoff, Cheveldaoff, Cheveldeaoff, Chevildeau, Tcheveldayeff, Cheveldeiff, Cheveldaeff, Chiveldaeff, Chiveldeff, Chevaldaew, Chiveldave, Cheveldaev, Chevaldaeff, Chiwildiaff, Chivildeyev, Chevildeyev, Chiwildieff, Cheveldeyeff, Chivildeev, Chivildeyev, Cheweldeiff, Chivildeeff.
Shtuchnov	Stoochinoff, Stoochnof, Stoochnoff, Stushnaff, Stushnoe, Stoochnow, Stooshinoff, Stoshnof, Stoshnoff, Stooshnof, Stushnow, Stocknow, Stooshnov, Stoushnow, Stushnoff, Steuchnoff, Stooshnoff, Stuchnow, Stuchinoff, Stuchnoff, Shtoochnoff, Shtuchnoff, Shtuchny, Shtuchniy.

Table 4 - Spelling variations in Doukhobor surnames

merly Savenko), Borisenkov (formerly Borisenko), Trofimenkov (formerly Trofimenko), Chernenkov (formerlyChernenko), Pogozhev (formerly Pozoghii), Kolbasov (formerly Kolbasa) and Planidin (formerly Planida).

Many surnames ending in -sky or -skoy were changed to -skov suffix endings. Some families might then keep the original surname and others might adopt the modified surname. Examples include: Dimovskov (formerly Dimovsky), Trubetskov (formerly Trubetskoy), Savitskov (formerly Savitsky), Chutskov (formerly Chutsky) and Eletskov (formerly Eletsky).

The suffix ending -ov was added to several surnames already ending in -in. The resulting surnames have a double-suffix (-inov) ending. Examples include: Lapshinov (formerly Lapshin), Fominov (formerly Fomin), Shchekinov (formerly Shchekin), Deminov (formerly Demin), Bedinov (formerly Bedin), Kuftinov (formerly Kuftin) and

It is important to note that in recent years, some Doukhobors have returned to the standard Russian spelling of names, such as Tarasov instead of Tarasoff, Kazakov rather than Kazakoff, and Popov for Popoff.

New Surnames in Canada

Several new Doukhobor surnames arose in Canada which did not previously occur in Russia. Consider the following examples:
• Doukhobor leader Peter "Lordly" Verigin (1859-1924) gave new surnames to several Doukhobor families. These include: Anyutushkin (formerly Podovinnikov and/or Semenov), Bozhiy (formerly Medvedev) and Uverenniy (formerly Medvedev).
• several non-Doukhobor Russians married into Doukhobor families and accompanied the movement to Canada. These include: Dvortsov, Mokronosov, Noshkin, Soobotin and Yashchenkov.

• Ukrainian immigrants took Russianized surnames after joining the Doukhobor movement in Canada. These include: Skripnikov (formerly Skripnik) and Skibov (formerly Skobeiko).

• many Ukrainian and Polish immigrants married into Doukhobor families and while their surnames did not change to -ov or -in, their descendants continued to regard themselves as Doukhobors: Atamanenko, Sipko, Zaremba, Calmutsky, Obchansky, Matveyenko, Sereda, etc.

Fig. 4 - Doukhobor leader Peter "Lordly" Verigin

Surname Changes in Canada

As part of the assimilation process, some Doukhobors deliberately changed their Russian surnames to English-sounding ones, especially during the 1940's to 1960's. The new family names fall into one of four categories:

Abbreviation. Often the old surname was not entirely abandoned, but was reduced to one or two syllables. Consider the following examples: Balkan (Rebalkin), Bitnoff (Zbitnoff), Bokoff (Legebokoff), Bolin (Bolinoff), Chernen (Chernenkoff), Chern (Chernoff), Day (Cheveldaeff), Egar (Egoroff), Evans (Ivin), Fofon (Fofonoff), Gale (Galishoff), Hanch (Hancheroff), Herasim (Herasimoff), Kalmack (Kalmakoff), Kimoff (Evdokimoff), Lavrench (Lavrenchenkoff), Lawrenoff (Lawrenchenkoff), Makronoff (Makronosoff), Perry (Perehudoff), Perry (Perepelkin), Phillips (Phillipoff), Podavell and Podd (Podavelnecoff), Podmore (Podmoroff), Podwin and

Podovin (Podovinnikoff), Pope (Popoff), Post (Postnikoff), Poznoff (Pozdniakoff), Remizon (Remizoff), Rezanson (Rezansoff), Ruskin (Hrooshkin), Sampson (Samsonoff), Sbitney (Zbitnoff), Shersty (Sherstobitoff), Sooke (Sookorookoff), Sukaroff (Sukarukoff), Swetlow (Swetlishnoff), Troff (Trofimenkoff), Vergin (Verigin), Yaschen (Yaschenkoff), Zurloff (Zurovloff).

Phonetic Similarity. Sometimes a genuine English surname was adopted which began with the same syllable or sounds as the old surname. These include: Anderson (Androsoff), Aster (Ostoforoff), Austin (Ostoforoff), Barnes (Barabanoff), Chutskoer (Chutskoff), Collins (Kazakoff), Conklin (Konkin), Danvers (Davidoff), Davis (Davidoff), Dargin (Darin), Evans (Egoroff), Foster (Ostoforoff), Fraser (Fofonoff), Goliath (Gulioff), Harper (Horkoff), Hoover (Derhousoff), Kaye (Kazakoff), Kelly (Kalmakoff), Kells (Kolesnikoff), Malden (Malikoff), Martin (Markoff), Meakin (Meetin), Nash (Nechvolodoff), Parsons (Popoff), Paulson (Podovinnikoff), Preston (Podovinikoff), Rowe (Remezoff), Saunders (Sukorukoff), Shelby (Sterstobitoff), Sheren (Sherstobitoff), Stanwell (Sookocheff), Stevens (Strelioff), Stocknow (Stushnoff), Stuart (Swetlishnoff).

Language Equivalents. Occasionally the new surname was based on the English language equivalent of a parent or grandparent's name. Hence, a Stupnikoff whose grandfather was John took the name Johnson, and a Kalmakoff whose grandfather was Andrew took the name Andrews.

No Connection. Often the new surname had nothing to do with the old surname. Consider the following examples: Alexander (formerly Nazaroff), Black (formerly Chernoff), Blue (formerly Plotnikoff), Brill (formerly Verigin), Bryan (formerly Jmaeff), Calling (formerly Voykin), Carson (formerly Ostoforoff), Cleaver (formerly Novokshonoff), Cody (formerly Ostoforoff), Cranston (formerly Verigin), Dalton (formerly Storjeff), Dempsy (formerly Popoff), Foster (formerly Zurovleff), Hardy (formerly Fedosoff), Higgs (formerly Legebokoff), Hood (formerly Perepolkin), Jacob (formerly Swetlishnoff), Kent (formerly Swetlishnoff), Knight (formerly Chernoff), Laird (formerly Ribalkin), Lane (formerly Verigin), Langfield (formerly Zbitnoff), Lords (formerly Holoboff), Martin (formerly Potapoff), McQueen (formerly Perehudoff),Milton (formerly Beresoff), Naylor (formerly Swetlishnoff), Newman (formerly Ramsoff), Patterson (formerly Osachoff), Perry (formerly Kalmakoff), Rodgers (formerly Popoff), Ross (formerly Tickanoff), Springford (formerly Konkin), Sunshine (formerly Lavrenchenkoff), Treimans (formerly Lapshinoff), Westerland (formerly Popoff), Wood (formerly Chernenkoff).

Doukhobor Surnames Today

Over the past century in Canada, many Doukhobor family names have become common and widespread while others have dwindled or disappeared entirely. The separate fortunes of a family or families obviously determine whether such surnames became scarce or numerous. Some families

had several male lines that started new branches in Canada; other families just managed to survive in the male line. In many cases, the family was never numerous or prolific and the surname they bore eventually disappeared.

Common Surnames. The most common Doukhobor surnames in Canada today include: Androsoff, Bloodoff, Bonderoff, Chernenkoff, Chernoff, Cheveldaeff, Chutskoff, Dergousoff, Hadikin, Horkoff, Kalmakoff, Kanigan, Kazakoff, Kinakin, Kolesnikoff, Konkin, Makortoff, Markin, Novokshonoff, Perepolkin, Pereversoff, Plotnikoff, Podovinnikoff, Popoff, Postnikoff, Poznikoff, Reibin, Rezansoff, Rilkoff, Tarasoff, Semenoff, Soukeroff, Strelioff, Strukoff, Stushnoff, Verigin, Voykin, Zaitsoff and Zibin. This stable core of surnames has persisted through the centuries to the present day.

Rare Surnames. Some rare Doukhobor surnames in Canada include: Barowsky, Babayoff, Bedinoff, Belovanoff, Bojey, Chikmaroff, Cherkasoff, Darin, Dorofeoff, Egoroff, Eletskoff, Esakin, Esauloff, Filipoff, Glaskoff, Glagoloff, Hrushkin, Harelkin, Hancheroff, Juriloff, Kasahoff, Kaboroff, Kondratoff, Koozin, Krigin, Krukoff, Kholodinin, Lavrenchenkoff, Labintsoff, Larin, Masloff, Metin, Nadane, Noshkin, Overennay, Petroff, Premarukoff, Plaxin, Padowsky, Parkin, Pohozoff, Repin, Rozinkin, Savitskoff, Shishkin, Shustoff, Shapkin, Skiboff, Skripnikoff, Slastukin, Soobotin, Sysoeff, Taranoff, Trubetskoff, Vlasoff, Zarchikoff and Zubenkoff.

Extinct Surnames. Surnames which are no longer in use among the Doukhobors in Canada include: Bikanoff, Bokovoy, Chutsky, Dvortsoff, Eletsky, Gnezdiloff, Hohlin, Kalachoff, Kolasoff, Konobaloff, Kotoff, Krikunoff, Miroshnikoff, Parfenkoff, Satkoff, Savitsky, Shamshurin, Shikonoff, Sotnikoff, Svetlichny, Svetloff, Trubitsin, Trubetskoy, Voronkoff, Yaschenkoff and Youritsin. Several more rare surnames will soon disappear in Canada.

Nicknames

Nicknames - descriptive expressions added to a person's real name or used instead of it - occur in every culture and the Doukhobors are no exception. Many colourful and unique nicknames were used to distinguish individuals, and in some cases, entire families.

Individual Nicknames

Nicknames were typically used to describe individuals with reference to their behavior or personality, their moral or intellectual attributes, or their physical characteristics and peculiarities. In other cases, they might attribute some particular quality of an animal, plant or object to a person. While the literal meaning of a nickname may be clear, the reason why it was given often remains obscure, and generations later, can only be speculated on. Sometimes a nickname referred to the exact opposite of what was literally implied.

Examples of Russian nicknames used by Doukhobors include: slepoi (blind), gorshok (pot), richarda (most faithful), khromoi (lame), chulok (sock), bol'shak (big), khuda (thin), kozel (goat), borodach (bearded), zolotoi (golden-haired), zhurushka (gloomy), kandal'nik (shackled one), blinshchitsa (blintsi maker), rybka (little fish), kormilushka (provider), starchik (oldster), zhikhar (daring), kalach (loaf), kutnyak (barn), besednitsa (conversationalist), tsar (king), bubun (chatterer), gubun (big lips), kalmachuk (adopted member of the Kalmakoff family), zaitchuk (member of the Zaitsoff family), shustrii (wry or vigilant), pcholka (little bee), nemoi (mute), dlinnii (tall), krasnii (red), belyak (white), hrubii (rough), kosoi (squint-eyed), odnorukii (one-armed), glukhoi (deaf), kulik (snipe), ryaboi (speckled), Goliaf (Goliath), etc.

Doukhobor leaders often bore colourful titles or nicknames. For example, Ilarion Pobirokhin was referred to as Radost' ("Our Joy"). Savely Kapustin was referred to as Kormilets ("Our Provider"). Peter Kalmykov was referred to as Khrabrii ("The Brave"). Lukeria Kalmykova was referred to as Blazhennaya ("The Blessed One"). Peter Vasilevich Verigin was referred to as Gospodnii ("Lordly"). Peter Petrovich Verigin was referred to as Chistiakov ("The Cleanser"). Peter Petrovich Verigin III was referred to as Istrebov ("The Annihilator").

Family Nicknames

Some Doukhobor families had two names - an official surname and an unofficial family nickname. The family nickname was used to distinguish between unrelated families with the same surname or different branches of the same family. As a family prospered and became more numerous in a village, each branch was given its own distinct nickname. The family nickname might be formed in one of several ways:

Personal names formed the basis of many family nicknames. For example, the Popovs, the patriarch of whom had eleven sons when joining the Doukhobor movement, came to be identified by these son's first names: Makar (Makarov), Tikhon (Tikhonov), Khrol (Khrolov), Asei (Aseyev), Mikisha (Mikishin), Anikusha (Anikushin), Levon (Levonov), Daria (Darin), etc.

Individual nicknames also gave rise to family nicknames. For example, a branch of the Kazakovs whose patriarch was nicknamed Chulok were referred to as the Chulkovs. A branch of the Postnikovs whose patriarch was nicknamed Starchik were referred to as the Starchikovs. A branch of the Antyufeevs whose patriarch was nicknamed Slepoi were referred to as the Slepovs.

Surname Variations. Sometimes the family nickname was a variation of the original surname. Examples include: Podovsky (from Podovinnikov), Podmarev (from Ponomarev), Panferkov (from Parfenkov), Tarankov (from Taranov) and Svetlikov, Svetlishchev and Svetlichny (from Svetlov).

Ukrainianized. Sometimes a Russian surname was Ukrainianized by adding the -enko suffix ending. The resulting name referred to a "lesser", "poor" or "unfortunate" branch of the family. Examples include:

Baturinenko (from Baturinsky), Chutsenko (from Chutsky), Golubenko (from Golubov) and Petrenko (from Petrov).

Very often the family nickname was passed down to later generations, either in place of the original surname or in addition to it. Some branches might then keep the original surname, and some might adopt the family nickname. After several generations, it was not uncommon to completely lose the memory of the original surname, or to forget which was the original and which was the family nickname.

It is important to note that Doukhobor ancestors may appear in records under the original surname, a family nickname, or both. It is suggested that family researchers use any of the following methods to record the family nickname:

Method	Example
dash	Popov-Mikishin
parenthesis	(Popov) Mikishin
a.k.a.	Popov a.k.a. Mikishin
alias	Popov alias Mikishin
"on zhe i"	Popov *on zhe i* Mikishin

Table 5 - Nickname indication

Summary

Spelling does not matter in genealogical research. Beginning genealogists frequently look only for exact spelling; when they do, they usually do not find what they are seeking. Realize that most Doukhobor immigrants were illiterate and had no notion that any one spelling of their name was more correct than another. Furthermore, even if he or she could read Russian, they would not necessarily recognize the written name if it was written in English. Therefor, be very open-minded with the spelling of names in your research; you may have looked at many records of your ancestors and not realized it.

Researchers should be aware of Russian names that look and sound similiar, but are seperate and distinct. These include: Marfa ~ Mavra, Savely ~ Savva, Alexei ~ Alexander, Filipp ~ Filat, Nikolai~ Nikita ~ Nikifor, Fadei ~ Fotei, Akim ~ Efim, Vera ~ Varvara, Semeon ~ Samuil, Maria ~ Marina, Trifon ~ Trofim, Egor ~ Igor, Feodor ~ Fedot ~ Fedosei, etc.

Similarly, researchers should be aware of Doukhobor surnames that look and sound similiar, but originate from different roots and belong to different families. These include: Malakhov ~ Malikov, Postnikov ~ Pozdnyakov, Arishchenkov ~ Eroshenkov, Dyakov ~ Dyachkov, Barabanov ~ Balabanov ~ Beloivanov, Kazakov ~ Kasahov, Puhachev ~ Pohozhev, Sukharev ~ Sukhorukov, Zharikov ~ Zhikharev, Repin ~ Rybin, Parkin ~ Parakhin, Tarasov ~ Taranov, Trubitsin ~ Trubetskoy, Svetlishchev ~ Svetlichnov, Kireev ~ Karev, Kuchin ~ Kuzin, Shchukin ~ Shchekin, Kanygin ~ Kinyakin, etc.

Doukhobor immigrants had several different names during their lifetime. Any given document may show the full form or the diminutive form, the Russian version or the

English version of their name. The principle to remember is that the pattern of recording names was completely inconsistent. Therefor, researchers should be alert to all possibilities. Consider the following example:

Name	Record	Year
Ivan Popov	Russian census	1853
Vanya Popo	Ship passenger list	1899
Ivan Poppoff	Canada census	1901
Iwan Popoff	Doukhobor village census	1905
Iwan Popow	Homestead entry	1907
Evan S. Popoff	National Registration	1918
John Popoff	Tombstone	1926

Table 6 - Doukhobor name variation

Zurich's Militia Records in the Fifteenth Century
by Albert Winkler, Ph.D.[1]

Introduction

One of the perplexing aspects of doing genealogy is locating sources relating to the Middle Ages. Few records are available, and many that are obtainable present few names. Equally frustrating is the fact that most materials give no information aside from a name, and many sources deal solely with noble families. An exception to these problems are some civic documents. When towns gained control of their governments in the high Middle Ages in places like the German Empire, the city councils began to keep their own records. These materials tend to differ from those found in the archives of the nobles or in Church repositories. Since the leaders in the communities seldom received a Latin education, they had their materials recorded in the vernacular. In addition, the materials often deal with the activities and policies of people of the lower classes giving the modern researcher essential information regarding the nature of these persons' lives and activities.

An example of what can be learned about individuals in the fifteenth century are the military records of Zurich, Switzerland, largely from 1443 to 1444. These items include information that greatly expands our knowledge of lives of the people of Zurich in the late Middle Ages. One of the most important sources are the muster lists of the civic militia probably in 1443. The manuscript records the names of 2760 of men under arms at that time, and it gives information on the soldiers' social status, occupation and guild affiliations, family relationships, weapons they carried, and position in military formations.

Zurich's early Democracy and Record Keeping

The development of Zurich as a state had a direct impact on how and why it kept records in the 15th century. Zurich or Turicum was originally a small town with a population of approximately 200 persons that functioned as a toll station in the Roman Empire for traffic across Lake Zurich. When Rome was hard pressed military north of the Alps, it built a fortress for the town. After the collapse of Rome, the stronghold was used by an invading Germanic tribe, the Alamanni, as a defensive position, and the location remained important for local trade across the lake. The cite became more important when an abbey was established there in the 9th century bringing prestige, wealth, and Church influence to the area. The greatest boon to Zurich's economic importance came in the middle of 13th century when the St. Gotthard pass was opened to commerce from Italy because a new and important trade route developed immediately. Merchants soon followed the road over the pass and across lakes Luzern and Zurich to the city which became much larger and economically significant.[2]

During much of the 13th century, Zurich had no wall to surround and protect it or to define its boundaries. But its new importance and the increased violence of the era meant that it had to construct effective defenses. The expansion of the city brought large numbers of people who wanted to look after their own affairs. As was the case with many cities of the German Empire during the Middle Ages, Zurich staged a social revolution in the early 14th century. Led by Rudolf Brun, an upper-class revolutionary, the city drove the Church largely out of politics and restricted the influence of the local nobles. Following the example of many German cities, most notably Strasbourg, Brun established city councils comprised of two bodies. The large (*Gross*) city council consisted of 200 men elected by vote of adult, male members of guilds. From the greater council, the all-important small (*Klein*) council was selected. Initially, the small council was comprised of both lower-class residents of the town and local nobles, but, by the end of the century, the nobles had been excluded, and the city government operated without them. The small council chose a mayor from its members, but this person could only serve in that capacity for 6 months and had to be replaced by another man after his tenure of office. This form of government was so effective it operated in Zurich for 500 years and was only replaced in the mid-19th century. Much like Cleisthenes in ancient Athens, Rudolf Brun expanded Zurich democracy, defended it against all enemies, oversaw its operation, and then left the scene allowing it to function on its own.[3]

Zurich was then in the hands of the elected leaders of guilds, and record keeping reflected their interests and abilities. Civic officials wanted records they could easily understand, and they discarded writing in Latin preferring all materials to be in German. At the same time, the city council hired secular scribes, keepers of the city seals, notaries, archivists, chroniclers, and clerks for record keeping. These persons formed a highly professional group that produced what manuscripts the city councils thought were important. Many of the most well known of these record keepers had some background in the priesthood, where they got much of their education, but had given up formal Church affiliations to produce secular manuscripts. Their profession was so demanding that many of them went to advanced schools for record keeping often in Basel, Strasbourg, or centers of learning in Italy.[4]

The Zurich War and the creation of Militia Records

The city councils of Zurich had territorial ambitions for most of the 14th and 15th centuries. The men in government saw other states nearby gain lands, power, and influence and tried to expand as well. Most of this growth came at the expense of the local nobility, many of whom had fallen on hard times financially, and the city was able to acquire nearby lands through purchase, confiscation after unpaid loans, and by taking as an inheritance. The most notable success was Zurich's acquisition of the lands of the Kiburg family which the city had been able to seize in the 15th

century after the male side of the line had died out. However, Zurich's territorial ambitions remained unsatisfied, and the civil authorities kept looking for more opportunities to take land.

A potential problem among members of the Swiss Confederation that became a grave international crisis in the 15th century was the question of the Toggenburg inheritance. The dilemma developed around the question of the disposition of lands owned by Count Friedrich VII of Toggenburg. The Count had no heirs, but he owned large areas of land to the southeast of Zurich which the city councils wanted badly to acquire at his death. He had been a citizen of the Zurich for 36 years, but he had also served as a high public official of Schwyz, another prominent Swiss state. In the last years of his life, Friedrich was constantly surrounded by distant relatives and emissaries from various states hoping that he would favor them in his will. Notably, representatives from both Zurich and Schwyz frequently tried to wring concessions out of the elderly and ailing man. By the time he died in 1436, both Zurich and Schwyz claimed the old Count had left each of them his holdings. As one contemporary Zurich historian, Gerold Edlibach, wryly commented, Friedrich had tied the "tails" (*Schwänze*) of Schwyz and Zurich together like a pair of angry dogs.[5]

Schwyz probably had the better claim to the inheritance, but Zurich soon sent troops to occupy key positions in the area. The failure of diplomacy to bring a favorable outcome to both parties led to war, and fighting broke out in 1439. Schwyz had gathered support from other members of the Swiss Confederation effectively isolating Zurich, and the city soon felt isolated and in need of allies. In what was seen as a great betrayal of the Confederation, Zurich joined an alliance with the Austrian Habsburgs, the traditional enemy of the Swiss. Despite the pact with the hated Habsburgs, the war went badly for Zurich, and it was soon forced to fall back on its own resources. In 1443, the city was defeated by a Confederate army just outside its walls at the battle of St. Jakob an der Sihl, and was forced to withdraw its forces inside the town to prevent the seizure of the city. A truce was hastily arranged, but it was short lived, and the following year, 1444, Zurich was besieged and bombarded by the armies of the Confederation. The Swiss forces conducted the siege in a leisurely manner, and the city was never seriously threatened with collapse. The people of Zurich even left the gates to their cities open and frolicked unarmed outside the town walls. They taunted their adversaries with "unchristian" gestures and openly invited them to attack. No such attempt was made, and the bombardment was almost totally ineffectual. In fact, the only casualties of the shelling reportedly were a priest, a lookout in a tower, and a hen and her chicks. After 10 weeks and three days, the Confederation gave up its fruitless siege and withdrew.[6]

Despite the successful resistence to the attacks by other members of the Swiss Confederation, Zurich had cause for concern. The war cost the city much of its trade, and the town fell into an economic depression which forced many of its citizens to seek employment elsewhere. Additionally, the

threat of a successful attack by the other Swiss states remained. The defeat at the battle of St. Jakob an der Sihl and the fact the town was besieged at all reminded the city councils that defensive preparations must be made in earnest. In what appears to have been a rare occurrence by a Swiss state, Zurich's government began organizing the military. To do so, the leaders of the city carefully drew up plans for the militia including who would stand in what position, carry which weapons, and deploy in relation to others. This included a muster list of 2760 men, and it listed their occupations, status, names of leaders, and weaponry they used. Not only is this a very valuable list of names, but it also expands our ability to understand the development of infantries in the late Middle Ages.

The Zurich Militia Muster Lists from 1442 or 1443

The item is a ten-page manuscript in the Zurich state archives with the designation *Stadt und Landschaft* (city and countryside), C1, *Schachtel* (box) 55, Nr. 1748. More recently, it has been found in *Aktenabteilung* (document section) A 30. 1 *Reisrödel* (ancillary documents) Nr. 3. The document cannot be dated with certainty, but it was composed most likely between June 1442 and June 1443 because only the areas then controlled by Zurich are mentioned in the item.[7]

The leaders of Zurich's forces are always given as *hóptman* (*Hauptmann*). While the German word *Hauptmann* may be translated as captain, the rank structure of Zurich's army defies a modern interpretation. The term *hóptman* is used for the commander of the entire state or for leaders of several men. By modern standards, the term could be translated as anything from brigade commander to squad leader. In the following lists, I have elected to translate the word simply as "leader." The only other officers listed were the men *gehörend zů dem paner* (belonging to the banner) or "*under paner*" (under the banner). These men probably carried the banner and may be considered important officers. While the term *Venner* (banner carrier) was used in other Swiss documents at this time, the muster lists for Zurich do not use the word.

The Swiss scribes of the 15th century were not using consistent rules of spelling, and this is evident in the document. Even the most simple words like *und* (and) could be spelled *und*, *unnd*, or *unt* in various sources. Names also presented problems. For example, the *White Book of Sarnen*, in 1471, was the first document to mention the legendary Swiss hero, William Tell. In a single page of the manuscript, the man's name is spelled Tel, Täl, and Tell.[8] These problems also appear in the Zurich muster lists. Even a simple name such as Uli (usually short for Ulrich) is spelled Uli, Ůli, or Üli. Similar names also have variant spellings like Schneider, Schnider, and Schnyder.

The militiamen were placed in categories on the basis of the guild with which the men were associated if they lived in the city. The troops were also arrayed with others from the same locality or village if they resided in the countryside. The soldiers were also placed in categories by which

weapons they wielded. The terms for some of these devices are difficult to translate. They include *schützen* which was an early version of the musket. These weapons were similar to the harquebus used later which was a match-lock device where a powder charge in a tube was ignited by inserting a burning cord through touch hole, the resulting explosion sent a ball at the target. In the middle of the 15th century, these firearms were not as well developed as were the harquebus that were used later, so I have translated this term as "hand cannon."

Other weapons used include *lange spiesse* (long pikes), *spiesse* (pikes) *kurtze gewere* (short weapons), *armbruste* (cross bows), *schützen* (harquebus or hand cannon), *búchsen* (cannon or another kind of hand cannon). The pike was a pole with an iron point on it, very much like a large spear, that was often used to keep attacking men on horseback from crashing into a line of infantry. Long pikes were often 18 feet in length. Short weapons were often called *hellebarde* or halberds, and were variations of pole axes from 5 to 8 feet in length. These arms were versatile weapons. They often had an point on the end for thrusting, an ax blade on the side for slashing, and a hook opposite the blade for snagging armor, so a rider could be pulled from his horse. I have chosen to call these devices, "short weapons."[9]

Fig. 1 - Map of Zurich in 1504

Zurich's Miliary Personnel during the Zurich War, circa 1443[10]

Names of Men from the City
Civic Leaders

Overall leader: Johanns Swend
Banner carriers: Jacob Benn and Pentelly
    Hagnower

Men carrying hand cannon:
    der Swegler (leader)
    Erhart Thyg
    Ulrich Moser
    Rüdy Baldinger
    Hanns Sidenfaden
    Cůnrat am Wasen
    Sigmund Graff
    Winant Zoller
    Rüdy Imbach
    Werder
    Heine Weibel
    Uly Gelter
    Hanns Zeller
Men with the long pikes:
    Gilg Brunner (leader)
    Heini Brunner
    Kilchmeyer
    Nagel
    Issinger
    Hanns Frieß
    Hanns Leman
    Titzler
    Hanns Weber
    Petter Schorly
    Hanns Nier
    Hanns Abalbis
Men carrying short weapons who are well supplied:
    Götz Escher (leader)
    Jacob Murer
    lang (tall) Swend
    Růdolf Benn
    Růdolf Meis
    Růdolf Schulthes
    Jacob Swartzmurer (struck out)
    Růdolf Kilchmatter
    Hanns Thumm
    Torberg
    Ächtertinger
    Heinrich Escher
Well supplied men with short weapons:
    Hanns Studer (leader)
    Hanns Kramer
    Heini Kramer
    Üly Kramer
    Wetteswiler
    Thomas Studer

Jos Studer
Hanns Kösch
Appenzeller
Well supplied men with short weapons:
    Master Jörg Sidennäyer (leader)
    R dolf Moser
    Heine Tünger
    Uly Rietman
    Hanns Tugginer (struck out)
    Heine Leinbacher
    Claus im Grund
    Rüdy Wetteswiler
    Heini Torman
    Schennikon
    Heini Meyer
Men with short weapons (wood cutters):
    Klingnower (leader)
    Búrgy Widmer
    Heini Friman
    Salman
    Búrgy Klinger
    Heine von Gachnang
    Heini Swager
    Kleinbröttly (struck out)
    Bartlome
    Wettler

Shopkeepers Guild

Overall leader: Hanns Hagnower, also
    known as Bopp
Banner carriers: Jekly Hagnower and
    Hanns Nadler

Hand cannon, cannon,[11] and pikes:
    Hanns Scherer (leader)
    Herman Bischof
    Torman
    Cůnrat Klein
    Hanns von Naw
    Claus Keller
    Mathis Schmid
    Stichdenast
    Halbschútz
    Cůntz Bopp
    Hanns Pfulwendorf
    Petter Iring
    Hanns von Egre
Well-supplied men with short weapons:
    Heinrich Obrost (leader)
    Harscher
    Fridrich Einsideller
    Hanns Mellinger
    Nitfurer
    Stettfurt
    Felix von Egre
    Jung Nadler

Heini Klotter
Ůly Schik
Men with short weapons:
    Jacob Hagnower (leader)
    Heini Störy
    Herman Zoller
    Brútter
    Röber
    Notisen
    Messerschmid
    Salabach
    Zeiner

Wine Producer's Guild

Overall leader: Jacob Brunner
Banner carriers: Marx Röiber and Hanns
    von Loppen

Men with hand cannon:
    [Leader not listed]
    Sussenbretly
    Oswald Schmid
    Billy
    Reig
    Hůber
    Ströily
    Griessenberg
Pike men:
    Jacob Ochsner (leader)
    Amptz
    Brunner
    Jos Schmid
    Eberly Wüst
    Knöidly
    Scholtz
    Ram
    Bůchenegger
    Ströily
    Oberdorf
    Zäyg
Pike men:
    Felix Öry (leader)
    Hans Öry
    Habersat
    Hagnower
    Maller
    Růtschman, from Usikon
    Clewy von Burg
Men with short weapons:
    Hanns Kiel (leader)
    Müssikon
    Johanns Keller
    Cůnrat sin sun (his son)
    Wüst
    Zeyg
    Kilchman

Růdolf von Cham
Tirer

Pike men:
Heinrich Sutter (leader)
Hanns Sutter
Sattler
Scholtz
Tub
Schönman
Múller
Rotthan
Sigrest

Blacksmith's Guild

Overall leader: Meister Iburger
Banner carriers: Meister Stemmely and
Cůntz Kraft

Men carrying hand cannon:
[Leader not listed]
Heuman Rechberger
Hanns Húruß
Hanns Schollenberg
Beringer Halbisen
Hanns Glögly
Hanns Widerhopt
Jacob Springindes
Bůschmen
Hanns Bader
Faber
Men with the long pikes:
Růdolf Bader (leader)
Wibland
Růdolf Logisen
Rüdy Sitz
Cůntz Kúng
Hanns Kúgelly
Schůlmeister

Men with short weapons:
Heini Albrecht (leader)
Meister Núwiler
Üly Winkler[12]
Thöny Scherer
Üly von Keiserst l
Wolrower
Bůrkly Schmid
Petter Scherer
Federly
Merk Bader
Uly von Wangen
Herman Scherer
Hanns Bosshart
Uly Bleicher
Hamerschmid

Burkart Scherer
Teryns Scherer
Röchly
Hanns Hertt
Hanns Glatt
Erhart Scherer

Baker and Miller Guild

Overall leader: C nrat von Cham
Banner carriers: Ott Werdmúller and
Hanns von Cham

Men carrying hand cannon:
Cüni Spenly (leader)
Schönnenberg
Heini Kúng
Hanns von Wil
Heini von Wil
Mertz
Schlig
Üli Tollikon uf Dorf [Üli Tollikon in
the village]
Hensly Röist
Widerker
Cůnrat Werdmüller
Men with cannon (búchsen) and pikes:
Heini Uttinger (leader)
Hensly Petter
Hensly Gamlikon
Üly Tollikon in Niderdorf ["in
Niderdorf"–*probably to differentiate
him from the man of the same name
"in the village" listed above*]
Jos Büler
Hensly Brunner
Frowenfeld
Ulman Sager
Bertschy Scherer
Hensly Tägen
Hanns von Uster
Heini Frig
Raffenspurg
Men with short weapons:
Heini im Werd (leader)
Jekly Hirt
Bosswil
Honberger
Heini Gruner
Heini Kramer
Kúng in Niderdorf
Heini Föisy
Men with short weapons:
Hans von Räk (leader)
Vorster
Búrgy
Rüdy Gamklikon

Cüni Röist
Peyer
Funk
Burdy
Pur
Oberly
Ruf
Men with short weapons:
Heini Spenly (leader)
Lenhart Sessler
Múller im Werd
Osterwald
von Widen
Meyer von Birch
Marty
Bropst
Hanns Werdmúller
Helman

Weapons Maker Guild

Overall leader: Hanns Rosenstok
Banner carriers: Wernly Schúrmeyer
and   Hanns Heintz

*Men with the hand cannon and the men
with long pikes:*
Hanns Hirss (leader)
Rüdy Abbül
Weninger
Üly Studer
Hensly Am-Bül
Hanns von Cappel
Claus Grůber
Rüdy Húwiner
Kager
Heini Meiger
Men with short weapons:
Cüni Studer (leader)
Frik
Bilgry
Niefergalt
Wüst
Rüdy Heintz
Heini Cůnrat
Tachelshoffer
Buss

Butcher Guild

Overall leader: Meister (master) Reig
Banner carriers: Üly Holtzhalb and Jos
Cüntzeller

*Men with hand cannon, cannon and long
pikes:*
Hanns zer Kinden (leader)

Politt
von Eich
Riem
Nussbom (name crossed out)
Schmid
Winterthurer
Schiltknecht
Augustiner
Wüst
Hänman
Men with short weapons:
Růdolf Ochen (leader)
Claus Hirt
Jacob
Bamser
Petter
Múnch
Mutz
Heini Hirt
Wininger
Metzger
Frölich

Shoemaker Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Meyer
Banner carriers: Vittel and Grüninger
[this may be surnames of two men or
one man's name–Vittel Grüninger]

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Eingern (leader)
Hanns Aspar
Rott
Frig
Nier
Schúchdenstich
Schriber
Seiler
Ackly
Růdolf
Goldschmid
Thöny
Felix Meiger
Troger
Gilgenzwy
Naggel
Men carrying the pikes:
Fritag (leader)
Klügly
Schúrmeyer
Löwenberg
Zender
Ströily
Andres Schmid
Lútschgg
Switzer

Men with short weapons:
Üly Lienhart (leader)
Frantz Lienhart
Ůlrich da hindan (Dahindan)
Hanns Meyer
Jos Gerhart
Petter Sutter
Blochsutter
Hoffstetter
Füring
Hanns Kopff
Griffense
Peter Föisy
Jacob Schmid
Knaber
Men with short weapons:
Rüdy Jung (leader)
Rüdy Ungericht
Glattfelder
Rosenblatt
Mengel
Rudy von Rinow
Wignand
Nassmatter
Andres von Ulm
Heini Kneller
Ris
Heini Egly
Bachs
Bruchly

Roofer and Carpenter Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Binder
Banner carriers: Hanns Switter and Rüdy
Hiltprand

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns H ber (leader)
Erhart Walder
Hanns Walder
Thoman
Frik
Salman
Fritag
Pur
Múseller
Hensly Binder
Lieb
Rüdy Nussbom
Üly Weber
Men with the hand cannon:
Hans von Sant Gallen (leader)
Burkart Hetzog
Hanns Libenstal
Üly Libenstal
alt [old] Swartz

jung [young] Swartz
Ott Aber
Hanns Bressly
Sigrost
Blúwel
Rott Michel
Rüdger Witzig
Men with pikes:
Heini Silg (leader)
Hanns Winzúrn
Frig
Büler
Cüni Hoffman
Fässler
Nürsch
Schätty
Cüni Hug
Men with short weapons:
Cůnrat Hiltprand (leader)
Petter Tischenmacher
Kessman
Knup
Jekly Neff
Ülrich Krappf
Hantlinger
Heini Kull
Cüni Múller
Üly Keller
Morgenstern
Men with short weapons:
Hanns Blúwel (leader)
Heinrice Switter
Volmare
Miltenberg
Trúmpy
Steffan Binder
Cüni Múller
Petter Hoffman
Iberg
Hafner

Fisher and Boatmen Guild

Overall leader: Jacob Bachs
Banner carriers: Hanns Frig and Cüni
Rigler

Men with the hand cannon:
Altenweger (leader)
Hensly Knöidly
Rüdy Jung
Jekly Langenörly
Heini Wernly
Üly Billitter
sin brůder [his brother]
Scheffmacher
Baghart

Heini Schmidly
Hensly Bachs
Hanns Hold
Üly Kalcher
Götz Schurter
Pike men:
Hanns Wirtz (leader)
Wunderlich
Röschly
Swab der elter [the older]
Swab der jünger [the younger]
Rüdy Bank
Merkly Waser
Heini Neggelly
Frechenman
Schúrman
Volmer
Men with the short weapons:
Hanns Jung (leader)
Hanns Schorer
Rússegger
Rüdy Meyer
Lochman
Hensly Cůnrat
Rüdy Sumervogel
Heini von Hasel
Men with the short weapons:
Heini Pfudler (leader)
Bertschy Schanolt
Jekly Bachs
Rüdy Bank
Hanns von Lindow
Jung Landös
Wernly Hofman

Taylor and Cloth Cutter Guild

Overall leader: Heinrich Schmid
Banner carriers: Lienhard Múnch and
Hanns Beltzer

Men with hand cannon:
Claus Zimmerman (leader)
Schennikon
Ůlrich Schmid
Cůnrat von Haln
Cůnrat Burgdorf
Hanns Hofman
Ůlrich Kemel
Steffan Kúmberly
Petter Tachelshoffer
Wernly Schitterberg
Staffan Schulhes
Pike men and cannon:
Felix Uttinger (leader)
Springiskle
Poule Küsiner

Switzer
Kupfferschmid
Esterman
Riff
Uly Schmid
Torwart
Struss
Hanns Ezentzberger
Men with short weapons:
Meister Erlisholtz (leader)
Bentelly Kürsiner
Sumervogel
Cůnrat Cůn
Frischly
Frantz
Fuchs
Moser
Búrgy Wider
Heini Amman
Húss
Sidennäyer
Men with short weapons:
Hanns Frig (leader)
Hanns Gon
Cüni Gon
Tuttwil
Bachmeyer
Heini Ernest
Lútpolt
Merkly
Bertschy Schnider
Hanns Rubly
Thoman
Widmer
Men with short weapons:
Heinrich Schitterberg (leader)
Hanns Gründelly
Hanns von Costentz
Felix Blibnit
Strowmeyer
Hanns Amman
Swertzenbach
Jörg Lantzenrein
Hanns Lantzenrein
Frank
Claus von Mentz
Jekly Blibnit

Shop Owner Guild

Overall leader: Heinrich Effinger
Banner carriers: Heini Múller and Uly
Seiler

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Hofman (leader)
Erhart Griessenberg

Heini Meyer emhelg[?]
Múliman
Schweiger
Bůnschinder
Leman
Men with the pikes:
Abel Silg (leader)
Hegnower
Ellend
Heini Bůnschinder
Zimberman
Zäyg
Men with shirt weapons:
Růdolf Nitfurer (leader)
Heini von Jonen
Sumer wer
Schmid
Spreittenbach
Stůb
Jacob Trinkler
Stuply
Honrein
Jekly Hirt
Ůly Widmer
Men with short weapons:
[Leader not listed]
Hanns Bosshart
Hanns Sidler
Hanns Múnch
Jekly Sidler
Üly Sidler
Vollenweider
Üly Hirt
Heini Meyer

Wool and Linen Weaver Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Rúttiner
Banner carriers: Niclaus Wiss and Jörg
Dingnower

Men with the hand cannon:
Heinrich Schitterberg (leader)
Waltherr Engenshein
Gupfer
Tuner
Merkly
Stichdenast
Stachelman
Men with the long pikes:
Hanns zer Eich (leader)
Clewy Blahor
Heini Thoman
Burkart Sennhuser
Selholtzer
Jacob Cůn
Rüdy Lantrikon

Men with short weapons:
    Petter Keller (leader)
    Hanns Weber
    Hanns Hofman
    Hanns Keller
    Stachelman
    Hanns Hůttmacher
Men with short weapons:
    Lútty Kamrer (leader)
    Turst
    Rüdy Egenshein
    Michel
    Lienhart
    Heini Lober

Names of Men from the Countryside[13]

Erlibach
Overall leader: Johanns Brunner der jung [the young]

Men with hand cannon:
    Hanns Wirtz der júnger [the younger] (leader)
    Üly von Růfs
    Hensly Schnider
    Hensly Kaltbrunner
    Clewy Büller
    Clewy Hoffstetter
    Hensly Hoffstetter
    Clewy Ustrer
    Üly Hohstrasser
    Hanns Wallwiler
    Üly Wisman
    Heini Amman
    Hensly Wetlich
Pike men:
    Hanns Störy (leader)
    Heini Liggy
    Heini Wider
    Rüdy Amman
    Hensly Keller
    Hans von Růfs
    Hanns Ulman
    Pentelly in der Wisen [in der Wisen - *in the meadow*]
    Üly in der Wisen
    Jekly in der Wisen
    Hanns Guggotz
    Vischen Rüdy
    Üly Guggotz
    Hanns Bruggbach
Men with short weapons:
    Hanns Bindschedler (leader)
    Hanns Eberly
    Clewy Eberly
    Hanns von Meilan

Jos Ströily
Rüdy Ustrer
Claus Meyer
Üly Brugger
Rüdy Hofstetter
Jekly Ströily
Heini Störy
Hensly Gattikon
Men with short weapons:
    Lang [tall] Hanns Guggotz (leader)
    Alt [old] Hanns Wirtz
    Heinrich Schnider
    Hensly Ustrer
    Rüdy Oswald
    Cüni Guggotz
    Klein [short, young] Rüdy Guggotz
    Vischer Heini
    Siglisegger
    Hanns Zúricher
    Hanns Lang
        Total 50[14]

Kússnach
Overall leader: Johanns Dietschy

Men with hand cannon:
    Hanns Rottenswiler (leader)
    Scherer
    Rússegger
    Hensly von Kůnshen
    Üly Artter
    Hensly Wisman
    Neini Nöggy
    Rüdy Kaltbrun
    Heini Körnly
    Hensly Werder
    Hensly Jeny
Men with the long pikes:
    Heintzman Cůntz (leader)
    Rüdy Gúntherr
    Heini Sidler
    Heini Sigrist
    Üly Andrer
    Cüni Graff
    Rüdy von Cůnshen
    Fölmly
    Hensly Sidler
    Jekly Walterminger
    Růtzman von Kůnshen
Men with long pikes:
    Hanns Jegly (leader)
    Stoker
    Gilg
    Uly von Kůnshein
    Jegly Nussbům
    Cüni Nordikon
    Cůnrat Leser

Jos Butsch
Rüdy Můller
Hanns Büler
Heini Jekly
Men with short weapons:
    Heini Nussbůmer (leader)
    Üly Lang
    Cüni von Cůnshein
    Hanns Knopfly
    Hanns Krig
    Růtschman Húser
    Horner
    Rüdy Schmid
    junkherr [young nobleman] Ůlrich
    Heini von Meilan
Men with short weapons:
    Hanns Swegler (leader)
    Rüdy Berger
    Hensly Lang
    Hensly Nussbům
    Hensly Wettlich
    Hanns Rottenswiler
    Heine Ströily
    Cüni Rengger
    Heini Nordikon
    Üly Wetlich
    Hensly Rottenswiler
    Heini Bůcher
    Hanns Sutter
Men with short weapons:
    Hensly von Cůshein (leader)
    Hanns Wettlich
    Üly Lochman
    Schennikon
    Öchman
    Heini von Kůnshein
    Rüdy von Cůnshein
    Heini Wissling
    Kússnach
    Jacob Spiss
    Bentelly Burkart
    Cüni Werder
    Heini Göich
    Heini Büler
        Total 72

Herdiberg
Men with hand cannon:
    Lútty im Grútt (leader)
    Búrgy Knopfly
    Jos im Grútt
    Welty Zendhuser
    Grosshanns Kramer
    Hensly Sigrist
Men with the long pikes:
    Hanns Múnch (leader)
    Rüdy Kramer

Cüni von Herdiberg
Hensly von Herdiberg
Üly Zendhuser
Jörg Ströily
Hensly Erner
Hensly Süss
Men with short weapons:
   Hanns von Herdiberg (leader)
   Hintz im Selholtz
   Hanns Ströily
   Hensly in der Egg
   Pentelly Widmer
   Hartman im Schaflin
   Hensly im Grútt
   Filips Múnch
   Heini Wettlich
   Heini Leman
   Heini Knopfly
   Hanns Fietz
   Rüdy Guggelman
   Hensly Jörg
   Herman Fogler
     Total 21 (actually 29)

Zollikon

Men with hand cannon:
   Hanns Hofman (leader)
   Hůber
   Wiss
   Schůmacher
   Buman
   Weber
Men with pikes:
   Heini Hottinger (leader)
   Cůnrat Hensler
   Heini Bůcher
   Bertschy Leinbacher
   Hensly Rebmesser
   Üly Hůber
Men with short weapons:
   Cüni Kienast (leader)
   Ůlrich Ritter
   Jekly Kienast
   Leman
   Toman
   Schiltknecht
   Frik
   Heini Obrist
   Egeshan
   Hanns Lochman
   Üly Wüst
Men with short weapons:
   Rüdy Hensler (leader)
   Claus Rüdger
   Üly Ernst
   Clewy Schad
   Lochman

Thoman
Jos Murer
Üly Murer
Hanns Schad
Bachman
Üly Brunner
Hensly Spery
Men with short weapons:
   Hanns Eberhart
   Heini Toman
   Heini Hottinger
   Böny
   Breittiner
   klein [small, young] Breittiner
   Cüni Brunner
   Hanns Kienast
   Heini Büler
   Heini Knöbelly
   Cüni Bůcher
   Ochsner
   Studer
     Total 48

Hottingen, Oberstraß, und Understraß

Men with the hand cannon:
   Hensly Berner (leader)
   Hanns Fröidwiler
   Rüdy Frig
   Heini Meyer bim steg
   Hensly Meyer sin brůder (brother)
   Hanns Tempelman
   Heini Rebman
   Hartman Meyer
   Jekly Biegger
   Heini Hottinger
Men with pikes:
   Hanns Rüdger (leader)
   klein [little, young] Hanns Rüdger
   Hanns Fúrbas
   Ůly Húny
   Heini Meyer
   Hanns Süller
   Üly Täk
   Andres Friman
   Rosenstok
   Hanns Gúller
Short weapons:
   Wernly Süler (leader)
   Rüdy Kůffer
   Hanns Holenweg
   Hanns Meyer
   Cüni Lindiner
   Hanns Sprúngli
   Hanns Wagner
   Hensly Wasser
   Ůly Amman

Hanns Kessler
Cůnrat Kessler
Heini Hertly
Men with the short weapons:
   Hensly Cůntz (leader)
   Felix Meyer
   Hanns Notz
   Rüdy Süller
   Hans Kúng
   Heini Klötty
   Hanns Andres
   Hanns Meryer
   Heini Kúng
   Ůly Scherer
   Hensly Hottinger
Men with short weapons:
   Heini Ackly (leader)
   Hanns Lindiner
   Jekly Burkart
   Heini Frank
   Claus Amman
   Goldknopf
   Fridly Múller
   Cüni Gúller
   Heini Eberly
   Heini Widmer
   Jbberg Schmid

Leader of the men with the short weapons:
Heini Widmer
   Rüdger Kipenhen
   Hanns Ringger
   Heini Frig
   Cüni Kipenhen
   Heini Waltherr
   Hanns Jung
   Peter Kúng
   Cüni Stifel
   Cüny Súry
Men with the short weapons:
   Ludwig Rebman
   Swartzenbach
   Fölmy
   Üly Meyer
   klein (short, young) Hanns Meyer
   Bertschy Fúbas
   Hensly Vogt
   Meini Múller
   Keiser
   Cüni Kessler
Men with the short weapons:
   Üly Hertzog (leader)
   Herman Rüdger
   Bertschy Notz
   Rüdger Waser
   Rüdy Hering
   Rüdy Meyer

Rüdy Bertschy
Jegly Andres
Fritschy Studer
Hanns Keller
Men with the short weapons:
    Heini Cůntz (leader)
    Wilhelm Kasper
    Heini Seholtzer
    Clewy Hirt
    Rüdy Hottinger
    Jörg Cůntz
    Heini Lindiner
    Rüdy Hertt
    Spiry
    Hans Hirt
        Total 93 (actually 94)

Wippchingen

Men carrying crossbows:
    Rüdger Schwend (leader)
    Rüdy Metzger
    Sparberg
    Wingarter
    Hanns Múller
    Búrgy Wiss
    Heini Burkart
    klein [small, young] Dietschy
    Fritschy
    Rüdy Keller
    Heini Ockenfiess
    Rüdy Jeger
    Rüdger Schwend [repeat of above]
Men with the short weapons:
    Cüni Strůwmeyer (leader)
    Cüni Burkart
    Hanns Kemnatter
    Hanns Kessler
    Hanns Schubinger
    Appenzeller
    Zeinner
    Weber
        Total 20

Schwamendingen, Örlikon, Sebach und Oberhusen

Men with crossbows or pikes:
    Keller der jung [the young] (leader)
    Bintzmúller
    Brogely
    Keller
    Ringger
    Herman
    Meyer
    Hanns Meyer
    Bertschinger
    Üly Meyer
    Herman

Broglis sun [Brogly's son, *seq.*]
Brogly
Keller
sin sun [his son]
Men with the short weapons:
    Heintz Meyer (leader)
    Wüst
    Aber Wüst
    Meyer knecht
    Widmer
    Bertschinger
    Húpscher
    Üly Meyer
    Schmid
    Studer
    Grüninger
    Ringgly
    Cüni von Wil
    Leman
    aber Leman
    Meyer
    aber Meyer
    Gerung
        Total 33

Rúmlang

Men with crossbows or pikes:
    Hanns Häggeler (leader)
    Heini von Rútty
    Keiser
    Eggentswiler
    Kilchherr
    Stierly
    Cůnrat Hägeller
    Jung Brogly
    Kofel
    Cüni da hinden [from behind]
    Üly Kofman
    Rüdy Hirt
    Büchler
Men with the short weapons:
    Heini Widmer (leader)
    Zölggy
    Stricher
    Wüst
    Vischer
    Zanngger
    Gering
        Total 20

Wollishoffen

Men with the hand cannon:
    Hartmann Bog (leader)
    Üly ab Asp
    Rüdy Lindiner
    Fridrich Blöiss
    Hanns Múller

Heini Honrer
Hanns Meiser
Men with the long pikes:
    Heintzman Gimper (leader)
    klein [little, young] Rüdy Tempelman
    Husherr
    Brunner
    Schorer
    Jekly Büller
    Üly Tempelman
    Clewy Rieder
    Heini Bollinger
    Jekly Friman
    Klotters sun (Klotter's son)
    Üly Traply
Men with short weapons:
    Hanns Eschwurm (leader)
    Hanns Honrein
    Bertschy
    Hanns Aspar
    Üly ab Engy
    Welty Rieder
    Hensly Lútty
    Hensly Hagen
    Grosshanns Kilchmeyer
    Welty Tempelman
    Heintz Studer
Men with short weapons:
    Hanns Rott (leader)
    Bog
    Klotter
    Heini uff Asp
    Ernny Petter
    Riss
    Cüni Búrger
    Heintzman Krutt
    Heini am Horn
    Rüdy Lussten wer
        Total 40

Vogtye zů Meilan

Men with the hand cannon:
    Hanns Burgman (leader)
    Üly Kreps
    Búrgy Weber
    Heini Burgman
    Hanns Hug
    Bernhart Ustrer
    Rüdy Megter
    Rüdy Knöily
    Hensly in der Hab
Men with the hand cannon:
    Hanns Schnorff (leader)
    Hanns im Bůmgarten
    Heini Leser
    Rüdy Fůrenwang
    Üly Schnorff

Claus Stattman
Hanns Swab
Wernly Schorer
Hanns Meyerhof
Men with the short weapons:
Heini Wernly (leader)
Heini Bilyen
Brisenman
Heini Můry
Heine Bůbenstoss
Petter Bůbenstoss
Hanns Fůrenwang
Hanns Schnorff
Üly Leman
Heini Meyer
Men with the short weapons:
Giger Meyer (leader)
Hensly Rebman
Petter Meyer
Üly Meyer
aber (also another) Üly Meyer
Rüdy Guldiner
Cüni Biber
Üly Scheffer
Jekly Sutz
Flúguff
Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Ustrer (leader)
Heini Gir
Rüdy Andres
Herman Mury
Heine Meyer
sin sun [his son]
Rüdy Stapfer
Heini Múller
Jekly Schůmacher
aber [also another] Schůmacher
Hanns in der Hab
Cůnrat Schnider
Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Neff (leader)
Heini Senn
Heini Peyer
Herman Ziegler
Heini Knöily
Üly Bubenstoss
Hensly Schmid
Hanns Hartman
Heini in der Hab
Men with the long pikes:
Heini Neff (leader)
Búrgy Neff
Rüdy Knecht
Bertschy Knopfly
Hensly Knöily
Rüdy Kúngstein
Hensly Schmid

Vischer Hanns
Růtschman Knöily
Peter Scherer
Men with the long pikes:
Jekly Burgman (leader)
Heini Singer
Hanns Kess
Hanns Múnchly
Hanns Löby
Hanns in der Hab
Heini in der Hab
Hanns Leman
Hanns Senn
Üly Schmid
Men with the long pikes:
Bertschy Vischtúry (leader)
Hanns Stapfer
Cüni Mor
Üly Has
Swartz
Heini Weber Swartz
Heini Scherer
Claus Schmid
Heini Weber
Hanns Wirt
    Total 89

Üttikon
Men with the short weapons:
Üly Iring (leader)
Hensly Iring
Eberly Guggenbül
Heini Guggenbül
Búrgy Singer
Cüni Meyer
Claus Rin
Heini Sleipfer
Üly Jos
Hensly Singer

Hirslanden
Men with the hand cannon:
Růtschman Hirt (leader)
Heini Merier
Üly Sumer wer
Hensly Fritag
Heintz Schlig
Iberg Fritag
Men with the long pikes:
Claus Hirt (leader)
Felix Fritag
Cüni Fritag
Hanns Walder
Üly Rosenstock
Heini Ackerman
Men with the short weapons:
Burghalder (leader)

Hensly Weber
Meyer
Ochsner
Fritag
Hanns Sumerówer
Hanns Etter
Jekly Ringlikon
Schůb
Jekly Kull
Múller
Ocker
    Total 24

Rispach und Flun
Men with the hand cannon:
Heini Wüst (leader)
Hanns Wüst
Heini Stamler
Üly Sprúngly
Rebknecht
Murer
Men with the long pikes:
Hensly Gossower (leader)
Heini Tugginer
Hug Tugginer
Weikon
Hanns Schnider
Hanns Meyer
Iminer
Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Wettlich (leader)
Heini Gossower
Hanns Gossower
Hanns Hirt
Hanns Búrger
Bertschy Schnider
Hanns Ochsner
Erhard Meyer
Hanns Hartman
Heini Mig
Eberly Scherer
    Total 24

Winingen und Enstringen
Men with the hand cannon:
Rüdger Klötty (leader)
Hensly Ersam
Lútty Ersam
Heini Múller
Dasch
Cüni Dossenbach
Rüdy Dahinden
Hollenweger
Rüdy Tossenbach
Goldsknopf
Heini Richiner
Claus Hofman

Zubler

Men with the long pikes:
Cüni Richiner (leader)
Claus Meiger
Hanns Meyer
Rüdy Klötty
Hensly Klötty
Holenweger
Rüdger Bader
Cüni Offner
Üly Ersam

Men with long pikes:
Üly Degen (leader)
Hensly Búrgy
Cüny Bader
Rüdy Múller
Hensly Klötty
Welty Köchly
Rüdy Hollenweger [Holenweger?]
Heini Dahinen
Heini Holenweger [Hollenweger?)

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Ersam (leader)
Rüdy Junkher
Üly Hug
Rüdy Ersam
Jop
Roder
Hensly Gessler
Heini Rúsch
Lútty

Búllach die vogtye

Men with the hand cannon:
Waltherr Klinger (leader)
Schening
Jekly Kern
Hanns Kern
Hanns Hiltbrand
Meder
Heini Spiller
Hanns Cüntz
Scherer
Grosshanns Schmid
Heini Weber
Heini Glattfelder

Long pikes:
Üly Meyer (leader)
Rüdy Sesser
Rüsser
Smid
Búntzly
Jegly Schmid
Berr
Heini Mag
Cüny Núchomm
klein [small, young] Hanns Smid

Rüdy Mag
Hanns Mag
Pauly
Petter Wetzel
Bertschy Binder
Cüni Glattfelder
Hanns Sider
Grosshanns Smid
Cüntzly Fröily

Men with short weapons:
Lamparter (leader)
Hanns Meyer
Heini Glattfelder
Jekly Sider
Claus Wetzel
Hanns Kofman
Breittenstein
Heintz Hert
Heini Sider
Rundy

Men with short weapons:
Rüdy Kern (leader)
Heini Sewer
G tthanns
Götz
Zander
Hanns Glattfelder
Hanns [struck out] Rüggensperg
Hensly Klinger
Hanns Rott
Jekly Frig

Das Ampt Regensperg

Men with the crossbows:
Hensly Schön von Buchs (leader)
Üly Schön
Cůnrat in der Widen
Hensly Sússly
Hensly Meyer
Cüni Nerracher
Rüdy Múller
Hensly Wisser
Merkly Meyer

Men with the hand cannon:
Weibel von Ottelfingen (leader)
Hanns Fröwler
Hensly Senn
Hensly Schmid
Hensly Meyer
Cůnrat Swab
Hanns Tuttwil
Hensly Cleinman
Heini Múller
Üly Schmid

Men with the long pikes:
Rüdy Frig von Tachsnaren (leader)
Hensly Brem

Cüny Meyer
Stuky
Hensly Frig
Bertschy Inry
Rüdy Marquart
Clewy Senn
Hensly Schönn
Heini Meyer

Men with the long pikes:
Rüdy Schön von Buchs (leader)
Heintz Widmer
Hanns Widmer
Heini Meyer
aber (also) Heini Meyer
Üly Búrgler
Heini Clewis
Wernly Sússly
Üly Sússly
Hensly Kessler

Men with short weapons:
Cüni Graff von Ottelfingen (leader)
Hensly Bopp
aber [also] Hensly Bopp
Heini Búgler
Heini Meyer
Büler
Üly Senn
Bertschy Bapst
Üly Teppeller
Üly Rüdis

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Keller von Schöffelstorf
    (leader)
Heintz Frig
Heini Frig
Hensly Múller
Hensly Frig
Ůlman Keller
Üly Sigrest
Heini Nerracher
Cüni Stresler
Heini Merkly
Cüni Merkly

Men with short weapons:
Cüni Koch von Steimmur (leader)
Hanns Welty
Hensly Meyer
Hensly Schmid
Wernly Kempf
Üly Hůpt
Hensly Bömler
Heini Swab
Hanns Múller
Rüdy Meyer

Andelffingen

Men with the hand cannon:

Der Knöppfly (leader)
Búrgy Rikenbach
Múnch
Thoman
Schmid
Oberkeller
Heini Gússel
Heini Petter
der Himel von Henkhart
    [the man Himmel from Henhart]
der Himel von Humlikon
    [the man Himmel from
    Humlikon]
Men with long pikes:
    Cüni Schnewly (leader)
    der Doman
    der Keller
    Frymúller
    Warttman
    Hug Kúnger
    Wagner
    Schmutz
    Beringer
    Hanns Gasser
Men with short weapons:
    Arnolt (leader)
    Cüni Stuky
    Hanns Schnider
    Hensly Verr
    Hanns Baslers sun [Hanns Basler's
      son]
    Üly Basler
    der Stucky von Oberwilla
    Üly Amman von Adlikon
    Albrecht Stucky
    Hanns Cúnrady

Ossingen
Men with the hand cannon:
    Hanns Sigg (leader)
    der Schnider
    Kúbler
    Nottestan
    Bäigg
    Brott
    Rader
    Fatz
    Henisen von Alten
    Wisinger
Men with pikes:
    Hanns Rütschy (leader)
    Moser, weber [Moser, the weaver]
    Huphamer
    Buman
    Hanns Senn

Höld
Kraft
Beringer
Welty Mosser
Rüdy Rütschy
Men with the pikes:
    Hensly Has (leader)
    Cüni Meyer
    Rüdy Klett
    Gross Hanns
    Höring
    Etter, Hanns
    der Spar
    Lober
    Friess
    Rüdy Küchly
Men with the pikes:
    Rüdy Meyer von Torlikon (leader)
    Leingrůber
    Wolffer
    Frig
    Kumber
    Widmer
    Borhoh
    Fuchs
    Rüdy Stuky
    Höltzer
Men with short weapons:
    Rüdy Schmid (leader)
    Üly Küchly
    Latstein
    Öchen Satheis
    Ülman Rütschy
    Üly Rütschy
    Fässer
    Hensly Sigg
    Hanns Burk
    Hanns Swartz

Waltenlingen
Men with the pikes:
    Claus Múller (leader)
    Hanns Schmid
    Pflůg
    Petter Múller
    der Schúbel
    Petter Murer
    Cúnrat Glesting
    Schöbly
    Rebman
    Hug Múller
Men with the short weapons:
    Heinrich von Rútty (leader)
    Rüdy Örttly
    Cúnrat von Rútty

Heintzly Harder
Rüdy Harder
Heintz Keller
Medler
Claus Stuky
Cüni Saller
der Meyer von Alten

Tallwil
Men with the hand cannon:
    Heini Mülicher (leader)
    Petter Ris
    Hanns Ras
    Hartman von Gattikon
    Heintzman Swertzenbach
    Rüdy Graffenegger
    Rüdy Zimberman
    Hensly Túffenbach
    Rüdy Vogel
    Cüni Ernst
Men with the pikes:
    Jos Marr (leader)
    Heini Hůber
    Hensly Túffenbach
    Hensly Graffenegger
    Hensly Swab
    Cůnrat Snider
    Hensly Cuntz
    Jörg Cůntz
    Rüdy Bollinger
    Rüdy Englispach
    Jekly Ringgenberg, der alt (the elder)
    Jekly Ringgenberg, der jung (the
      younger)
Men with the short weapons:
    Rüdy Túffenbach (leader)
    Heini Túffenbach
    Cüni Ossinger
    Hensly Lúttold
    Üly Lúttold
    Heini Neff
    Üly Friman
    Hartman Ritzer
   Heini Swartzenbach
Men with the short weapons:
    Hensly von Gattikon (leader)
    Rüdger Stůb
    Jekly Trottman
    klein (small, young) Uly Vogel
    Jörg Húrns
    Heinrich Schmid
    Felix Vorster
    Hensly Húrns
    Rüdy Friman

Observations on the Names in the Zurich Muster List for 1443

The practice of giving two names was probably begun in Zurich and the surrounding areas when they became necessary in the 13th and 14th centuries. The names on the list indicate that the process was complete by the middle of the 15th century in Zurich. Most of the designators in the document have both first and last names. The names with only one designator seem to be surnames probably meaning the scribe who created the document did not have access to their given names. People often took surnames to reflect their occupation or where they lived, but there is little evidence of last names following guild occupations in the city of Zurich at this time. For example, only one man from the blacksmith guild (*Schmiden-Zunft*) has the name Schmid even though 41 men are listed. But 5 men among the smiths have the name Scherer (shearer). Few times do the men from the guilds standing in ranks next to each other share the same surname.

The situation is different with the men from the villages around Zurich, and more men share the same last name of the soldiers in ranks with them. Some of the surnames indicate that there were still noble lines in the countryside. While such nomenclature is relatively rare in the city itself, the countryside had many names of men with "von" as a title which accompanies their surname. This is particularly true of Regensperg which lists von Buchs twice, von Ottelfingen twice, as well as von Tachsnaren, von Schöffelstorf, and von Steimmur. In fact, these men comprise all the leaders of the entire area. This probably indicates that some knights were participating in the war on the side of the state of Zurich even though they are not represented as leaders in the militia in the city itself.

Fig. 2 - Swiss halberds (short weapons) from the fifteenth century, housed at the Swiss State Museum, Zurich
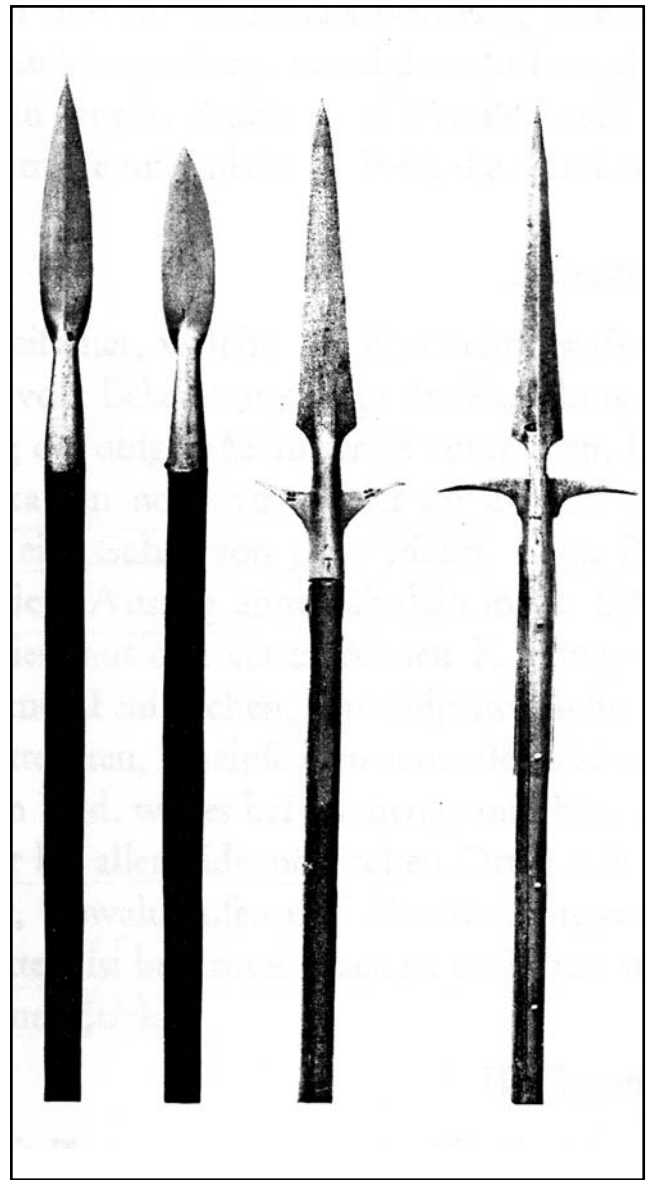
Fig. 3 - Points of Swiss pikes from the mid fifteenth century, housed at the Zurcih armory

Not surprisingly, the surname Schmid (Smid) appears at least 30 times in the record. However, Meyer, Meier (Meiger) is listed at least 50 times. Other important names include Müller 20 times, Keller 16 times, Scherrer (Scherer) 14 times, and Frei (Frig) 13 times. The three most prominent names, Schmid, Müller, and Keller, therefore, comprise only 100 of the 2760 names or less than 3% of the total. This indicates that there were many different names in Zurich at this time. Clearly the first name Hanns was used more than any other, but there are a number of other popular first names such as Rüdy, Üly, and Heini. As is well known, the name Hanns is a variation of Johannes which comes from the Biblical name John. The popularity of Hanns tends to support the theory that old Germanic names were becoming less common before the Reformation while the use of names with Christian origins was on the upswing.

Endnotes

[1] Dr. Winkler did his PhD dissertation on Swiss social and military history in the Middle Ages and has published five books and a dozen articles on history. He currently works at the archives at Brigham Young University.

[2] The standard histories of early Zurich include: Karl Dändliker, *Geschichte der Stadt und kes Kantons Zürich*, vol. 1 (Zürich, 1908). See also Anton Largiader, *Geschichte von Stadt und Kanton Zürich*, vol. 1 (Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1945).

[3] For more on Rudolf Brun see: Anton Largiader, "Bürgermeister Rudolf Brun und die Zürcher Revolution von 1336," *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* vol. 31 (1936) Heft 5: 1-206.

[4] See Richard Feller and Edgar Bonjour, *Geschichtsscreibung der Schweiz: vom Spätmittelalter zur Neuzeit* vol. 1 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhan, 1979). For compilations of Zurich documents in print see: Werner Schnyder ed., *Quellen zur Züricher Zunftgeschichte* vol. 1 *13. Jahrhundert bis 1604* (Zürich: Berichthaus, 1936) and H. Zeller-Werdmueller ed., *Die Zürcher Stadtbücher des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1899-1906).

[5] Gerold Edlibach, *Chronik* (Zürich: Meyer und Zeller, 1847). The classic account of the Zurich War is Wilhelm Oechsli, *Der Streit um das Toggenburger Erbe.* (1885). For a recent account of the war from the perspective of the Habsburgs see: Alois Niederstaetter, *Der alte Zürichkrieg: Studien zum österreichisch-eidgenössischen Konflikt sowie zur Politik König Friedrichs III. In den Jahren 1440 bis 1446* (Wien: Böhlau, 1995).

[6] Heinrich Brennwald, *Schweizerchronik* 2 vols. (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung, 1910) 2: 126.

[7] See Johannes Hänne. *Militaerisches aus dem Altem Zürichkrieg: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Infanterie* (Zürich: Arnold Bopp, 1928).

[8] *Das Weiße Buch: die ältes te Chronik die das Werden der Eidgnossenschaft erzählt.* Edited by Albert Züst. (Zürich: Züst, 1939). For a good discussion of Tell's historicity see: Otto Marchi. *Schweizer Geschichte für Ketzer: oder die wundersame Entstehung der Eidgenossenschaft.* (Zürich: Praeger, 1971).

[9] For a discussion of the Medieval Swiss military see: Carl von Elgger *Kriegswesen und Kriegskunst der Schweizerischen Eidgenossen in XIV., XV. und XVI Jarhundert* (Lucerne: Militärischen Verlagsbureau, 1873). For a discussion of early Zurich weapons see: Hugo Schneider. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der zürcherischen Bewaffnung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Schulthess, 1942).

[10] The names have been arranged according to guild, administrative district, and community. The first letter of all proper names have been capitalized even though they were in the lower case in the manuscript.

[11] *So ist Hanns Scherer diser schútzen, búchsen und spiessen h ptman.* The terms *schútzen* and *búchsen* are potential problems. As mentioned earlier, *schútzen* probably means some kind of harquebus or hand cannon, but *búchsen* might mean another kind of hand cannon or larger artillery pieces. I will translate *búchsen* as cannon and hope this is not misleading.

[12] Even though the author shares the same last name as this blacksmith, he has been unable to prove any relationship to him. Since the author's ancestry comes from the state of Zurich, however, it is a near mathematical certainty that he is related to the vast majority of the men on this list, no matter what their names, who had surviving issue.

[13] The names of the villages and areas have not been updated with their modern equivalent. The designations are given as they were presented in the document.

[14] Total for Erlenbach. Actually 51 men are listed.

Fig. 4 - 1444 Swiss battle scene from Werner Schodoler's Chronicle (1519). Swiss troops are on the right

The Bukovina-Germans During the Habsburg Period:
Settlement, Ethnic Interaction, Contributions
by Sophie A. Welsch, Ph.D.

Bukovina, the eastern-most crown land of the Austrian Empire, attracted a multi-national population after its acquisition by the Habsburgs in 1775. Its German settlers, never more than ten per cent of the total inhabitants, made considerable contributions to the province's cultural and economic development by the introduction of Western concepts of law, education, journalism and the arts as well as new techniques of farming and forestry. Despite the rising tide of nationalism in the last decades preceding the First World War, Bukovina's ethnic groups lived in harmony and toleration, benefiting from extensive intercultural exchange. Their example may well serve as a model for a united Europe.

Writing in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, the novelist and essayist, Karl Emil Franzos referred to Bukovina and its neighbouring territories as 'Half-Asia': a place where one encounters European culture alongside Asian barbarism, Western progress next to Eastern indolence, and where exists 'neither bright day or dark night but rather an eerie twilight'[1] Erich Beck less than a century later called Bukovina a 'land between Orient and Occident'[2], not capable of evolving a society from its own indigenous roots but gaining an identity from currents both of Western and Eastern derivation. Hans Prelitsch saw in the province's multi-national, multi-religious symbiosis 'a model for a united Europe'[3], while Oskar Beck hypothesized that following the First World War Austria's eastern-most crown land might well have become the 'Switzerland of the East'[4]. Here during the Habsburg period a dozen or so ethnic groups including Romanians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Germans and Gypsies among others, lived side by side in a spirit of toleration and cooperation unique in a Europe increasingly torn by nationalistic dissension. Diverse, too, were the religious preferences of its inhabitants. While the majority affiliated either with the Romanian or Ukrainian Orthodox Church, members of the Hebrew, Lutheran, Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic persuasion worshipped freely and unmolested.

Based largely on semi-documentary and memoir materials, this study discusses one of Bukovina's minorities, the Germans, considering their immigration, life-style, cultural interaction with other nationalities and contributions to the development of the province during the Habsburg era. References to Bukovina's other ethnic groups and to happenings outside its borders serve to put the topic into broader perspective and provide a comparative framework. The spelling of place-names, which has twice undergone revision in the twentieth century as the province passed to Romanian administration and was then later partitioned by the Soviets, is that found in official sources during Austrian rule. Its administrative union with Galicia (1786-1849) accounts for the Polish orthography used in most cases.

That Bukovina early in its history assumed the character of a borderland and transit area is reflected in its economic development and in its ethnic composition[5]. There is strong evidence of German influence in Bukovina as early as the thirteenth century, the Germans having entered the province with the disintegration of the Cuman Tatar Empire. Coming either via Galicia Or Transylvania, they proceeded to develop an urban life and contributed to the growth of the towns of Sereth and Suczawa in Bukovina as well as to Baia, Piatra Neamt, Roman (Romsmarkt) and Jassy (Yosmarkt) in neighbouring Moldavia. The Germans introduced stone masonry, built churches and fortresses, started artisan and merchant guilds and, along with Greeks, Jews and Armenians, carried out the trade of the province. Moldavian princes encouraged German immigration, seeking their services as architects, masons, bricklayers, watchmakers and bakers.[6] Under German influence a Western-style architecture was introduced into Bukovina, evidence of which may still be seen in the ruins of old church foundations in Sereth, Suczawa and Radautz, with their triple naves in the form of a Latin cross.[7] With the Poles, Hungarians and Germans came Catholicism and various denominations of Protestantism.

Family names in town registries also attest to a German presence in Bukovina during this early period. Between the end of the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, Sereth and Suczawa were towns with a German population, under German law and administration. The archives of Lemberg, Bistritz and Kronstadt reveal a regular communication between Bukovina and German settlements in Galicia and Transylvania.[8]

But under the Voivode Stephen the Great (1459-1504), Moldavia initiated a political and cultural break with the West and looked increasingly to Byzantine influence in art, architecture and religion.[9] Moreover, early in the sixteenth century Moldavia became a vassal state under the Turks, auguring in a period of religious and political strife, war and the threat of war, and proverbial Ottoman mismanagement. In Bukovina as well as in other regions of the Carpathians, town life began to stagnate and finally disappeared.[10] With the absence of further immigration, the Germans eventually assimilated into the native population, intermarried, and converted to Eastern Orthodoxy or simply emigrated. The Catholic bishopric of Sereth had already been disestablished by the mid-fifteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth century, Sereth and Suczawa had lost their commercial significance and had lapsed into decay while only ruins

hinted at the earlier existence of Catholic and Protestant churches in the area.[11] Not until Austria's annexation of Bukovina by the Convention of Constantinople in 1775 did its Janus head again face west.

During the course of the upheavals occasioned by Catherine II's first war against the Ottoman Empire (1768-74), Vienna directed Major-General Gabriel Baron von Spleny to occupy Upper Moldavia. Austria hoped to use this territory as a bridge linking Transylvania with Galicia, gained three years earlier through the first partition of Poland. With three cavalry regiments and five infantry battalions, Spleny crossed the Galician-Polish frontier on 31 August 1774, encountering no opposition. He functioned as military governor of Austrian-Moldavia, later renamed Bukovina (that is, beechland),[12] for more than three years, being relieved of his command in April 1778. His successor, General Karl Baron von Enzenberg, carried out a careful study of conditions in what had now become Austria's eastern-most province, noting in his memoirs:

> There are in Bukovina about 200 propertied Armenians, about 800 Jews and more than 21,000 agricultural families including Gypsies. Only two great and actual boyars reside here as opposed to the many actual boyars on the other side of Moldavia who have possessions here. One can reasonably estimate that Bukovina contains 24,000 families with a total population of about 100,000.[13]

Commenting on the exploitive and non-productive status of the privileged classes, Enzenberg continued:

> Since a great portion of Bukovina belongs partly 1o the Moldavian Basilian monasteries, partly to the Moldavian nobility, it is regrettable to note that all rents collected by their estates leave the country untaxed. which has the unfortunate side effect of causing all good k. k. [Royal and Imperial] moneys to disappear to the disadvantage of the state.[14]

At the time of its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina numbered scarcely six people per square mile. Composed mainly of shepherds and peasants, the indigenous population lived without benefit of a single doctor or pharmacist, without an internal security system for defense from bandits, and without a judicial system as a safeguard against the arbitrary whims of the upper classes.[15] Paths rather than roads traversed the countryside, the province counted few bridges and its largest towns of Suczawa, Sereth and Czernowitz had fallen into a state of urban decay after centuries of Ottoman neglect. Czernowitz, later to become the provincial capital, was a 'miserable town of 200 mud huts', lacking even an adequate water supply.[16] Bukovina's few elementary schools hardly touched the broad basis of illiteracy which extended even to the nobility and the clergy.[17]

During the first five years of its annexation by Austria, Bukovina's population increased rapidly. Enzenberg's report of 1778 notes that 14,000 Ruthenian (that is, Ukrainian) migrants from Galicia had found their way to Bukovina and asked Vienna how to handle the Polish

magnates' request for their extradition.[18] Composed largely of serfs fleeing Polish and Ottoman feudal oppression, new settlers including Poles, Jews. Ukrainians and Romanians came unbidden and at no cost to the Habsburg monarchy. With its policy of religious toleration and a relative relaxation of feudal obligations, Bukovina served as a magnet for many and varied ethnic groups in eastern Europe. Thus, early in its Habsburg period, Bukovina assumed its multi-national character, earning it the appellation of 'Europe in miniature'.[19]

State-sponsored colonization to newly-acquired, under-developed territories wrested from Ottoman control had already begun in the reign of Maria Theresa. After the extension of Austrian rule over Bachka and the Banat of Temesvar, Vienna actively recruited colonists in order to speed economic development and aid in the defense of these frontier hinterlands. German farmers, deemed 'more ambitious and progressive than others', as well as Serbs, Romanians, Croatians and Slovaks were welcomed as settlers.[20] Maria Theresa's son and successor, Joseph II, extended the government's colonization efforts to Galicia shortly after Austrian annexation of this province through the first partition of Poland. Eager to attract people with skills and habits of work considered essential to a developing region, Joseph, along with his fellow monarchs Frederick II of Prussia[21] and Catherine II of Russia,[22] sent agents throughout the length and breadth of the German states to recruit settlers. The enlightened despots viewed population as national wealth, that is, as a source of taxation, military manpower and national prosperity, and vied with each other to attract colonists.

Set in motion by the dissolution of the old political and social order and lured by the prospects of better economic conditions, thousands of Germans indeed left for distant lands both in the New World and in eastern Europe. Those who settled in Bukovina came from three distinct geographic, cultural and dialectical regions and included: (1) the so-called 'Swabians' from south-west Germany (the Palatinate, Württemberg, the Rhineland); (2) the German-Bohemians (today called 'Sudeten Germans') from the Bohemian Forest; and (3) the Saxons, hereinafter referred to as 'Zipsers', from the district of Zips in Upper Hungary (today's Spis in Slovakia).

Joseph II's Patent of Toleration (1781) followed by his Patent of Settlement (1782) opened the doors of immigration to German Protestants outside the Habsburg realm. He offered free transportation from Vienna to a point of destination in Bukovina; a house with garden, fields and draft animals; exemption from taxation for the first ten years and from military service for the eldest son of the family. His guarantee of 'complete freedom of conscience and of religion[23] diverted a number of German Protestants to the Habsburg lands who otherwise might have opted for settlement in Prussia or Russia.

The rulers of the petty German principalities did not look favorably upon the emigration of their subjects. In Birkenfeld, where serfdom had been abolished in 1793, a

would-be emigrant had to pay ten per cent of his assessed worth plus an additional two per cent to compensate the state for its loss of tax revenues.[24] Moreover, he had to finance his trip from point of departure to Vienna plus pay for numerous incidentals on a journey that lasted anywhere from 50 to 70 days.[25]

Swabian immigration to Bukovina (1782-87) began with the arrival of 22 families from the Banat who were second-generation descendants of colonists from the Rhine-Main area. Appearing unexpectedly and before preparations for them had been made, they established themselves on the periphery of the already-existing Romanian villages of Rosch, Zuczka, Mitoka-Dragomirna, Molodia, and Czernowitz.[26] In 1787, 75 families who came via Galicia settled in eight communities between Sereth and Suczawa on the properties of the Greek-Orthodox Religious Foundation,[27] that is, on the estates of the monasteries and bishoprics owned by the Eastern Orthodox Church but administered directly by Vienna.[28] As state-sponsored immigrants they enjoyed many benefits denied the first group: they received 12 hectares of land free from feudal obligations, frame houses, stables, livestock, farm implements and even seeds. Their small number at first prevented the construction and maintenance of schools and churches for which they had been allotted land. Later reinforced by other Swabian colonists, the eight communities of Fratautz, Satulmare, Milleschoutz-Badeutz, Tereblestie, Itzkany, Arbora, St. Onufry and Illischestie successfully developed and maintained their ethnic identity. The administration of these towns eventually split along national lines with the German section designated by the prefix *deutsch*[29] (for example, Deutsch-Satulmare). Faced in time by overpopulation, the Swabians founded the daughter colonies of Alexanderdorf (1863), Katharinendorf (1869), Neu-Zadowa (1885) and, lastly, Nikolausdorf (1893).

Even before his death in 1790, Joseph II had rescinded many of his reforms including his colonization program for Galicia and Bukovina. The conservative views of his successors plus the turmoil of the wars of the French Revolution dampened enthusiasm for government-financed immigration. Those Germans arriving without state sponsorship enjoyed no special privileges and had to rely on their own resources and ingenuity for survival. Recruitment outside the Habsburg lands ceased by 1787 and thereafter concentrated only on those individuals within the Austrian realm who could fulfill specific functions.

Its natural assets of forests, arable land and mineral resources served as focal points for Bukovina's economic development. Vienna's plans there to establish a glass industry to supply the needs of the Moldavian Valley and of Wallachia set into motion the migration of Germans from the Bohemian Forest who, in their homeland, worked in glassmaking enterprises, in forestry and in agriculture. Coming in two waves, 1793-1817 and 1835-50. German-Bohemians eventually became the most numerous of Bukovina's Germanic settlers,[30] founding some dozen villages: Althütte (1793). Karlsberg (1797). Fürstenthal

(1803), Neuhütte (1815), Bori 78 and Lichtenberg (both 1835), Schwarztal and Buchenhain (the latter also known as Deutsch-Pojana Mikuli - both 1838), Glitt (1843) and Augustendorf (1850).[31] In addition, they also settled in already-established multinational towns or later moved into them when faced with overpopulation pressures.[32]

Fig. 1 - Map of the Bukovina Settlements[33]
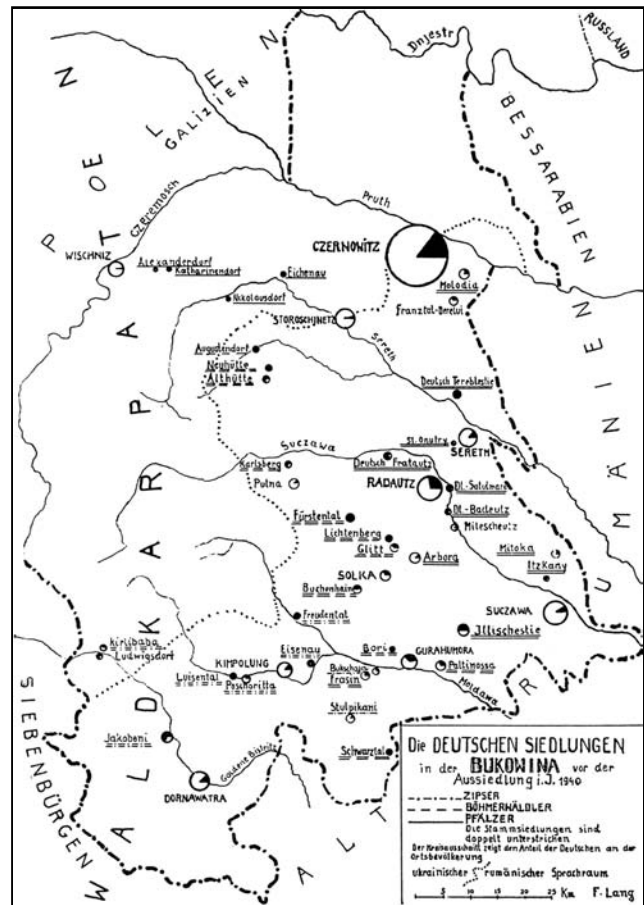
German-Bohemian migration began in 1793 after Baron von Kriegshaber leased domain lands from the Religious Foundation and contracted for experienced workers for his glassworks in Althütte near Krasna. As the forests were gradually cleared for potash to stoke the furnaces of the glass industry, the workers received gardens and pasture lands for their use. Little is known about early glass production in Althütte other than that, by 1804, its output, although 'insignificant', found markets in Lemberg (Galicia). By 1812 the forests in the vicinity of the glassworks were exhausted, leading to the total cessation of glass production by 1817. Kriegshaber then selected a new site for glass production, Neuhütte near Czudin, to which he again brought artisans from Bohemia. As its predecessor, the glassworks of Neuhütte failed to become profitable and eventually closed, its employees forced to turn to other means of livelihood. With the expiration of Kriegshaber's 30-year lease in 1821, the Religious Foundation entered into feudal contractual agreements with the colonists who did not

come into private ownership of the land they cultivated until the revolutionary upheavals of 1848.[34]

In 1797 Josel Reichenberg established a glassworks in the forests near Putna, recruiting for his labor force German-Bohemians whose installations in Lubaczow (Galicia) had recently shut down. With the further influx in 1803 of German-Bohemian lumberjacks, foresters and glass workers from the Prachin district of the Bohemian Forest, the settlement received the name Karlsberg, after Archduke Karl, President of the *Hofkriegsrat* in Vienna. The colonists' guarantees, among others, included: (1) freedom from taxation for five years; (2) exemption from military service for male adults and a ten-year delay in recruitment of their sons; (3) state-funded building materials for house and barns; (4) relaxation of feudal obligations for five years for those on level arable land and for ten years for those on non-arable land.[35] The glassworks remained in operation until 14 July 1827 when, in consequence of mismanagement by its director, Franz Kuppetz, it closed its doors, leaving the workers in the most dire of circumstances'.[36] Very few found employment in other glassworks. However, with the colonization program still in effect, the 21 affected families managed to acquire fertile arable fields on the domain lands of Radautz under feudal conditions prevalent at the time.[37]

A further attempt to establish a glass industry occurred in 1803 with the migration of 20 German-Bohemian families to the environs of Mardzina. Taking the name Fürstenthal, the new community's activities centered on glass production and the related occupations of forestry and lumbering. For their private use, each family received from the state building materials for a house and six Joch (1 Joch = 0.5755 hectares) of land.[38] With the destruction of the glassworks by fire in 1889 some 20 per cent of the workers found employment in a sawmill constructed two years earlier by a certain Baron Popper of Vienna. Half the labor force remained in forestry and lumbering, about 25 per cent worked as transporters of wood and a small number served as forest rangers and gamekeepers.[39]

Unable to compete with the superior products of Poland and Venice, most glassworks eventually failed either through mismanagement or insufficient capital on the part of the entrepreneur. Most settlers suffered great economic need until able to find suitable employment in the crafts, farming, ranching or forestry. By the end of the Habsburg period only a single glass production facility in Krasna Ilski remained viable.[40]

German-Bohemians did not always settle in self-contained villages. During the first wave of migration some were brought in to work the salt mines in the Polish community of Kaczyka.[41] In 1817-18, ten families relocated to the predominantly Romanian-speaking village of Paltinossa, a lumbering community in the Moldavian Valley, where they obtained farmland and worked as lumberjacks.[42]

Psychological, social and economic motives account for the German-Bohemian migration to Galicia and Bukovina in the first half of the nineteenth century. Faced with overpopulation, insufficient land, widespread poverty, poor harvests and hunger, military recruitment and lack of mobility in the service professions, many looked for opportunities elsewhere.[43] According to Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, professor of history at the University of Graz, the German-Bohemian colonists possessed in their homeland 'only that land around their hut on which rain dripped from the roof.'[44] With their few possessions in dog-drawn carts, they traveled eastward by foot some 1,000 kilometers to their new homeland.

The second wave of migration began in 1835 with the departure of 54 families from the Prachin and Pisek districts of the Bohemian Forest. Following a prescribed route, they had to report to local authorities in Budweis, Iglau, Brünn, Olmütz, Teschen, Wadowitz, Bochnia, Tarnow, Przemysl, Sambor, Kolomea and Czernowitz where at each station they received specific instructions regarding the next lap of the trip.[45] Thirty of these families settled on the mountainous virgin forest land near Gurahumora, establishing the village of Bori, while the others were directed toward Radautz, where they founded the community of Lichtenberg. With conditions of colonization not as generous as for the Swabians, the German-Bohemians received monies neither for travel nor for the acquisition of farm animals and implements although the state did grant them raw materials for the construction of homes.[46] The forests in which they obtained homesteads had not seen an axe for centuries. Clearing the land and making it arable took four years, during which the Bori colonists lived by lumbering and by the sale of potash to the neighboring glassworks in Frassin.

The Swabians of Illischestie aided the new settlers in their first difficult years until they became self-sufficient. The men usually practiced a side-craft, working as carpenters, masons, cabinet-makers, smiths and coopers. As in their homeland the German-Bohemians made their shoes (*Holzpantoffel*) out of oak wood, this becoming a distinctive aspect of their attire.[47]

An outbreak of cholera, plus the near-famine conditions resulting from crop failures during 1847-48, produced great suffering in the small community of Bori. On the positive side, the revolutions of 1848 freed the agrarian population from the last vestiges of feudalism, allowing the colonists to come into direct ownership of the land they tilled. Bori then began a modest economic upswing, evidenced by the construction of larger homes, an increase in livestock production and acquisition of more land.[48] Its pattern of settlement resembled that of other German villages with houses in close proximity to each other and with fields in the outlying sections (see figure 2). This afforded maximum protection against wolves, bears, boars and other forest predators and assured the development of community life.

German-Bohemians literally carved the settlements of Schwarztal and Buchenhain out of virgin forests and made arable the lands between the Negrileasa and Humora valleys. By the 1860s all state-sponsored colonization came to an end; nonetheless, German officials, professionals, business-men, artisans and farmers continued to enter Bukovina on
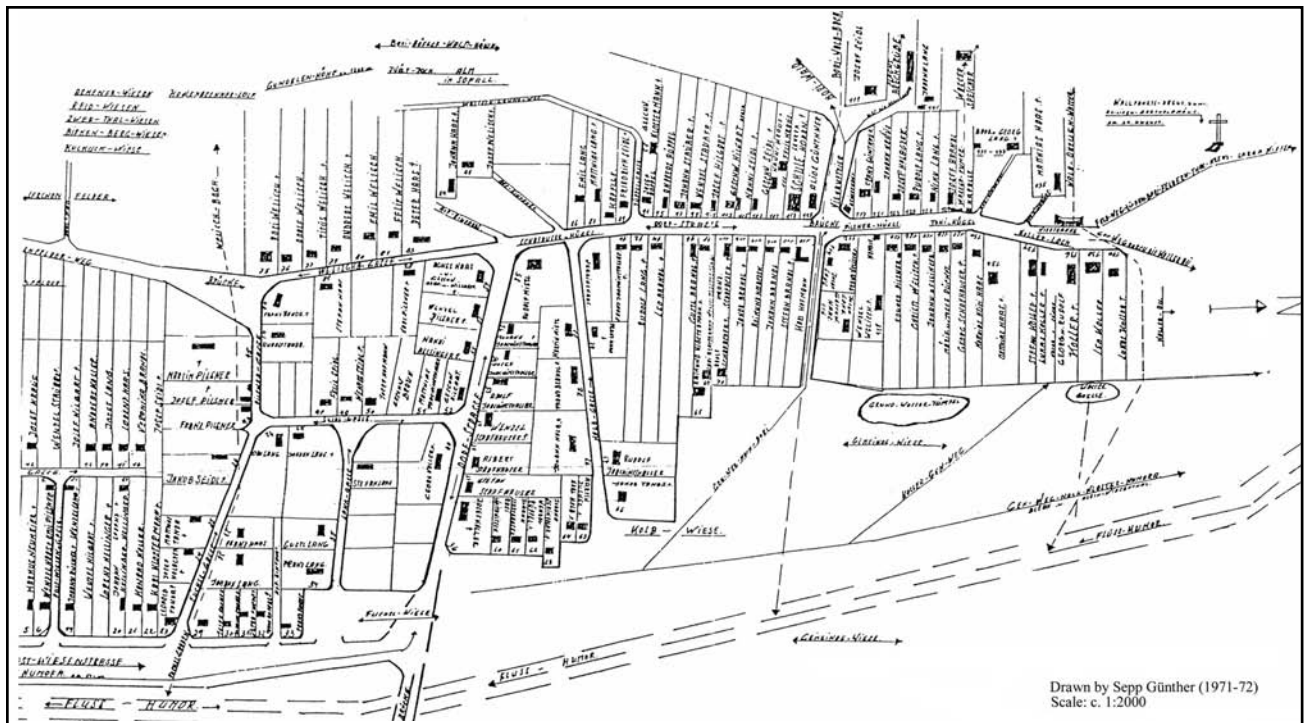
Fig. 2 - Map of Bori, Bukovina, 1940[49]

their own initiative. Many settled in Czernowitz, Sereth, Suczawa, Kimpolung and Radautz with the result that these towns eventually acquired 'a predominantly German character'.

Before its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina's forests had no commercial value, there existing not a single saw mill in the entire province. Only with the Germans did the utilization of the forests begin, in particular with the German-Bohemian colonists who were primarily wood-workers and lumberjacks. They developed timber transportation by rafting, using Bukovina's river system and introduced systematic agriculture, dairy farming and ranching.[50]

The extension of railroads into suburban communities[51] by the 1880s facilitated the expansion of commerce and industry in general and of lumbering in particular. By the outbreak of the First World War, Bukovina produced some 1,000,000 cubic meters of raw wood and about 500,000 cubic meters of processed lumber for export to Germany and the East. While all preconditions for the commercialization of the forests had existed during Bukovina's Ottoman period, lumbering only became a viable industry 'through German administrative discipline, technical know-how and market strategy'.[52]

The third major German group to enter Bukovina consisted of Saxons from the Zips districts of Upper Hungary and their kinsmen, the Transylvanian Saxons, descendants of pioneers who had left their homeland in the twelfth century. Zipser migration (1784-1809) began with rumors of gold in the Bistritz River followed by active recruitment for jobs in Bukovina's nascent mining industry.

General von Spleny as early as 1775 had verified the existence of major salt deposits and had recommended that the government conduct a geological survey of the mountains.[53] A prospecting commission dispatched by Vienna indeed discovered veins of manganese and iron ore in Jakobeni as well as copper ore near Pozoritta.[54] First developed were the salt mines of Solka and Kaczyka, whose officials, directors, miners and laborers were predominantly German, although little is known of their origins.[55]

Before the turn of the century Anton Manz of Styria, acquiring extensive prospecting and mining concessions from the state-run Religious Foundation, began contracting for miners. In 1784 the first 30 Zipser families, mainly from the villages of Käsmark and Leutschau in Upper Hungary, came by military transport to work the iron mines of Jakobeni. In 1802 they were joined by an additional 40 families. In the absence of an indigenous skilled labor force, the state supported Manz's endeavor to recruit outside the province and supplied transportation for the mining families as well as soldiers to clear the land and to construct company towns for them. While Manz provided housing and garden plots, a miner could occupy the premises only as long as he remained a company employee.[56]

Zipsers settled in Kirlibaba after Manz opened the silver and lead mines in 1797; near Pozoritta they established the village of Luisenthal (1805) around the copper mines, and Eisenau (1807) and Freudental (1807) around the iron mines. Zipsers also came to work as miners in the already established communities of Stulpikany, Frassin and Paltinossa until state-sponsored migration of miners ceased in 1809.[57]

Traveling through Bukovina in 1817, Francis I noted in his diary for 12 August that the inhabitants of Jakobeni are 'Germans, Zipsers and Vlachs'. Living in a region that is so cold that 'nothing grows except potatoes', the miners complained to the Emperor that Manz had not yet raised their wages and refused to extend them further credit for foodstuffs. He noted that the silver mines in Kirlibaba were nearing exhaustion with perhaps another four years to go, after which Manz planned to transfer his workers to the iron mines. The coppersmiths and copper miners of Kirlibaba, 'Zipsers and German-Bohemians ... also Hungarians and Tyroleans', likewise commented on their low salary, but if their grievance is justified, Francis reflected, 'it is questionable'.[58]

With the death of Anton Manz in 1832, the mining enterprises passed to the control of his nephew, Vincent. At peak production during the 1840s, they employed some 2,000 people. With the 1850s, however, difficult times came upon Bukovina's mining industry, resulting in bankruptcy of the Manz mines in 1862.[59] During the eight years of bankruptcy litigation, the miners' wages, sometimes consisting of 'leather buttons as a type of emergency money', were constantly in arrears, yet they had to pay usurious prices for food at the company stores. After the

completion the Cracow-Lemberg-Czernowitz railroad line in 1866, it could no longer compete with the higher grade, yet cheaper, iron ore from Witkowitz (Moravia) and Teschen. The iron smelters were closed in 1882 with all related equipment dismantled and sold.[64] Only manganese production remained profitable. Through the considerable efforts of mining superintendent, Bruno Walter, world markets continued to be found for the manganese, facilitated in 1903 by the opening of the local railroad line Hatna-Dorn-Watra.[65] The salt mines of Solka and Kaczyka remained viable with the latter 'still today the most significant in southeast Europe'.[66]

With the failure of the mines, the Zipsers turned to other trades including lumbering, carpentry and rafting. After the 1880s, some opted for emigration to Romania and to the New World. On the eve of the en masse resettlement of the Bukovina-Germans to the Reich in 1940, the Zipsers consisted of eight per cent of the total German population, numbering some 6,700 people.[67]

With no available statistics on urban settlers and incomplete documentation for rural colonists, the total German immigration to Bukovina cannot be established with any certainty. Hugo Weczerka estimates the numbers shown in figure 3.[68]

Fig. 3 - German immigration estimates after Weczerka

Southwest Germans		350-400
Zipsers		300-350
German-Bohemian glass workers and foresters	400-500	
German-Bohemian farmers (state-sponsored)	500-650 }	1.100- 1,300
German-Bohemian farmers (private)	150-180	
	Total	1,750 - 2,080

mines finally passed into the receivership of their main creditor, the Religious Foundation, many ceased production permanently, leaving hundreds of families destitute.[60] Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, traveling through the mining districts in the 1890s, decried the poverty and despair of the unemployed miners and their families. 'Before it is too late', he urged, 'the state has the obligation to step in and provide these people with work through the reopening of the mines'.[61] Through the intervention of Prince Hohenlohe, Provincial President of Bukovina in 1908, the properties on which the mining families lived eventually passed into their direct ownership.[62]

Several factors account for the failure of the mines including the lack of a local coke and coal supply for the smelters, the inferior quality of the minerals and the difficulties in shipping. In Jakobeni, for example, iron ore was transported to the smelters by sled on the frozen Bistritz River in the winter and hauled along mountain paths in the summer.[63] Moreover, the Jakobeni iron ore contained phosphorous, making it of poor quality. After the

In addition, Germans from all parts of the Austrian Empire came as artisans, teachers, soldiers and officials, bringing their estimated total to some 3,000-4,000, or one-tenth of the non-German immigration.[69] The *Verband deutscher landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften in der Bukowina* (Association of German Agricultural Coopera-tives in Bukovina) furthered internal migration within the Habsburg realm. Through its auspices some 20 German families, mostly from Galicia, were settled in the vicinity of Neu-Zadowa where, in 1913, they established the village of Eichenau, the last German colony in Bukovina.[70] A high birth rate accounts for the rapid numerical increase of the German population throughout the nineteenth century.

To Bukovina came not only Germans but others as well: Hungarian farmers from neighboring Transylvania who established their own villages; Poles from Galicia who settled mainly in the towns; Slovaks from Upper Hungary who entered as state-sponsored colonists; Old Believers (*Raskolniki*), members of a sect of Eastern Orthodoxy who, after encountering intolerance under Russia's Elizabeth I

and Catherine II, gained political asylum and freedom to construct monasteries in Bukovina; Armenians who fled persecution at the hands of the Turks. Jews from the neighboring provinces streamed in Bukovina where, after Joseph II's Patent of Toleration, they could develop their cultural life unmolested. All brought with them their religious customs, music, language and traditions. In this miniature replica of the Austrian Empire, German, as the language of administration and of army command, became the *lingua franca* of the market-place, the theatre, the press and the schools.[71]

The first Austrian census of 1869 recorded the population of Bukovina at over 500,000 including some 40,000 Germans.[72] The 1900 census counted 67,579 Germans while the last Austrian census of 1910 gave their number at 73,073 (9.1 per cent).[73] The Romanian census of 1930 registered a total population of 853,009 of whom 75,533 (8.9 per cent) gave their nationality as German.[74] On the eve of the First World War over 100 settlements contained a sizeable German minority, in addition to which Germans could be found in virtually all towns. They lived in small enclaves throughout the entire province rather than in compact linguistic areas as did their co-linguists in the Sudentenland and in Transylvania. Their densest concentrations in Bukovina stretched in a broad wedge from the mountainous south to the Suczawa Valley, where in some cases Germans constituted 15-25 per cent of the population. In a secondary zone of settlement around this wedge, they made up five to 15 per cent, while in the districts of the north and northwest, the Germans usually numbered under five per cent and in some cases less than one per cent of the total. Their distribution throughout the province foreshadowed their eventual denationalization but also maximized the potential for inter-cultural and material exchange.[75]

During the period of Austrian rule and with the prominent participation of its Germans, Bukovina made major economic and cultural strides. The Austrian government built a communications network including roads, railroads and bridges, established postal and telegraph services and introduced an educational system from kindergarten through university. Bukovina's emergence from 'zero niveau ... to European niveau', is considered by Herbert Mayer as a workable model for Third World development.[76]

Figure 4 summarizes national representation in Bukovina's economic activities as of 1910.[77]

In certain areas such as agriculture, forestry, education, journalism, music, the arts and architecture, the influence of the Germans was indeed out of all proportion to their percentage in the population. The use of German as the state language gave them an advantage in governmental employment. However, relatively few Germans could be found in trade and commerce (6.06 per cent), which were almost entirely in the hands of the Jews. Their limited interest in business in general and in trade in particular, according to Erich Beck, stemmed from 'a lack of capital, tradition and inclination essential for undertakings of this sort'.[78]

Living largely by agrarian pursuits, the Germans introduced agricultural methods and techniques previously unknown in Bukovina including the iron plough, the three-field system, field drainage and the systematic cultivation of wheat, rye, barley, oats and potatoes. They built mills to grind grain, started viniculture, the growing of fodder crops and fruit trees and the use of fertilizers. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl notes that the indigenous population at first 'laughed at the Germans when they used animal dung to fertilize their fields'.[79] They established cooperatives which made available threshing machines, reapers and fruit presses to their members for a small fee, built silos for grain storage and constructed large well-lighted and well-ventilated barns for their livestock.[80] A stud farm in Radautz soon supplied the Austrian army with some of its best horses. For purposes of livestock breeding, the Germans imported cattle from Switzerland and the Tyrol; they bred Simmental cattle, exporting these to Bessarabia, to Romania and even to the Ottoman Empire.[81] In their dispersion their methods served as examples to others.

Although they used it productively, the Germans had little land. With only 2.9 per cent owning properties of more than ten hectares, many were forced to turn to artisan crafts to supplement their income. However, given its peripheral location in the Empire, high transportation costs, and competition from long-established western enterprises, Bukovina's crafts found few markets in other crown lands of the Monarchy. Heavy industry did not develop during the Habsburg period.[82]

In the field of education the Austrian government faced a herculean task. At the time of its annexation by the Habsburgs, Bukovina counted two schools: one in the Greek-Orthodox bishop's residence in Radautz and the second in the monastery of Putna. In addition, some of the

Fig. 4 - Ethnic vocational distribution as shown in the 1910 Austrian Census

	Agriculture and Forestry	Industry and Crafts	Trade and Commerce	Public and Military Service; Liberal Professions -No Professions
Germans	42.42	30.30	6.06	21.21
Romanians	88.23	3.67	2.20	5.88
Ukrainians	87.21	4.26	3.27	5.24

boyars employed private tutors for their children. The military takeover of Bukovina coincided with Maria Theresa's school reforms (6 December 1774), which were then gradually extended to the newly-acquired province.

Bukovina's public elementary school system started with two teachers from Hermannstadt (Transylvania): Anton de Marki and Franz Thallinger, whom Enzenberg engaged in 1784 for classes in Czernowitz and Suczawa respectively. From this modest beginning education advanced, albeit slowly. By 1790 the province had opened 30 elementary schools; by 1860 the number had increased to 107. But not until the passage of the Imperial Public School Act and corresponding provincial legislation in 1869 and 1873 could illiteracy effectively be tackled.[83] By these laws Austria introduced a system of free and compulsory education - the first in the Western world - for all children between the ages of six and twelve. However, because of 'popular inertia and administrative negligence', the legislation failed to be uniformly enforced, leading only to partial success in eradicating illiteracy.[84]

In keeping with the multi-national character of Bukovina, the state provided instruction in the native tongue if a minimum of 40 pupils of a given nationality were in attendance for a consecutive three-year period. In Storozynetz, for example, parallel classes were conducted in Ukrainian, Romanian and German. Greek Orthodox schools came under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Consistory while the Religious Foundation assumed financial responsibility for their upkeep.[85]

Public secondary education began in 1808 with the opening of the State Gymnasium in Czernowitz. The gymnasium, which until 1860 remained the only high school in Bukovina, started instruction with two teachers and 24 students; by 1912-13 it counted 993 students plus a faculty from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and even from abroad. Several of its graduates, including the novelist and essayist Karl Emil Franzos, the surgeon Johannes von Milukicz-Radecki and the drama critic Joseph Gregor received recognition well beyond the borders of Austria.[86] The expansion of the school system brought many German teachers to Bukovina, with the result that higher education was almost entirely in their hands.[87] By 1914 the Germans claimed:

one German university, six purely German gymnasia, two German sections at foreign-language gymnasia, four girls' middle schools, one teacher training institute, four technical schools, seventy-three public and fourteen private German elementary schools as well as German parallel classes in mixed-language elementary schools in numerous communities.[88]

On the centennial of its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina celebrated the opening of its first and only institution of higher learning, the Franz Joseph University in Czernowitz, with schools of law, philosophy and theology. After the Polonization of the University of Lemberg (1871) and the Russification of the University of Dorpat (1889), the

Francisco Josephina remained until 1919 Europe's easternmost German university, linking Bukovina with Western intellectual circles and enhancing the cultural niveau of its capital. Both students and faculty were multinational, with a Romanian, Constantin Tomaszczuk, serving as its first rector.

Although primarily a German-language institution, the Francisco Josephina offered courses, which raised the cultural, national and religious awareness of Bukovina's Ukrainian and Romanian population. Prior to its establishment, the Ukrainians lacked an intellectual class. Subjected to Polonization in Galicia and Russification under the Tsars, only the Bukovina-Ukrainians had any opportunity of evolving the linguistic, historic and literary bases of their nationalism.

The University of Czernowitz, especially its chair of Ukrainian language and literature, served as a vehicle to enhance the national consciousness and develop an intelligentsia from among this ethnic group. Two of its Ukrainian alumni, Iwan Nowosiwskyj and Basil Kolotylo, acknowledged this debt to their alma mater when they noted:

Ukrainian scholars could demonstrate scientifically to the enemies of Ukrainiandom the truth about demographic conditions in Bukovina; through intensive linguistic studies, they laid a scientific foundation for the Ukrainian language [and] discredited the legend of 'primitive-Russian' [origins). Especially significant was the ethnic research, which resulted in incontrovertible evidence for the background of the Ukrainians in Bukovina, disproved historically-concocted fallacies, and reduced one-sided and tendentious theses ad absurdam.[89]

By the first decades of the twentieth century the Ukrainians had achieved cultural and educational parity both with the Germans and the Romanians.

The university's school of theology with the only Eastern Orthodox faculty in all Austria-Hungary, indeed in all Europe except Russia, drew students from neighboring Orthodox countries, especially Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria. From its inception most of its lectures were conducted in Romanian. In 1899 a chair for practical theology in Ukrainian was established, held by Dyonis Jeremijczuk. The appointment to the chair of Church Slavonic language and literature, established the same year, went to Eugen Kozak. These two men remained the only two non-Romanians on the theological faculty in the Habsburg period.[90]

While the majority of the faculty in the schools of philosophy and law were German, German students numbered only 424 out of 1,129 in the spring semester of 1913.[91] Numerous of the university's graduates achieved distinction including Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, professor of history at the University of Graz; Arthur Bosch, translator of Ukrainian and Romanian lyric poetry; Alfred Müncke, chief editor of the *Bukarester Tageblatt* and a leader of the German cultural organizations in Bucharest; Alois Lebouton

and Rudolf Brandsch, German senators in the Romanian parliament; Bruno Skrehunetz-Hillebrand, chief editor of the *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* and after 1945 editor of the *Salzburger Nachrichten* and Rudolf Wagner, author, editor of *Der Südostdeutsche* and representative in the Bavarian parliament.[92]

Erich Prokopowitsch, an alumnus and later quaestor of the University of Czernowitz, notes that, notwithstanding its positive achievements, the Francisco Josephina fell short of the aims of its founders: (1) it failed to promote Austrianism to counterbalance a growing nationalism; (2) it attracted few students from neighboring provinces or from Romania; and (3) it did not develop a school of medicine. This is not to detract from its accomplishments of furthering the Westernization of Bukovina, raising its material and cultural standards and providing higher education for many who for financial reasons could not have gone outside the province to continue their studies.[93]

With the advance of literacy a viable press became a reality. Several journalistic attempts in the early decades of the nineteenth century had failed for lack of readership and support; moreover, the press had had to contend with political constraints until the relaxation of censorship after 1848. But by the latter quarter of the century, Bukovina emerged with the most sophisticated journalistic tradition in south-eastern Europe 'wherein the German press absolutely predominated'.[94]

The heyday of German journalism began in 1868 with the publication of the *Czernowitzer Zeitung*. Under provincial magistrate Anton Zacher for three decades, the *Czernowitzer Zeitung* reflected official government opinion and promoted Austrianism.[95] Its excellent reviews of musical and dramatic events worked as a positive leaven in upgrading theatrical productions. Before long the number of newspapers, journals and periodicals proliferated: the *Bukowiner Rundschau* and the *Bukowiner Nachrichten* reflected the views of the German Liberal Party; the *Bukowiner Volksblatt* and *Der Volksfreund* voiced the opinions of the Christian Social Party; while the *Volkspresse* and *Vorwärts* disseminated socialist thought. By the eve of the First World War, Czernowitz had five German-language dailies, two of which, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* and *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, were edited and published by Jews and directed to a Jewish readership.[96] In addition, numerous literary, trade and scientific journals contributed to Bukovina-German journalism which, with a circulation extending well beyond native speakers and indeed often beyond the borders of the province, reached members of other ethnic groups whom it undoubtedly informed, entertained and influenced.

The Romanian press maintained a low profile, evidenced by 'the relatively small number of newspapers and periodicals in the Romanian language' not only in the Habsburg period but also after Bukovina passed under Romanian administration in 1919. The absence of an intelligentsia, a broad basis of functional illiteracy and failure to achieve consensus on the Cyrillic versus Latin alphabet controversy account for a slow start in journalism. For some of the same reasons the Ukrainians, too, were late in developing a viable press. Conflicts between the Old Ruthenians (Russophiles) and the Young Ruthenians (nationals) raised many questions about ethnic origins, history and orthography. The earliest Ukrainian publications (1871-82) reflected Old Ruthenian sentiments. The appearance in January 1885 of the bi-monthly newspaper, *Bukowyna*, under its editor Osip Jurij Fedkowycz, marked the triumph of the Young Ruthenian position.[97]

Nothing better illustrated Bukovina's multi-national character than its varied musical traditions, with each ethnic group contributing its own folk songs and dances, as well as its instruments and forms of musical expression. The Germans introduced wind instruments; they established choral societies, schools of music and orchestras and sponsored chamber music, symphonies and operas.

The acquisition of musical instruments at first proved difficult and costly. The first spinet arrived in Czernowitz in 1809; soon pianos became a necessity for those who could afford them. The less expensive guitar found wide favour and within the next several decades guitar teachers were in great demand. After 1830 the more affluent showed an increased interest in the musical education of their children and began to engage teachers from the western provinces.[98]

Karl Umlauff von Frankwell, an intimate friend of Franz Schubert and a trained instrumentalist and vocalist, made his home a centre for music lovers. Coming to Bukovina in an administrative capacity in 1822, he resided for several years in Suczawa and in Czernowitz. Umlauff engaged chamber music players to perform the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven; he introduced the songs of Franz Schubert in French and Romanian translations and he sponsored choral performances, including Andreas Romberg's *Song of the Bell* and Joseph Haydn's oratorio, *The Creation* as well as the operas of Karl Maria von Weber and Jakob Meyerbeer.[99]

Interest in choral music prompted the founding of the *Czernowitzer Gesangsverein* (Czernowitz Choral Society) in 1859 which, within the next few years, expanded its activities to include an instrumental section. Consisting mainly of gymnasium students, its original 25 members became the vanguard of numerous private ensembles which performed at festivals, in beer gardens and at soirees. In 1862 members of the *Czernowitzer Gesangsverein*, including Karl Wexler, Jakob Lederer and Martin Wilhelm, established the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* (Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina). Called the *Musikverein* (Music Society) for short, this school for vocal and instrumental music welcomed teachers and students of all nationalities. Adalbert Hrimaly from Pilsen (Moravia), next to Bedrich Smetana and Anton Dvorak, one of the most distinguished Czech composers, was for several decades closely affiliated with the Musikverein as orchestra leader and teacher of vocal music, piano, violin and music theory. The school attracted other musicians from the western provinces, including Hans

Horner, Anton Koller, Alfred Schlüter and Jakob Krämer, who then took up permanent residence in Czernowitz.[100]

Through its many performances and its training of young musicians, the *Musikverein* earned artistic distinction and made German composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries part of the cultural heritage of Bukovina. Some of its students achieved prominence including Eusebius Mandyczewski, archivist of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Society of the Friends of Music) and teacher of music theory at the Vienna Conservatory and later the Vienna Academy of Music; Ludwig Rottenberg, orchestra leader of the State Theatre in Vienna, Brünn and Frankfurt- and father-in-law of the composer Paul Hindemith; Dyonis Mayer-Martens and Josef Zimbler of the Vienna State Opera; conductor Rudolf Funkenstein; the tenors Orest Rusnak and Josef Schmidt; the opera singers Beatrix Suter-Kottlar, Adele Krämer, Marguerite Kozenn, and Viorica Ursuleac - interpreter of Richard Strauss and wife of Clemens Krauss.[101]

The State Gymnasium in Czernowitz did much to promote interest in music, as did the Franz Joseph University. Joseph Gregor, the second man to hold the university's chair for music, also achieved distinction as the librettist of Richard Strauss and as the director of the theatrical division of the Vienna National Library. His *Geschichte des Wiener Barocktheaters* (1922), his 12-volume work, *Denkmäler des Theaters* (1926-30) and his *Weltgeschichte des Theaters* (1939), remain standard references in their field.[102]

Besides the Schubert societies in Czernowitz and Radautz and the *Czernowitzer Männergesangsverein* (Czernowitz Male Choral Society), numerous German choral groups sprang up throughout Bukovina under the aegis of the churches and the national organizations. On 20 November 1867 gymnasium director Dr Joseph Marek established the *Suczawaer Gesangsverein* (Suczawa Choral Society). On 9 July 1893, through the efforts of gymnasium professor Dr Alfred Pauliczek, the *Radautzer Gesangsverein* (Radautz Choral Society) was founded, which continued its activities until the First World War. In Gurahumora, Sereth and other towns and larger communities, especially those with sizeable German populations, music lovers formed choral and instrumental groups which provided entertainment for local events, sponsored concerts and operettas and trained young musicians.[103] While the non-Germans had their own musical activities, many were either spectators or as participants in those of their German neighbours.

Both vocal and instrumental music in Bukovina benefited by cultural and political ties to Vienna, the music capital of nineteenth-century Europe. The absence of political boundaries in the Danubian state of the Habsburgs facilitated the exchange of men and ideas, of instrumentalists, artists, teachers and singers. The Vienna connection enhanced an already strong German musical tradition and transmitted it to the East.

German influence in painting, architecture and the plastic arts made itself felt early in Bukovina's Habsburg period. Workers in stone, metal, wood and oils came from all parts of the Empire on special assignments. Some settled in Bukovina permanently including the portrait painters C. Arends, F.X. Knapp, M. Godewski and Mathilde Glaubitz. Others, such as the artists commissioned for special projects, for example, the Greek Orthodox Bishop's Residence and the Cathedral of Czernowitz, remained only until the completion of their work. Romanian and Ukrainian painters including Epaminondas Bucevschi, Eugen Maximovici, Justin Pihuliak, Archip Roschka and Trajan Bargauan availed themselves of a German education through the pursuit of their professional studies in Vienna or Munich.[104]

The Austrian period found Czernowitz a town of mud huts and left it a 'little Vienna'[105], as evidenced by its many public and private buildings in the Austrian Imperial and Biedermeier styles. Prominent in the Biedermeier period were Michael Sawitz, Anton and Karl von Borkowski and Andreas Mikulicz, who designed many of the city's public buildings and churches.[106] In 1905-6 the Vienna architects Fellner and Helmer built the Staattheater which accommodated 813 people. Bukovina's largest and most imposing structure was the Greek Orthodox Bishop's Residence in Czernowitz. Commissioned by the Imperial government and designed by the Prague architect Josef Hlavka, this edifice, completed in 1882 in the Moldavian style, is today used by the Soviets as a university building.[107]

At the instigation of Hlavka, the *k. k. Denkmalamt* (Royal and Imperial Memorial Office) in Vienna undertook the restoration of the old Moldavian monasteries in Putna, Suczawitza, Solka, Arbora, Humora, Woronetz, Watra-Moldawitza and Dragomirna in an attempt to preserve Bukovina's Moldavian legacy. The *Denkmalamt* also commissioned the construction of monuments, especially in Czernowitz. Some of these included the *Austria-Denkmal* in the *Austria-Platz*, sculpted by Carl Peckary for the centennial celebration of Bukovina's union with Austria (1875); a statue in the *Volksgarten* of Constantin Tomaszczuk, first rector of the University of Czernowitz, by Professor A. Brenek; and a statue of Empress Elizabeth, wife of Franz Joseph, in the Franz-Josephs-Park, sculpted by Professor Zlama.[108]

Bukovina's lesser towns likewise witnessed an upswing in artistic and architectural commitment. Karl Romstorfer of Lower Austria designed several churches in Suczawa and Putna, while the Viennese artist Hans Viertelberger painted most of their frescoes. Ferdinand Stufleser sculpted statues for churches in Solka, Karlsberg and Storozynetz. Typifying well Bukovina's multi-cultural, multi-ethnic influences was the resort town of Dorna-Watra with a casino in French Renaissance, a town hall in Florentine, a hotel in Swiss and a church rectory in Moldavian architectural style.[109]

On the level of popular culture, Bukovina's religious institutions remained central in shaping the moral values, providing the entertainment and maintaining the traditions of their adherents. Living in small, relatively self-contained villages ranging from several hundred to several thousand, Bukovina's inhabitants held fast to two institutions: the

extended family and their church. Their religious affiliation according to the Austrian census of 1910 indicates the breakdown shown in figure 5.[110]

attended Sunday mass in neighboring Gurahumora, they recited the rosary at their chapel in group services led by laymen every evening during the Marian months of May and

Fig. 5 - Regilion by language as summarized by the 1910 Austrian census

AUSTRIAN CITIZENS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE OF EVERYDAY USE						
	German	Romanian	Ukrainian	Polish	Hungarian	Other
Roman Catholic	50,009	1,124	3,703	32,506	9,956	951
Greek Catholic	954	1,824	21,508	1,699	9	11
Greek Orthodox	2,490	268,992	274,758	724	24	102
Protestant	19,475	176	112	98	378	18
Hebrew	95,706	1,024	2,102	1,177	22	40
Other	145	76	3,039	23		

As the above table indicates, Bukovina's Roman Catholic community, composed largely of Germans, Poles and Hungarians, represented scarcely ten per cent of the population. Some Catholics could be found in virtually all areas, with percentages highest in villages settled by the German-Bohemians, almost all of whom professed Catholicism. The clergy consisted mainly of Poles,[111] many of whom had received their theological training at the University of Lemberg in neighboring Galicia. Strengthening Polish influence was the fact that Bukovina was incorporated into the archdiocese of Lemberg from 1786 until the end of the Habsburg period. The Polish clergy, for decades the sustainers of Polish nationalism, actively promoted the Polonization of Bukovina's Catholics. According to Norbert Zimmer, who resided in Bukovina for several months during 1927 for the purpose of carrying out doctoral research, the German Catholics felt more threatened by Protestantism than by Polonization, leading to many mixed marriages. 'It involved less inner conflict', Zimmer noted, 'for a simple [German] farm hand to marry a Catholic Pole than a Protestant German'.[112]

The German-Bohemians brought their piety with them. In Buchenhain the first religious services were held under an old fir tree onto which the colonists nailed a holy picture brought from their homeland.[113] Outward symbols of Christianity abounded. In the South Bukovina village of Paltinossa, where the field of the author's grandfather, Leon Loy, met that of his neighbour, Wenzel Kraus, stood a 15-foot crucifix erected sometime in the 1830s. Constructed by the villagers on their own land and at their own expense, such crucifixes were commonly seen in the fields and served as chapels. On so-called *Buss- and Bettage* (atonement and prayer days) between Ascension Thursday and Pentecost, processions led by the parish priest converged at these sites where through prayer and song the worshippers sought to invoke God's blessings for a bountiful harvest.[114]

The colonists of Bori, who had no church of their own, built a crucifix high on a hill on the outskirts of the village shortly after its founding in 1835. While they normally

October. Many families had chapels outside their homes which passers-by were welcome to attend.[115]

To its adherents, the Church seemed a time-honored symbol of stability and permanence. From cradle to grave it remained central to all social activities and shaped the values and traditions of its followers. The sacraments of baptism, holy communion, confirmation, marriage and extreme unction paralleled an individual's development from birth, through adolescence and maturity and finally to death.[116] Parents named their first-born son and daughter after the paternal grandparents, with subsequent children taking the name of the godparent or other family members. The names had to be those of saints or Biblical characters, and a person celebrated his coming into the world not on the day of his birth but on the feast day of the saint after whom he had been named.

At the other end of the life-cycle, as his days were drawing to a close, the Bukovinaer remained in the bosom of his family rather than committed to the professional but impersonal care of a hospital or nursing home. As he lay dying, neighbors came to pray at his bedside. When the moment of death approached, a candle, blessed and distributed to the parishioners on Candlemas Day (2 February), was pressed into his hand to light his way during the transition and a spoonful of holy water put into his mouth for his purification. During the three days of the wake, four candles burned continuously, one at each corner of the coffin, to ward off evil spirits, as friends and acquaintances paid their last respects. The funeral climaxed with a mass after which the entire congregation accompanied the coffin to its final resting place in consecrated ground amidst the rolling of drums and the pealing of bells.[117]

In the event of self-inflicted death, the Church withheld all services and the decedent's last remains were interred along the wall or outer limits of the cemetery. Suicide, considered a sinful deed against God's laws, often brought shame to the entire family.

Nor were the deceased forgotten. On the Feast of All Saints (1 November), mass was celebrated for all the dead of

the parish, followed by a procession to the cemetery where the priest prayed at individual graves. The following day, on the Feast of All Souls, a procession again wound its way from the church to the cemetery. This time the priest held mass at an outdoor chapel during which parishioners stood solemnly at the graves of their departed. Wreaths and burning candles decorated virtually all graves.

The Church, with its festivals and traditions, offered perhaps the only cultural life available to its followers, much as it had in the Middle Ages. Holidays centered on religious activities, among the most popular of which included pilgrimages to churches on the anniversary of their consecration (*Kirchweih*). The most popular of these, the pilgrimage to Kaczyka, saw the faithful from miles around marching in procession to the Church of the Assumption, with its subterranean mineral springs, grotto and reputed miraculous cures.

On the Feast of the Assumption (15 August), according to Reverend Otto Weber, 'many thousands converged to Kaczyka ... with no village or town from which a large number did not participate'.[118] Young and old set out, lunch in knapsack, singing and praying as they went, reminiscent of the pilgrims of old. Those too ill or too weak to sustain the rigors of a barefooted pilgrimage, traveled by horse and wagon. The procession, led by laymen carrying a crucifix, followed by standard bearers with church flags, wound its way over dirt roads, through streams and over hills, increasing in size as it advanced. All were welcome and members of other denominations, in particular the Romanian Orthodox, readily joined the marching column. Those who did not, stood in respectful silence, hat in hand, until it passed. As the worshippers approached their destination, they were greeted by a delegation from Kaczyka. Each group in salutation tipped its crucifix and flags toward the other before proceeding to the church.[119]

These pilgrimages served not only a religious purpose but a social function as well, giving relatives and friends an opportunity to renew contacts and breaking the isolation and monotony of village life. In South Bukovina, annual pilgrimages were made to the churches of Paltinossa on Ascension Thursday, to Bukschoja on Pentecost, to Gurahumora on Trinity Sunday and to Buchenhain on the Feast of St. Anne (26 July).[120]

Religious themes also provided the subject matter for popular theatre. Although professional theatrical groups seldom, if ever, performed in the villages, this did not deter their inhabitants from improvising their own dramatizations. In their study of German popular drama, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel in der Bukowina*, Alfred Karasek and Josef Lanz noted 75 localities with German residents which produced 196 plays, or 2.6 per community. Including nativity, passion and morality plays, they were performed in the open streets, from house to house or in churches, auditoriums and public halls. Scarcely any village in Bukovina with even a very small number of German families, according to Karasek and Lanz, failed to stage an occasional drama.[121]

The folk plays of the Bukovina-Germans fall into ten basic groups, some of which had been introduced by the Protestant Zipsers of Jakobeni and Eisenau but most performed both by German Protestants and Catholics alike.[122] The so-called Apostle plays, that is, morality plays with twelve characters, had infinite variations. Focusing on religious themes in which the sinner is eventually saved from damnation and reconciled with God, the plays were introduced to Bukovina by German settlers from the Bohemian Forest. Bitter confessional conflicts during the Reformation had left the German-Bohemian Catholics with a need to express their faith by a bold outward assertiveness, which took the form of frequent processions as well as elaborate passion plays and resurrection celebrations.[123] In their political and geographic isolation, the German-Bohemians were able to retain aspects of their folk culture longer than most other German groups with the result that they introduced a larger number of folk plays into Bukovina than did the Palatines or Swabians.[124]

Almost one-third of Bukovina's Germans were of Protestant persuasion, including almost all the Swabians and about two-thirds of the Zipsers. In that their settlement had proceeded along ethnic as well as confessional lines, there arose exclusively Catholic and Protestant Swabian communities with Czernowitz, Radautz-Milleschoutz and Illischestie the predominant Protestant centers. With the migration of the Zipsers, Jakobeni became a nucleus of Protestantism in the southwestern section of the province. Illischestie and Jakobeni had the only purely Lutheran congregations in Bukovina, the others including Germans of the Calvinist faith. The Hungarian Protestants, mainly Calvinists, maintained their religious autonomy, affiliated with the parish of Andrasfalva.[125]

Joseph II's Patent of Toleration notwithstanding, the Catholic Church remained a privileged institution through-out the Habsburg realm. While Protestants could worship freely, they were prohibited from building churches with towers, using bells, and facing church entrances on- the street-side (that is front) of the building. An exception was the Protestant church of Czernowitz, which as early as 1849 obtained permission to adorn its new structure with tower and bell, a concession granted by the government over the objections of the city's Catholic hierarchy. An imperial edict in 1844 had already rescinded the proscription against bells, but implementation still caused friction in isolated instances.[126]

Vital statistics could be kept by the Protestants only after Francis Joseph's Protestant Patent (1861), followed by his Imperial Decree of 1866. (Previously such records had to be turned over to the Catholic parishes.) And in questions of litigation involving Catholic interests, Bukovina's Protes-tants likewise felt themselves disadvantaged and com-plained of discrimination.[127]

A small minority in Catholic Austria, the German Protestants received no state funds for their private schools or churches and had to rely on their own resources for their continued existence. 'No Protestant church in Bukovina',

notes Pastor Edgar Miter, 'was built without the help of the *Gustav-Adolf-Verein*' in Germany.[128] In 1895 this association contributed 1,000 marks for the operation of the parish schools of Katherinendorf and Alexanderdorf. Although the two villages constituted one parish, each had its own school, the one in Alexanderdorf opening in 1863 and that in Katherinendorf in 1869. The first teachers lacked adequate educational preparation and were paid in kind by the parents. Parishioners contributed voluntary labor for the construction and maintenance of the school buildings and grounds and provided for the teachers' salaries, school supplies, libraries, heating materials and the like. These two institutions were among the five German Protestant schools to survive the Romanization of the inter-war period, attesting to the determination and willingness of the parents to make financial sacrifices for the ethnic and religious education of their children.[129]

The majority of the Lutheran pastors came from Transylvania or Galicia with some from Germany. Until the end of the First World War they were under the superintendency of Biala (Galicia) which in turn reported to the Protestant High Consistory (*Oberkirchenrat*) in Vienna. The Bukovina-East Galician superintendency included 11 parishes, 21 affiliated communities, nine missionary stations, 16 schools and 25,698 parishioners.[130] After the erection of a national frontier between Bukovina and Galicia (that is, Romania-Poland) following the First World War, Bukovina's evangelical churches came under the administrative jurisdiction of Transylvania.

A major difference between Bukovina's Protestant and Catholic churches lay in their perceptions of ethnic conerns. In that the Lutherans of southeast Europe 'were almost without exception of German nationality', their churches played a central role in the retention of the German ethnic identity.[131] The German Catholic communities were generally served by Polish clerics who often did not know the German language and saw it as their task to Polonize their congregations. The Protestants, on the other hand, were all Germans and viewed religion and nationality as inseparable pillars of their existence. As a result, occasional tensions arose between German Protestants and Catholics not unlike that in other states where members of these two Christian denominations lived side by side. With the post-First World War dissolution of the Galician connection, inter-confessional antagonisms gradually subsided. The Germans then found it in their mutual interest to join in a common bond to defend their national interests against a new threat: the Romanization tendencies of Bucharest.[132]

That the Germans, a relatively small ethnic minority in a multi-national sea retained their national identity and continued to increase in number and influence throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is attributable to certain political, social and economic factors characteristic of the Habsburg Empire. As the official language of Bukovina, German enjoyed a preferential status. Those seeking state employment had to be proficient in German, which drew numerous Romanians and Ukrainians into the German cultural sphere. Moreover, the Jews, about 11 per cent of the population, used German (see table, p.94) and sent their children to German-language schools. Partially through Jewish influence, German became the language of the cities and of commerce throughout the province. The Austrian policy of providing state education in the mother tongue in all communities with a minimum enrolment of 40 pupils for three consecutive years worked to the advantage of such small national groups as the Germans. It assured literacy in the native language for minorities which otherwise might have been assimilated by their more numerous neighbors. Finally, limited mobility in a largely agrarian and sedentary society worked to isolate and maintain those German rural settlements established during the Habsburg period.

Neither affluent nor privileged, the Germans for the most part remained a pioneering class, owning little land and adhering closely to traditions of family and church. Many lived in poverty, leading from the 1880s to emigration to the New World.[133] The failure of the glass enterprises and the mines, the feudal restrictions on land tenure, the difficulty of cultivating Bukovina's heavily-forested mountainous terrain and the limited opportunity for occupational mobility kept many colonists at a marginal level of existence for several generations. Nonetheless, the German impact on Bukovina's development was considerable. Improvements in agricultural techniques, commercialization of the forests, introduction of Western concepts of law, education, journalism and the arts are among their many material and cultural contributions to their adopted homeland.

The Germanization of Bukovina had never been intended either by Joseph II or by his successors;[134] nor did it in fact take place, as the last Austrian census cited above clearly indicates. Yet within a little more than a century the Germans had become the unifying element throughout the province, drawing others into their fold. Czernowitz became a centre of humanistic culture with its university a focal point of intercultural exchange. Romanians, Ukrainians, Jews and Poles contributed to German literature, some writing in German before turning to their own native tongue as a vehicle of expression. The Jewish novelist Karl Emil Franzos, the Ukrainians Georg Fedkowicz and Georg von Drozdowski and the Romanians Mihai Eminescu and Paul Celan are but a few of the literati who earned distinction well beyond the borders of Bukovina.[135] Professor Emanuel Turczynski of the Ruhr University of Bochum has noted that 'without in the least suppressing or inhibiting other national groups', German culture flourished and acted as a leaven on the ethnic consciousness of the non-German population.[136] The Romanian Mihai Cismarescu, in contrasting French and German influence on Romanian culture, notes that the former 'served as a model, requiring imitation', while the latter worked as a catalyst, leading to one's inner self, awakening one's self-awareness, demanding the return to one's inner being, to the spirit of one's own people. 'Become what you are' seems to be the message of German culture to the people and peoples with whom it comes into contact.[137]

The nationality conflicts so characteristic of other provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are conspicuous for their absence in its eastern-most crown land. 'Bukovina could not be claimed by any one nationality as their national home', observes the English historian A. J. P. Taylor, 'and had no history over which they could fight'.[138] No ethnic group held a numerical majority; none could advance irredentist claims for union with another state; most of its people had entered the province as colonists after 1775. Similarly no religious denomination predominated. While the Catholic Church enjoyed a privileged position in Austria, the wealthy Religious Foundation amply provided for the needs of the Orthodox Church, indirectly benefiting Orthodoxy in neighboring states as well. Competition among the churches centered on theological scholarship rather than on aggressive proselytism. In Bukovina, everyone was free 'to become holy in his own way'.[139] Its nationalities maintained the *pax bucoviniensis* until the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 and even then the collapse resulted more from external pressures than from internal indigenous forces. To the dozen or so ethnic groups calling Bukovina their home, life was tolerant, harmonious and interculturally fruitful. As Hans Prelitsch warned, 'The European will become Bukovinerish, or Europe will cease to exist'.[140]

Endnotes

[1]. Karl Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien: Culturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina und Rumänien* (Leipzig, Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1876), p. iii-v.

[2]. Erich Beck depicts in word and picture Bukovina's contrasting Eastern and Western cultural influences in *Bukowina: Land zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Freilassing, Pannonia-Verlag, 1963).

[3]. Muil von Melag (alias Hans Prelitsch),'Das Modell Europas', in Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen (ed.), *Warum Raimund-Kaindl-Bund?* (Munich, n.d.), p. 22.

[4]. Oskar Beck; 'Bukowina: Schweiz des Ostens?', *Der Südostdeutsche* (Munich), 15 March 1978, p. 5. Published monthly by the *Landsmannschaft der Buchenland-deutschen* (Association of Bukovina-Germans), *Der Südostdeutsche* contains historical and contemporary information about Bukovina and its inhabitants as well as articles on refugee questions and on the status of present-day German communities in eastern Europe.

[5]. Artifacts confirm human habitation in Bukovina as early as the neolithic period. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl discusses the early tribes which sojourned in the province including the Dacians, Goths, Huns, Gepidae, Avers, Vlachs, Cuman Turks and Ruthenians in *Geschichte der Bukowina van der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Czernowitz, k.k. Universitätsbuchhandlung H. Pardini, 1904).

[6]. Friedrich Reindl, *Erinnerungen an Suczawa* (Munich, Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1977), p.3; Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina* (Frankfurt, Verlag von Heinrich Keller,

1916), p. 46-7.

[7]. Erwin Massier, 'Deutsche in der alten Moldau', in Erwin Massier, Josef Talsky and B.C. Grigorowicz (eds.), Bukowina: *Heimat von Gestern* (Karlsruhe, Selbstverlag 'Arbeitskreis Bukowina Heimatbuch', 1956), p. 72.

[8]. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 47.

[9]. Massier, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[10]. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 69.

[11]. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitz ergreifung durch Oesterreich* (Innsbruck, Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1902), p. 320.

[12]. Until its annexation by Austria in 1775 the land called Bukovina had been an integral component of the Principality of Moldavia (established 1342). Following a short period of Austrian military rule, it was administratively linked with Galicia (17861849), after which it became an autonomous Austrian crownland. After passing to Romanian control at the end of the First World War, Bucharest abolished the old provincial boundaries and reorganized Bukovina into five administrative districts: Czernowitz, Kimpolung, Radautz, Storozynetz and Suczawa. Since the end of the Second World War its northern districts have been incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union. The name, Bukovina, has validity now only as a geographic expression.

[13]. Emanuel Michael Freiherr von Kapri, *Buchenland: Ein österreichische: Kranland verschiedener Völkergruppen* (Munich, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1974), p. 16.

[14]. *Ibid.*. p. 17.

[15]. Nikolaus V. Preradovich. 'Ein grosses historisches Porträt vom Erwerb des Buchenlandes durch Oesterreich vor 200 Jahren', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 1 July 1975, p. 2.

[16]. (?) Reichensteiner, 'Ab- und Auswanderung aus dem Klinischen', in Volkskundlicher Arbeitskreis für den mittleren Böhmerwald 'Klinische Freibauern' (ed.), *Im Lande der künischen Freibauern: Heimatbuch far den mittleren Böhmenwald* (2nd ed., Grafenau, Verlag Morsak, 1980), p. 136.

[17]. Hugo Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland* (Würzburg, Holzner-Verlag, 1955), p. 13.

[18]. Kapei, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[19]. Weczerka, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[20]. Sepp Janko, *Weg und Ende der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Graz-Stuttgart, Leopold Stocker Verlag, 1982), p. 13.

[21]. Frederick II attracted some 300,000 colonists from surrounding states, offering them several years' exemption from taxation, freedom from military conscription unto the third generation, and in some cases, direct financial assistance. More than 50,000 were settled in the reclaimed swamp lands along the lower Oder River, with others moving to Pomerania, Ostfriedland, Silesia and the Altmark of Brandenburg. In all about 250 new agricultural villages

were founded in Frederick's time (W.D. Reddaway, *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia* [London, Putnam. 1904), p. 185-6).

[22]. Catherine II's Manifesto of 22 July 1763 and Alexander I's Manifesto of 20 Feb. 1804, excerpts of which are printed in Karl Stumpp, (*Die Russlanddeutschen: Zweihundert Jahre unterwegs* (Freilassing/Bavaria, Pannonia-Verlag, 19641, p. 9 *seq*.), guaranteed religious and school autonomy, freedom from taxation for ten to thirty years, exemption from military service 'in perpetuity', and the unrestricted right to emigrate at any time. Some 100,000 Germans, largely from Württemberg, Baden, the Palatinate and Alsace responded to the invitation to resettle in Russia, the largest waves departing between 1763-1824. By the eve of the First World War the Germans had established more than 3,000 colonies or daughter colonies (that is, agricultural villages) and acquired over nine million hectares of land ('Die sowjetdeutschen sehen nur noch einen Ausweg: Auswandern', *Volk auf dem Weg* (Stuttgart), Nov. 1979, p.7). Despite unusually heavy losses through deportations, emigration and war casualties in the Stalin era, they presently number almost 1.9 million, ranking fourteenth among the Soviet Union's 115-odd ethnic groups.

[23]. 'Das Ansiedlungspatent Joseph II', printed in Erwin Massier (ed.), *Fratautz und die Fratautzer: Vom Werden und Vergehen einer deutschen Dorfgemeinschaft in der Bukowina* (Heidelberg, 1957), p. 13-14.

[24]. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[25]. Christian Armbruester, *Deutsch-Satulmare: Geschichte eines buchenländischen Pfälzerdorfes* (Karlsruhe, Verlag Otto Nees, 1961), p. 4.

[26]. Erwin Massier, 'Zum guten Beispiel berufen', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 88.

[27]. Johann Polek, 'Die Deutschen', in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bukowina* (Vienna, Verlag der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1899), p. 296.

[28]. Ion Nistor, *Bessarabia and Bukovina* (Bucharest, 1939), p. 52.

[29]. Hugo Weczerka, 'Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums', in Franz Lang (cd.), *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina* (Munich, Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961). p. 33-4.

[30]. Erich Beck, *Bukowina: Land zwischen Orient und Okzident*, p. 12.

[31]. Massier, 'Zum guten Beispiel berufen', p. 91.

[32]. By 1930 the Germans held a majority or represented a sizeable minority in 91 villages, nine towns and one city (Norbert Zimmer, *Die deutschen Siedlungen im Buchenland (Bukowina)* (Plauen im Vogtland, Verlag Günther Wolff, 19301, p. 9).

[33]. Map of German settlements in Bukovina, printed in Weczerka, *"Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums,"* p. 26.

[34]. Kaindl, *Das Ansirdlungswesenin der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 346-52.

[35]. Erich Prokopowitsch, 'Zur Ansiedlungsgeschichte von Karlsberg', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 66-7.

[36]. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 354.

[37]. Linde Blass-Kiessling. 'Das Dorf Karlsberg in der Bukowina', in Rudolf Wagner (ed.), *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmische Siedlungen in der Bukowina* (Munich, Verlag 'Der Südostdeutsche', 1982), p. 77-8.

[38]. Reichensteiner, p. 136.

[39]. Josef Wild, *Fürstenthal: Eine deutsch-böhmische Gemeinde in der Bukowina* (Munich, Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1981), p. 15.

[40]. Emil Stadler, 'Mein Vaters Geburtsort Krasna Ilski , in *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmische Siedlungen in der Bukowina*, p. 62-3. The glassworks, deep in the woods, was partly destroyed by fire during the First World War; the salvageable equipment was then transferred to Putna only to be totally demolished in the Second World War (*ibid.*).

[41]. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina: Die Bukowina unter der Herrschaft des österreichischen Kaiserhauses (seit 1774)* (Czernowitz, Commissionsverlag der k.k. Universitätsbuchhandlung H. Pardini, 1898), p. 77.

[42]. Weczerka, 'Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums', p. 36.

[43]. Reichensteiner, p.134. In the early nineteenth century German-Bohemians left their homeland in sizeable numbers for Galicia, the Banat, Bavaria and the New World (*ibid.*, p. 141-51).

[44]. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 64. Not all German colonists found themselves in such dire economic straits as the German-Bohemians. Filpovoer Heimatblätternotes that the Swabian colonists in the Banat 'not infrequently brought with them 600, 800, 1,000 Gulden, even up to 2,500 Gulden in cash ... in any event a respectable fortune' equivalent to the value of a farmstead of 140 Joch (vol. II, no. 7 [July 1938J, p. 11). Their desire to emigrate stemmed in large part from the fact that their homeland had for decades been a battlefield for the wars of Louis XIV, Louis XV and Napoleon.

[45]. Alfred Klug, *Die Besiedelung von Bori* (Czernowitz, Verlag 'Deutsche Tagespost', 1935), p. 8.

[46]. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 76.

[47]. Conversation with Julia Tands (Bori) held in Haverstraw, New York on 8 May 1981 and with Albrecht Schaffhauser (Bori) held in Hackensack, New Jersey on 25 March 1981.

[48]. Klug, *op. cit.*, p. 26-7

[49]. Unpublished map of Bori (Bukovina) drawn by Sepp Günthner, Mannheim, Federal Republic of Germany (1972); made available to author by Emil Haiti, Abtsgmünd, Federal Republic of Germany.

[50]. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina: Die Bukowina unter der Herrschaft des österreichischen Kaiserhauses (seit 1774)*, p. 75.

[51]. Reichensteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[52]. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

53. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Osterreich*, p. 336

54. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

55. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p.17.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 17-18

57. Massier, 'Zum guten Beispiel berufen', p. 95.

58. Rudolf Wagner (ed.), *Die Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I. in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)* (Munich, Verlag 'Der Südostdeutsche', 1979), p. 68-9.

59. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p.113.

60. 'Einiges über Zipsergemeinden in der Bukowina', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 15 May 1978, p. 1.

61. Kaindl, *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukovina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 343.

62. 'Einiges über Zipsergemeinden in der Bukowina', p. 1.

63. *Die Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz 1. in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)*, p. 68.

64. B. C. Grigorowicz, 'Die Zipsersiedlung Jakobeni , in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p.152.

65. Kapri, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

66. Erich Beck, 'Die Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Deutschen in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 177.

67. Rudolf Wagner, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen* (Vienna, Schutzverein'Oesterr. Landsmannschaft', 1979), p. 22.

68. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p. 20.

69. Weczerka, *'Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums'*, p. 39.

70. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 77.

71. Hans Prelitsch, *Student in Czernowitz: Die Korporationen an der Czernowitzer Universität* (Munich, Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1961), p. 9-10.

72. Josef Talsky, 'Die landschaftliche Verteilung der Deutschen im Buchenland'. in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 97-8.

73. Carl Petersen and Otto Scheel (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslands-deutschtums* (Breslau, Ferdinand Hirt, 1933), I, p. 616. The Austrian census was based on *Umgangssprache*, that is, on the language of everyday use. This method of determining nationality had been accepted at an international statistical congress held in St. Petersburg in 1873. While most of the Jews of Bukovina spoke German, the census further subdivided the group based on religious affiliation. German-speaking Hebrews in 1900 numbered 91,907; in 1910 there were 95,706 (*ibid.*).

74. Herbert Mayer, 'Ergebnisse der letzten Selbstzählungen der Deutschen in der Bukowina vor der Umsiedlung', *Kaindl-Archiv: Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1978), 1, p.29. Of its German population numbering more than 75,000 on the eve of the Second World War, only some 2,000 remain there today. The others, victims of wartime population transfers and political upheavals are now widely scattered, the majority residing in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria.

For the wartime transfer of the Bukovina-Germans see Sophie A. Welisch, 'The Second World War Resettlement of the Bukovina-Germans', *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. 3, no. 1 (March, 1984), p. 49-50.

75. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p. 21.

76. Herbert Mayer, 'Die Entwicklung des Postwesens in der Bukowina nach deren Angliederung an Oesterreich', *Kaindl-Archiv: Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 35. The first postal service opened in Czernowitz in 1783 with connections to Galicia and Transylvania. Between 1818 and 1829 the towns of Kotzman, Suczawa, Sereth and Gurahumora had post offices with Radautz, Kimpolung, Storozynetz and Dorna-Watra following between 1836 and 1850. By the end of the century 108 towns and villages had their own post offices. The telegraph came to Czernowitz in 1854 and extended by 1900 to an additional 60 communities. In 1883 the first telephone was installed in Czernowitz (*ibid.*, p. 35 -7).

77. *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, p. 617.

78. Erich Beck, 'Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Deutschen in der Bukowina , p. 178.

79. Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina*, p. 128.

80. Christian Wendling, 'Zur Tierzucht und Landwirtschaft des Buchenlandes', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 199-200.

81. Weczerka, *Die Deutschen im Buchenland*, p. 23.

82. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

83. Wagner, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen*, p. 33.

84. Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism: 1871-1900* (New York, Harper & Row, 1963), p. 174.

85. Degenhardt Liebenwein, *Storozynetz Buchenland-Bukowina: Beschreibung und Erinnerungen* (Darmstadt, 1983), p. 75.

86. Erich Prokopowitsch, 'Die Entwicklung des Schulwesens in' der Bukowina , in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 284-5.

87. Kaindl, *Das Ansledlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, p. 330-31.

88. Erich Prokopowitsch, 'Der Kampf um die Bukowiner deutsche Schule während der rumänischen Herrschaft 1919-1940', *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*, vol. XIV,

89. Iwan M. Nowosiwskyj and Basil Kolotylo, 'Die Ukrainistik an der Universität Czernowitz', in Rudolf Wagner (ed.), *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina: Die deutsch sprachige Nationalitäten-Universität in Czernowitz. Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung* 1875 (Munich, Verlag Hans Meschendorfer, 1979), p. 225.

90. Ion Popinceanu, 'Die theologische Fakultät der Universität Czernowitz', in *ibid.*, p. 134.

91. Erich Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs Universität in Czernowitz (Bukowina-Buchenland)* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld, Ed.Piepersche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1955), p. 40.

92. Prelitsch, *Student in Czernowitz: Die Korporationen an der Czernowitzer Universität*, p. 27, 37.

[93]. Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs-Universität (Bukowina-Buchenland)*, p. 77-8.

[94]. Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukowina* (Vienna, Forschungs- und Kulturwelk der Oesterreicher aus dem Donau-, Sudeten- und Karpatenraum, 1962), p. 6.

[95].Wagner, *Die Bukowina und ihre Deutschen*, p. 61.

[96]. Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukowina*, p. 32-3

[97]. *Ibid.*, p. 14-15, 21-22.

[98]. Stefan Stefanowicz, 'Das Musikleben in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 489.

[99]. *Ibid.*, p. 490-91.

[100]. Paula Tiefenthaler, *Das Musikleben in der Bukowina* (Munich, Eigenverlag Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, n.d.), p. 7-8.

[101]. Rudolf Wagner, *Deutsches Kulturleben in der Bukowina* (Vienna, Schutzverein Oesterr. Landsmannschaft, 1981), p. 53.

[102]. Erich Beck, 'Joseph Gregor zum Gedächtnis', *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*, vol. XIII, no. 1 (1964), p. 3.

[103]. Tiefenthaler, *op. cit.*, p. 12-13.

[104]. *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, p. 640.

[105]. 'Otto von Habsburg aber Czernowitz und dessen Universität', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 15 Oct. 1975, p. 1.

[106]. Josef Lehner. 'Die bildenden Künste in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 475.

[107]. Wagner, *Deutsches Kulturleben in der Bukowina*, p. 57.

[108]. *Ibid.* p. 57-8. All monuments of the Austrian period were removed after Bukovina's annexation to Romania following the First World War. Wagner recounts that after the aurochs replaced the Austrian double eagle on the Austria Monument in Czernowitz, 'unknown people bought a unload of hay at the market and unloaded it in front of the ox so that, it was said, "he should not get hungry'. (*Ibid.*, p. 59)

[109]. Lehner, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[110]. *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, p. 616.

[111]. Josef Lehner, 'Die katholische Kirche in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtums in der Bukowina*, p. 249.

[112]. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 37-8.

[113]. Reichensteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[114]. Conversation with Caecilie Loy and Josefa Kraus (both from Paltinossa) held in Pearl River. New York on 18 Aug. 1983.

[115]. Conversation with Julia Tanda (Bori) held in Haverstraw, New York on 8 May 1981 and with Albrecht Schaffhauser (Bori) held in Hackensack, New Jersey on 25 March 1981.

[116]. Otto Weber, 'Die deutsche Kirche im Buchenland: Die katholische Kirche', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 169-70.

[117]. Conversation with Bertha Hard (Gurahumora) held in Valley Cottage, New York on 18 Dec. 1981.

[118]. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[119]. Conversation with Rosa Straub (Kimpolung) held in Bergenfield, New Jersey on 8 Dec. 1980.

[120]. Conversation with Franz Kübeck (Gurahumora) held in Ulm, Federal Republic of Germany on 28 July 1980 and with Stefanie Mirwald (Gurahumora) held in Jamaica, New York on 19 Nov. 1980.

[121]. Alfred Karasek and Josef Tanz, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel in der Bukowina* (Marburg, N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1971), p. 8-13.

[122]. According to Edmund Neumann, these included: (1) *Die Christ-kindlspiele*, (2) *Die Apostelspiele*, (3) *Die 'Heroden'*, (4) *Das Dreikönigsspiel mlt Tod und Teufel*, (5) *Die Heroden-Ritter-Spiele*, (6) *Das Dreikönigsspiel from Jakobeni*, (7) *Die Schäferkomödie from Jakobeni*, (8) *Das Sternsingen*, (9) *Die Dreikönigsumgänge*, and (10) *Des Paradeisspiel from Eisenau* ('Das deutsche Volksschauspiel im *Buchenland'*, *Kaindl-Archiv Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft*, l, 15).

[123]. Karasek and Tanz, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[124]. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[125]. Ekkehart Lebouton, 'Evangelisches Leben in der Bukowina', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 17.

[126]. Edgar Müller, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina: Aufbau und Ende, Part II* (Munich, Hilfswerk für die evangelischen Deutschen aus der Bukowina, 1972), p. 29-30.

[127]. *Ibid.*, p. 30

[128]. Edgar Müller, *Die evangelische Kirchengemeinde Neu-Zadowa und Nikolausdorf von ihrer Gründung bis zur Umsiedlung 1883-1940* (Kirchheim/Teck, Hilfskomitee für die evangelischen Deutschen aus der Bukowina, n.d.), p. 24. The Gustav-Adolf Verein was founded in 1832 to aid Lutheran communities in the diaspora.

[129]. Konrad Gross, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina: Alexanderdorf and Katherinendorf von 1863-1940* (Bächingen/Brenz, 1978), p. 17.

[130]. Ekkehart Lebouton, *Die Evangelische Pfarrgemeinde A. B. Czernowitz zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen (1918-1940)* (Vienna, Evangelischer Pressverband in Oesterreich, 1969), p. 5. Lebouton gives the Bukovina Lutheran parishes with the dates of their founding and numbers of parishioners as of 1934 as follows:

Founded		Parishioners
1791	Radautz (Satulmare, Badeutz, Milleschoutz, Arbora)	1,982
1795	Czernowitz (Unter-Stanestie)	5,668
1852	Jakobeni (Donna, Kirlibaba)	2,122
1858	Illischestie (Gurahumora, Korlata, Balaczana, Brasca)	2,969
1902	Neu-Itzkany (Mitoka-Dragomirnea, Sucawa	1,178
1902	Hliboka (Terescheny)	452
1905	Deutsch-Tereblestie (Sereth)	1,189
1908	Alt-Fratautz (Neu-Fratautz)	1,878
1923	Storozynetz (Zadowa, Nikolausdorf, Katherinendorf)	1,127
1925	Eisenau (Frassin, Freudenthal)	1,484
1925	Pozoritta (Luisenthal, Kimpolung)	1,346
	Total	21,395

[131]. Ekkehart Lebouton,'Der evangelische Anteil am deutschen Leben in der Bukowina', in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, p. 257.

[132]. Mailer, *Die evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina: Aufbau und Ende*, p. 30-31.

[133]. Sophie A. Welisch describes the three waves of immigration to the United States (1880-1914, 1920-24 and 1947-57) from the Three Bukovinian villages of Bori, Paltinossa and Gurahumora and the immigrants' assimilation into a capitalistic urban society ('Deutschböhmische Pioniere in den Stadien Amerikas', in *Bori, Karlsberg und andere deutschböhmische Siedlungen in der Bukowina*, p. 41-59.)

[134]. Alexander Blase, *Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930): Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1962), p. 29. Kaindl maintains that had Germanization been the objective, German colonists would have been settled in compact geographic areas rather than scattered throughout the province in small numbers. Adding five to eight families to already-existing villages would serve to hasten German assimilation into the native population rather than the reverse.

[135]. Irma Bornemann, 'Kulturfeier in Augsburg: Johanna Brucker, eine Dichterin aus dem Buchenland', *Der Südostdeutsche*, 15 Dec. 1977, p. 9.

[136]. Emanuel Turczynski, 'Die wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leistung des Buchenlanddeutschtums in der alten und neuen Heimat', in Landsmannschaft der deutschen Umsiedler aus der Bukowina in Deutschland (ed.), *Das Bundestreffen 1951: Eine Bestandsaufnahme des Buchenlanddeutschtums* (Munich, 1951). p. 5-6.

[137]. Mihai Cismărescu, 'Einige Betrachtungen über den Einfluss der deutschen Kultur in Rumänien', in Constantin Spores (ed.), *Revista Scriitorilor Romani* (Munich, Societatea Academics Romani, 1980), p. 196-7.

[138]. Alan J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary* (New York, Harper & Row, 1965), p. 200.

[139]. Emanuel Turczynski, 'Die politische Kultur der Bukowina: Harmonie ethnischer Kleingruppen', *Kaindl-Archiv: Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1979), II, p. 10.

[140]. Hans Prelitsch, 'Homo bucoviniensis', in *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern*, p. 337.

*Fig. 6 - The Bukovina-German Settlement of Illischestie, showing the Rumanische Kirche.
Photo courtesy of Irmgard Hein Ellingson*

A Finnish Sawmill Book Keepers Daughter's Journey to Alaska: Reconstructing Anna Margareta Sunberg's Life Story

by Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell

[In memory of my friend Ronald Hackman, 1935-2001. Some years ago he asked for help in finding the roots of his family's Baba]

Introduction

During my twelve years study of the Finns and Balts in Russian Alaska (1800-1867) I developed an interest in the servants who arrived to Alaska attached to the area's governing elite. These servants are hardly ever mentioned as such in the Russian-American Company's reports, or in any of the preserved private letters found in the many private and public archives in Finland. On the rare occasion they are mentioned, it is often by the positions they held, e.g. chambermaid, valet etc. Rarely are the mentioned name. When Russian Alaska's newly appointed Governor and Russian-American Company Chief Manager, Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell (serving 1830-1835), arrived in Sitka with his wife, the Elisabeth Baroness von Rossillon, they must have brought with them a full household staff. No lady at that time would ever have travel anywhere without her personal chamber-maid, let alone function without the full support of a multi-member household staff. The same is true for Baltic-born Medical Doctor Heinrich Sylvester Tiling (serving 1846-1851), who arrived with his wife Anna Elisabeth Fehrmann, in Ajan (the Company's Siberian station and port) in 1846 . In his anonymously published account, Doctor Tiling mentions only once that his wife's personal maid was with them. He does not, however, give her name.[1] Since the social elite found no reason to mention their servants, they are Russian Alaska's hardest individuals to identify. Still, by their enormous labor they provided their masters with the invisible, but always expected support of their masters' rank and position. Their contributions towards the development of Russian Alaska, and the Alaska of today, is as of unrecognized by the historians of the region. The following essay is an attempt at remedying this deficiency.

Identification Difficulties

Prior to my discovery of Sitka's Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran Church's parish records,[2] it was generally held that the household matron of Russian Alaska's Governor (1840-1845) Arvid Adolph Etholen Carolina Ohman, nee Widbom, and widow of Gustaf Adolf Ohman, a Helsinki resident. They had a daughter named Elise Wilhelmina Albertina, (born 1 November, 1825), who at their departure for Sitka, was fourteen years old. This information is found repeated in many accounts.[3] Its source seems to have been derived from p. 18 in the Vyborg Gymnasium's *matrikel* 1805-1842, thus suggesting it to be accurate. Although this information fit rather neatly, a nagging question arouse with the discovery of the Sitka baptism records. A close scrutiny shows that three of the four children born to daughter Elise and Doctor Alexander Frankenhaeuser in Sitka had a Margareta Ohman listed as their godmother.[4]

At first this discovery was interpreted as being one of Mrs. Ohman's several given names. Perhaps she had been encouraged to use the name Carolina to distinguish herself from her superior's name, that of the Governor's wife's, as well as the Governor's Executing Adjoint's wife's, also a Margareta.

Another oddity in this mystery was the fact that Uno Cygnaeus, Sitka's Evangelical Lutheran pastor, as well as Doctor Reinhold Ferdinand Sahlberg, nor Doctor Frankenhaeuser ever mentioned in letter or diary Mrs. Ohman by her first name. Doctor Sahlberg, in his diary, dropped a clue when he described an outing to the nearby hot springs which Governor Etholen had arranged in July of 1840 to honor of those "three Margaretas," to thus celebrate their name-day. Although Sahlberg didn't identify all three ladies in question, he mentioned that Margaretha Etholen and Margareta (Margret) von Bartram, as well as Mrs. Ohman were in this party.[5]

Adding to this mystery was the discovery that Elise Ohman was identified in a letter written in Russian as Elisaveta Abrahamova. This patronyme did not fit her so-called father's name, as her alleged middle name was Albertina.[6] Nothing seemed to really fit!

Thus, while I was stationed in Portland, Oregon doing research for the book *Documenting the Legacy of the Alaska Finns in the Russian Period*, I shared this suspicion with researcher and friend Timothy Laitila Vincent, who is based in Salt Lake City, and does research at the Family History Library. I shamelessly begged him to help me by searching Helsinki City's Evangelical Lutheran Parish records, covering out-moving members, looking for anyone leaving for Sitka during July-September 1839. Laitila Vincent responded by sending me a stack of photocopied parish records including pages where he had found the following information for 7 September, 1839:

No. 317: Widow A.M. Ohman(n) with daughter departing for Sitka, North America.[7]

Searching the parish communion books covering the years 1838-1849 brought out the following:

Finance (Banco) Book-Keeper Bror Abraham Ohman(n)'s widow, Anna Margareta Sundberg, born in Helsinge Parish January 25, 1802, to reside in Sitka, North America with parish release-papers issued on September 7, 1839.[8]

Moving to the parish certificates (parish release papers) covering the years 1845-1846 brought by incoming (returning) parishioners, I located the following moving certificate:

> *Moving Certificate No 14, For The Year 1845. The deceased Finance Book-Keeper Bror Abraham Ohmann's widow, Anna Margaretha Sundberg, was born in the year eighteen hundred and two (1802), on January twenty-five (25) in Helsinge Gammelstad, District of Nyland, Grand Duchy of Finland, and baptized into the Evangelical Lutheran Faith. In 1840 she came to New Archangelsk in North America, and is now moving back to Finland. During her stay here she has in the local Evangelical Lutheran Church partaken in the Communion Rites, including this year on April 13. As to marital status: she is free to enter into one. With issuing of this Certificate her name is removed from this parish membership rooster, taking with her her Moving Certificate issued as No. 317, dated September 7, 1839, which Mrs. Ohmann acquired at her departure from the Parish Office in Helsinki, to which this pastor attests.*
>
> > *New Archangelsk, May 13, 1845.*
> > *Uno Cygnaeus, Master of Philosophy,*
> *Pastor at the Evangelical Lutheran Parish*
> *at the Russian Colonies in North America.*

The back of the original certificate is adorned with Governor Etholen's own signature. On the front Helsinki parish pastor Christian Avellan had put his signature vouching the certificate had been accepted. [9] Located in the registry for the parish's incoming parishioners (1845-1846) was the following:

> "*April 21: Finance Book-Keeper Ohman(n)'s widow, Anna Margareta Sundberg resides in Merchant Sundberg's stone-built house.*[10]

Under Swedish Rule
A Rural Childhood and The Family Tree

Who was this Anna Margareta Sundberg Ohman(n), and what had prompted her to make a journey to Russian Alaska? The information discribed above offered clues, which eventually unraveled what follows.[11]

While Finland was under Swedish rule (up to1809), Helsinki region's vast and widespread Helsinge parish children books revealed that the Gammelstad Sawmill's book-keeper Sundberg (born 1771) had besides his daughter Anna Margareta (born 25 January, 1802) two sons registered (fig. 1):

> *Adolph, born 1804, May 18; and Gustaf Wilhelm, born 1806, July 30.*[12]

Helsinge Parish communion books for Gammelstad's Sawmill offered the following: "Book-Keeper Fredrik Sundberg, born 1771; wife, Margareta Ruth, born in Vasterbotten, (Sweden) on September 16 in 1770."

Beside their three children, the record indicated their household also consisted of three servant maids:

Maja Modig, born October 3, 1779; Ulrika Svenskberg, born November 8, 1776; Anna Maria Thorp, born 1791.[13]

Reveiwing the communion books that begin with 1796 and forward revealed the following for Gammelstad Sawmill:

> *Bookkeeper Fredrik Sundberg, born 1741; wife: Anna (Lovisa) Simonsdotter, born 1740; son: Mill-Plant Assistant-Recorder Fredrik Sundberg, born 1771.*[14]

A son, Carl Johan (born 1778) was identified from about 1807 onward, through the Helsinki City parish books.[15] Thus, three generations of Sundbergs have emerged. From these records it seems that the bookkeeping profession was favored among the male members of this Sundberg family. It also reveals that the Sundberg family was rather educated and financially solvent.

Under Russian Rule

In 1809 tragedy struck when Anna Margareta Sundberg was 7 years old: her father died at age 38.[16] It was the same year Sweden, at war with Russia (1808-1809), lost Finland. Out of this old Swedish territory Russia's Tzar Alexandr I, created The Grand Duchy of Finland. Was Fredrik Sundberg's untimely death related in some way to any event in this unfortunate war? We might never find out as Helsinge parish's death records covering 1809 are lost, as well as a many of other of the this parish's records, carving unwanted holes into this study.

Fig. 1 - Parish children book, Sundberg family

Fortunately the parish children's books for the years covering 1800-1825 are preserved. They hold a wealth of vital data on the Sundberg-family, e.g:

> *Bookkeper Sundberg's widow: Daughter Anna Margareta. Confirmed 1816. Son Adolph. Departed for St. Petersburg with moving certificate no. 6, for July 12, (181?). Son Gustaf Wilhelm. Departed for St. Petersburg with moving certificate, dated June 16, (1821).*[17]

Following this lead to Sankt Petersburg's St. Katarina Swedish language Lutheran parish, their incoming parish records holds Gustaf Wilhelm's original moving certificate tucked in with those for1826:

St. Katarina's communion books reveal that he was registered there from 1821 to 1846. He was initially recorded as "apprentice clock (watch)-maker," and from about 1830 onward as "journeyman clock-maker."[19]

I was not successful in the Adolph's, Anna Margareta's older brother, movements. His whereabouts are yet a mystery. It is most likely due to the missing Helsinge parish records, such as the vital moving, death, and marriage records covering the years prior to1822.

Concerning Anna Margareta and her future, the 1816-1822 parish communion record for Helsinge, Gammelstad, now identifies the sawmill owner as "Commercial Councilman Sederholm," and her father's replacement there "Widowed Book-Keeper Carl Wilhelm Lundeberg, born in Sweden August 15, 1769, came from [Fort] Sveaborg [in the mouth of Helsinki's South Harbor]". Also, still residing at the Sawmill were: "Book-Keeper's widow Greta (diminutive of Margareta) Sundberg. Daughter Anna Margareta Sundberg." Annotations added to Anna Margareta's record: "First (of three) church-wide proclamations made November 11, 1821, for impending marriage to Finance Book-Keeper Abraham Ohmann. Left for Helsinki without moving papers. Obtained Certificate October 3, 1826"
For her mother: "Died December 12, 1824" (at age fifty-four).

At the time of her wedding Anna Margareta was just twenty, her husband to-be nine years older. No household servants were listed for Widow Sundberg's household. This might indicate the now widowed mother and daughter were experiencing an economic decline.[20]

Bror Abraham Ohmann and the Initial Helsinki Years

Anna Margareta Sundberg's husband, born in Abo on September 1, 1793, was from a prominent and nationally known family. He was the third son of 13 children born to Attorney Abraham Ohmann (1758-1814), serving as Chairman of the Grand Duchy's Justice Department's Inner Cabinet. His wife, Eva Helena Strandheim (1768-), was the seventh of 11 children born to Abo Merchant-Skipper Jacob Strandheim and his wife Beata Kristina Osterman. Both families were registered into Abo City's Swedish (language) parish.[21]

It is worth a mention that Bror Abraham Ohmann's paternal grandparents were the famed Borga Book-Merchant Abraham C. Ohmann and his wife Anna Christina Witting. This family was known for its prominence both in the literary and publishing business, as well as within the Evangelical Lutheran Church hierarchy. There was a Bishop among them. This is reflected in Bror Abraham's baptism record. Its list of godparents reads as a veritable listing of "Who's Who" in Finland's history, with its names such as Pipping, Wallen, Fraenckell, von Bonsdorff, Elfing, Bergstrom, Ek, and Akerman.[22]

Bror Abraham's sister, Agata Emerentia (1798-1860) married famed Professor Johan Jacob Nervander (1805-1848). His two older brothers, Axel Jacob Ohmann (1790-1828), and Gustaf Adolf Ohmann (1792-1833), became equally prominent as attorneys.

It was Gustaf Adolf Ohmann who married the divorcee, Carolina Widbom Eklund; thus solving the mystery behind the mix-up of names and individuals mentioned in the first paragraph one of this study.[23] At the time of his marriage, Bror Abraham was employed as the Finance Book-Keeper at Helsinki's Imperial Finnish Exchange, Credit and Depository Bank. Thus Anna Margareta Sundberg's marriage into the Ohmann family was quite certainly a most socially upward mobile match. But was it a forced one? Did her widowed mother so-to-speak, "sell-off" her girl to the "highest bidder"? And, if so, did it ensure this union to be a fortunate one?

For the years 1821-1822, Helsinki city's lower court records (*Kamnerratten*) includes the following complaint: the widow Maria Elisabeth Wahlstrom had rented a house for the duration of a year to the "Finance Book-Keeper at Helsinki's Imperial Finnish Exchange, Credit and Depository Bank," Bror Abraham Ohmann, situated in Helsinki's Skatudden district. It consisted of a living room, three chambers, a kitchen, attic and office. Furthermore, under a common roof, a stable and woodshed, a separate carriage shed and, as needed, use of a baking shed, a sauna, and a mangle. This document includes several additional agreed-upon clauses. This rental contract was signed on August 11, 1821. That is, prior to his marriage. The documents pertaining to this court case include an unpaid tavern-grocery bill dated April 22, 1822. The issue at hand came to the court's attention when on October 2, 1822, widow Wahlstrom submitted the court her formal complaint, wherein she stated she had been physically manhandled by Bror Abraham Ohmann on September 30, the date he vacated the building she had rented him thirteen months earlier. The listed physical and mental evidence of this alleged manhandling are minor. But the evidence recorded was by then a couple of weeks old, and thus some healing had already occurred.[24]

By December 1821 Anna Margareta was already married to Bror Abraham Ohmann and thus presumed to be living in the rented house on Skattudden. Therefore she must have been confronted with the reality that her husband did not shy away from roughing-up a woman, however annoying, and this evidence might bode her ill in the future. However, the following situation must have pleased her. Her unmarried paternal uncle, Carl Johan Sundberg, who, since 1808 had been employed in Helsinki as the Senior Clerk (in Swedish: betjant) at Wholesale Merchant Sederholm's Commercial Establishment, was suddenly blessed with a stroke of luck. This famed Commercial Wholesale House had since its founder's, Nils Johan Sederholm, death in 1805, been taken over by his two sons,

Lars Johan (born 1772), and Alexander Magnus (born 1775). In 1811 on September 21, Axel Magnus had married Catharina Beata Dobbin. It seems the couple took up residence elsewhere. That left the Sederholm Commercial House in the hands of the brother Lars Johan. It happened that while Sundberg's niece, the newly married Anna Margareta was living in Helsinki, her uncle's boss, Commercial Councilman Lars Johan Sederholm, died from chest-fewer on July 13, 1822, at age 52. He had never married. That's when the city's famed Sederhom stone-built house went up for sale, and her uncle bought it fair and square. As he took up owner-residence, his mother, Anna Margareta's old grandmother, "Book-Keeper's Widow, Anna Lovisa Simonsdotter Sundberg", moved in with her unmarried son.[25]

While in Helsinki, on July 31, 1823, Anna Margareta gave birth to her first-born son. He was baptized August 14, and named Gustaf Ferdinand. Then a year after her own mother's death, the Ohmann family moved east and settled in Lovisa on the coast.[26]

Lovisa, and the Terrible Abo Fire

In Lovisa the Ohmann's second child was born on September 1, 1825. On the same day she was baptized Elisa Adolphina Wilhelmina. The listing of godparents reads as another "Who's Who" of the professional upper class and many of true historic distinction. Officiating at this occasion was the Church Dean himself, signifying the Ohmanns' prominence in that city. Of interest to note is that on this baptism record Anna Margareta had discarded her given name in favor of its French version, "Annette Margareth," and her husband's title was recorded as "Secretary, Bureau of Customs".[27]

In 1827, back in Helsinki, Anna Margareta's grandmother, Anna Lovisa Sundberg died of old age on June 12. She had reached the venerable age of eighty-three. It is quite possible that Anna Margareta and her family attended her funeral, on their way to Abo, to settle in Bror Abraham Ohmann's hometown on the southwest coast of Finland. It was in Abo that Anna Margareta gave birth to her third child on September 1 in 1827, and named him Nicolai (Nils) Abraham Wilhelm.[28]

A mere two days later, on September 3, the city was suddenly engulfed by raging fire, which in mere hours laid the greater part of old Abo in ashes. This catastrophe can well be compared to the devastation San Francisco experienced, resulting from the massive earthquake in 1904.

Homeless

In the Masku parish records for incoming families 1827, the Ohmann family are described as "burned-out victims caused by Abo fire on September 4 in 1827."[29] This indicates the Ohmann's Abo residence was among the buildings devoured by the raging fire, thus forcing them to flee the city. The whole ordeal must have been a most harrowing experience for the Ohmann family, with a newborn and two toddlers to hold. Masku parish lies due north of Abo. It was

most likely on Masku's parish pastor's prompting that the Ohmanns tried to get their affairs in order, as on September 14, Lovisa parish issued (or re-issued) the Ohmann family a moving certificate to Abo. This indicates the family had lost most all of their possessions to the Abo fire.

In 1828, while still in Masku, the Ohmanns partook in Communion services on July 13. In August that year, the Ohmanns where among the godparents attending the baptism of Masku parish pastor's newborn son, and were recorded as "Secretary Abranam Ohmann and his wife Annette Margarethe, nee Sundberg"[30]

Two months later, on November 11, Masku parish issued a moving certificate for Bror Abraham Ohmann, stating his destination: "to Ostrobothnia," a large coastal region in northern Finland.[31]

About 6 months later, on June 17, 1829, Anna Margareta gave birth to her fourth child. He was baptized on June 25, and given the name Bror Arvid Julius. A mere 2 weeks later, on July 4, the child died, and was buried in Masku the next day. Cause of death was listed as "stroke" (in Swedish: *slag*)[32]

Back to Helsinki, and then to Ojamo Manor

In 1831, on April 18, Masku parish recorded into its books that Mrs. Ohmann was moving to Helsinki with her 3 surviving childre, without her husband, who was still absent. Masku parish's pastor Gustaf Granstrom issued her a moving certificate on July 13, noting that the Ohmann family had resided in the parish parsonage since the fall of 1827.[33]

When Anna Margareta got to Helsinki one would presume she was well received into her uncle's large stone-built house, a building he at some point had enlarged by adding 2 wings. One, facing Katarine Street, to where the main entrance had now been located, changing the building's address to Katarine Street #1. However, Helsinki City parish communion books for the year 1831 lists her as "Anna Greta Ohmann nee Sundberg," with the add on reference: "resides in Lojo," as a resident in Master Glassworker Gustaf Fridenberg's building. Of interest is that Fridenberg's wife, Ulrika Aberg, like Anna Margareta, was born in Helsinge. While residing there, Ulrika's husband suddenly died on September 27. Two years later she was to marry Adolph Johan Wickman, who, since 1831 had resided in the building. Also living in the building was Anna Margareta's brotherin-law Knut Ohmann (born 1810), and with him his older sister Christina Charlotta (1797-1832). Living with the siblings was also Swedish born Carolina Charlotta Borenius? (Bonniers?), whom Knut Ohmann was to wed in 1835.[34] Thus, lots of family surrounded Anna Margareta. While there she registered her children with Helsinki City parish. The children's book list their father as:

Former Finance Book-Keeper Bror Abraham Ohman(n). Resides in Tavastehus. Mrs. Anna Margareta. Son Gustaf Ferdinand, Baker's Apprentice at Master Baker Silferberg's. Daughter

Elisa Wilhelmina, and Son Nils Wilhelm, reside in Lojo Parish.[35]

In 1838, on October 30, Lojo Parish pastor C.W. Forsman issued Anna Margareta a moving certificate wherein he stated the following:

The Widow, Anna Margareta Ohmann and her two younger children did arrive to this parish with moving certificates from the Helsinki City parish. She spent most of the past seven years at Ojamo Manor [in Swedish: Rusthall). However, she never registered her children into this parish, and she herself did not partake in parish-life.[36]

When and where did her husband die? His whereabout has totally eluded my most ardent efforts. What might have prompted Anna Margareta to move to Ojamo Manor? The following was the case according to the encyclopedia *Soumen Maa*, p. 30:

Ojamo Manor's history with its iron mine and iron works, has been recorded since 1384 onwards. In the eighteen and nineteen centuries the estate has been in the hands of the following families: Tammelin, Segercrantz, Rothkirch, Carpelan, and von Schoultz. Axel Maximiliam Carpelan (1735-1816) owned Ojamo Manor from 1789 onwards. In his third marriage he wed Albertina Eleonora Gripenberg (1763-1836). After Carpelan's death Albertina Eleonora continued to preside over Ojamo Manor. In 1842 their daughter Gustava Albertina (1792-1875) married Carl Adolf von Schoultz (1811-1898), Lecturer in French at Helsinki's Alexandr University. Ojamo Manor stayed in their hands up to1846.

It so happens that Gustava Albertina Carpelan was Margareta Lovisa Gripenberg's first cousin. Thus one can assume that widowed Margareta Lovisa (1785-1842), wife to Judge Isaac Sundwall (1777-1836), and their daughter, Hedvig Johanna Margaretha (1814-1894), spent much time in the home of her close relative, as later-on, in the fall of 1839, Margareta Lovisa chose to move to Ojamo Manor, where she then died of consumption on June 24, 1842. This was 3 years after her daughter's wedding, on June 18, 1839, to the younger brother of Commercial Councilman Justus Etholen, a well known, most prominent and respected figure in Helsinki's commercial circles. Her suitor, Arvid Adolph Etholen (1799-1876), Captain of the Second Rank in the Imperial Russian Navy, had in December of 1838 been appointed the next Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company/Governor of Russian Alaska, with its presiding seat in Novo-Archangelsk (Sitka). Since his arrival in Helsinki at Christmastime in 1838, he had pursued the strikingly good looking and very highly educated Margaretha Sundwall, an active and dedicated educator at her maternal uncle's most progressive co-educational school in Helsinki. The ardor of his pursuit was likely prompted by the Company's requirement that every Governor-elect was to be married, before possessing the seat in Sitka.[37]

Although we might never know for sure, herein lies cause to guess that by now the widowed Anna Margareta Sundberg Ohmann had, due to her circumstances, found herself forced to look for some means of sustaining both herself and her two young children. Based upon her later endeavors, I venture to presume she had taken the position of Household Matron at Ojamo Manor, or some similar position. It was there that Anna Margareta spent the next seven years of her life.

To Russian Alaska

In 1839 on August 21, the much admired, Finnish-built Russian-American Company ship *Nikolai 1* departed Kronstadt, entering Helsinki's South Harbor on September 2. Alerting the Governor-elect prior to its Kronstadt departure, the Russian-American Company sent the following dispatch:

No. 49918 August 1839 f. 448-452 Main Office to Etolin List No. 1 n.d. f. 458 Passengers to be taken aboard the NIKOLAI at Helsingfors: Evangelical Lutheran pastor Signeus; Candidate of Medicine Sal'berg from Aleksandrovskii University; Four servants of Adol'f Karlovich, pass-ports issued by the Niuland governor; Lieutenant Bartram's sister-in-law, Wilhelmina, daughter of Major Shvarts; and Mr. Bartram's servants.[38]

The above list of passengers boarding in Helsinki is known to be imcomplete. Also sailing was the naturalist and Doctor Reinhold Ferdinand Sahlberg's assistant, taxidermist, Gustaf Rosenberg. And, according to Helsinki City parish registry of moving-out parishioners, Governor Elect Arvid Adolph Etholen's wife's personal maid and their household matron:

1839: September 4, No. 311. Chambermaid Henrika Lovisa Sahlstrom, to Sitka (born in Helsinge Parish, September 9, 1821) September 7, No. 317. The widow A. M. Ohman with daughter departing for Sitka, North America.[39]

Additionally, but not proven was the Governor household's errand boy, Johan Carlson, aged 12, born in Nastola parish, July 14, 1828.[40]

Ulrika Wilhelmina Swartz, Imperial Russian Naval Lieutenant Johan Joachim von Bartram's sister-in-law, accompanied him and his wife Margareta Swartz to Kronstadt. With them was their maid, Kajsa Lena Ruuth (Catharina Helena Ruuthu?), born February 12, 1819, in Jorois, their home-parish. The rest of Etholen's known servants boarded in Kronstadt. This included Etholen's personal valet, Carl Johan Enberg, born in the City of Helsinki in 1812, and von Bartram's personal valet, Johan Fredrik Forsten, born in the City of Helsinki, December 12, 1820.[41]

The dates on Sahlstrom's and Sundberg's departure-, or parish release certificates suggest that the final approval of their engagements were made by the Etholens onshore, while the ship *Nikolai I lay* at anchor in Helsinki's South Harbor. Might Madame Etholen's mother and her Ojamo

based cousin have been party to the initial selection, making the picks from their own household staffs? Did Anna Margareta suggest Sahlstrom's suitability, as she too came from Helsinge parish? Most of the individuals mentioned above boarded ship on or about September 8. On September 12 the ship lifted anchor, sailed majestically out of harbor and headed west towards its final destination, a journey of some 9 months.

Shortly before her departure Anna Margareta's oldest son, Gustaf Ferdinand, was confirmed into the Church.[42] By traversing this watershed event, this 16 year old boy had entered into adulthood. From now on he was legally responsible for himself, although not permitted to marry. How about Nils Abraham Wilhelm, Anna Margareta's barely 12 year old son? To where and to whom did Anna Margareta farm out this child?

I have not found a single trace of him between the years 1839 and 1849. Concerning her actions in providing for her 2 sons' future and professional educations, it's worth noting that Anna Margareta, her self now widowed as her mother was, had chosen the same traditional path her own mother had taken in 1819-1821 when providing for her two 2 sons' futures, that of a trade, knowing full well this could lead them up the social ladder to the honorable position of City Burger.

The Journey

So far very little is known about Anna Margareta Sundberg's duties onboard ship. One might venture to presume she was immediately put to work and thus accountable for the Governor's household staff, ensuring that it ran smoothly. If and when a cook had been engaged is unknown. Small snippets of Anna Margareta's life onboard can be found in Doctor Sahlberg's diary and Pastor Cygnaeus' letters home.[43] They expose both men's total infatuation with the lovely Elise, Anna Margareta's underaged daughter. Both men fought ardently for her attention. Each one offered to instruct her in diverse subject matters. Both men berated each other's suitability in such endeavors. It was at this time that Anna Margareta begged Pastor Cygnaeus to start preparing her daughter for the communion rites. Cygnaeus balked at this request, stating that Church-law forbade him to do so until Elise had reached proper age.[44] In his letter to sister Johanna he claimed he knew very well what lay behind this oft repeated request, implying here that Anna Margareta was eager to marry off her daughter.

Anna Margareta she witnessed among other things how in Valparaiso the *Nikolai I*'s crew was divided in half so the newly purchased ship *Konstantin* could be properly manned. When Lieutenant von Bartram took command of this American-built ship, his personal party moved onboard. On March 5 both ships departed Valparaiso harbor. Well out at sea on March 17, Governor Etholen suddenly became so ill that all onboard feared for his life.[45] It is to be presumed that Anna Margareta, together with Doctor Sahlberg, was engaged in the Bovernor's care. On March 23, the Etholens

errand-boy, Johannes (Johan Carlson) supervision. Unseen he managed to climbed up the ship's tall riggings, from where he fell to the deck. Apart from the frightening scare he gave everybody onboard, all agreed it was a miracle he had survived the fall without being hurt. If Anna Margareta was his immediate supervisor, the Governor must have given her an ear full. It was generally held that this incident so upset Madame Etholen that it caused the onset of premature labor. This commonly held belief onboard ship must have caused Anna Margareta much agony. Two days later Doctor Sahlberg delivered Madame Etholen of her first-born son. Doctor Sahlberg confessed in his diary that it was his first delivery of a child. One can presumes that Anna Margareta, an experienced mother, was called-upon to sooth, encourage, and assist her mistress during this long drawn out and most difficult delivery. About a month later, on April 23, Pastor Cygnaeus was called upon to baptize this child. Mrs. Ohmann, as the only other European woman still onboard the *Nikolai I*, was delegated the task of bringing forth the Governor's most precious first-born son. He was named Adolph Edward.[46]

On May 12, Mount Edgecumb was sighted. A few hours later both ships entered Sitka's harbor. The first to toss anchor was the *Nikolai I*, giving the new governor the full attention due his position. Then, according to custom, the *Konstantin* sailed in to anchor.[47]

The Sitka Years: 1840-1845

Little is known about Anna Margareta's personal life and concerns while serving as household matron at Sitka's Governor's Mansion. Serving in such a position socially classified her as part of the servants, regardless how responsible her position was. In fact, the position was down the social ladder from that she once held as "Madame Annette Margarethe Ohmann, Senator Abraham Ohmann's daughter-in-law." Truly, her social star had fallen, way down. This must have been hard for her to bear.

Snippets that mention her are found here and there in Cygnaeus' letters and Sahlberg's diary. From May 1841 onward she is mentioned in Doctor Alexander Frankenhaeuser's letters to his sister Nathalia.[48] For instance, in describing Sitka society Frankenhaeuser wrote this to his sister Natalia:

The Ohmanns are also part of the (von) Bartrams social circle. It's a mother and daughter. The first one oversees the Etholen household. This keeps her so busy that she is seldom seen in their home. However, she is a lively woman, and, as she is so often in need of a house-calling physician, she has planted squarely her rock-solid trust in every single one of them. Her daughter, Mamsell Ohmann, hasn't yet reached her seventeenth year. In many respects she is a very nice girl. At the Etholens she is (treated) more like a daughter in the house. She is a daily guest at the (von) Bartrams. We, the Pastor and I, with the Ohmanns, celebrated last Christmas Eve at the (von) Bartrams. Happily

at peace there we did so exactly the way our homeland's traditions prescribe. von Bartram himself was then out at sea.[49]

Under Madame Etholen's leadership Anna Margareta was included as one of the five ladies partaking in producing all of the richly embroidered and lace-adorned vestments and textiles in use during the religious rituals performed in Sitka's newly established Evangelical Lutheran parish church.[50] She was also present when the Finnish Artist Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm's magnificent altar-painting was installed above the altar in the temporary church-room situated in the Governor Mansion's Green Room. She must have partaken in the joyous dedication of this small Evangelical Lutheran sanctuary on August 23, 1840.

Part of Anna Margareta's many duties was overseeing the kitchen, where all the meals were prepared, then served at the Governor's table. These dinners were large affairs and were prepared with many dishes. Additionally, there were weekly evening socials hosted by the Governor and his wife. Both refreshments and late suppers were routinely served. Several balls were hosted at the Governor's Manson. These required a great deal of attention. Decorations were fabricated and then installed and refreshments and a supper were prepared and served for five score or more people. Each Saturday afternoon Madame Etholen held class in the mansion for all students attending the local Boarding School for Girls, which the Company had assigned her to establish immediately upon her arrival to Sitka. On these regular occasions she taught the girls social behavior, proper manners for all occasions, dress code, hairstyling, grooming, the art of conversation, how to move, and how to dance. At these classes refreshments and food were also called for.[51]

It was Anna Margareta's duty to carry out Madame Etholen's orders by overseeing all the festive preparations, such as, at the occasion of Sir George Simpson, the Hudson Bay Company's mighty Chief, who visited Sitka in the spring of 1841.[52]

Surely she was beside Madame Etholen when in 1841, she gave birth to her second son, Alexander, at four in the morning of April 27. And, she most certainly was there through the whole ordeal in the fall of 1841, when the Etholen's first-born, Adolph Edward, suddenly took ill. And, she had to live through that agonizing week, observing how Madame Etholen was driven to the brink of near madness as her son succumbed to the illness and then died on October 25. She must have been overseeing all preparations made in connection with the little one's funeral, as well as his burial into the folds of Sitka's small Evangelical Lutheran cemetery. She saw, but could not prevent, Madame Etholen from sliding into a state of depression.[53]

She was there in 1842, when on that frightening September 30, the Company's storm wrecked ship limped into Sitka's harbor, and the men brought their skipper, Lieutenant Captain Kadnikow's drowned remains ashore, and read the names of all those of their crew they had lost to the harrowing storm. She was there when Kadnikow was buried. This incident shook everyone in Sitka to the core.

How frightening this tragedy must have been to both Anna Margareta and her daughter. Kadnikow had been their own skipper when they sailed for Sitka onboard the *Nikolai I*.[54] She was there in attendance when the Etholen's third-born son, Carl Wilhelm, saw the light of day at eight o'clock in the morning on December 3 in 1842.[55]

She was there when on August 24, Sitka's newly erected Evangelical Lutheran church-building's holy sanctuary was dedicated, and the Godenhjelm's altar painting, *The Transfiguration of Christ* shone down upon the congregation from its permanent perch above the altar. She witnessed this historic event in Alaska's colorful history.

However, her duties covered much more. In a letter to sister Johanna, Cygnaeus made the comment that she was heavily occupied with sewing for Madame Etholen. Might this imply that when needed, she also served as Madame Etholen's private fashion consultant and dressmaker? If so, Anna Margareta's duties were most multifaceted. She also oversaw all the household laundry and the upkeep of its linens.[56]

On the bright side was the fact that the Etholens treated her daughter Elise "as a daughter in the house". Describing Elise's confirmation, which finally took place on Palm Sunday, April 4, 1841, Pastor Cygnaeus made the following remarks:

From Madame Etholen she received a plain gold ring on the day of her Confirmation. The Governor, who gave her a ring with a stone, gave her also the gift of one thousand Rubles. The sum had been deposited with the Company's head office in St. Petersburg, so that later on it can be added to. Such a gesture pleased us all. Truly, that kind of a gesture has obliterated most everything that could be said about his past behavior towards Mrs. Ohmann.[57]

Here Cygnaeus alludes directly to a generally held and often voiced opinion among Sitka's Finns and Balts, found clearly expressed in his preserved letters, as well as in von Bartram's, Frankenhaeuser's, and Sahlberg's diary. It concerned Governor Etholen's oft expressed, but socially entirely unacceptable, rude manners, as well as outright lack of tact in his dealings with his subordinates. His continuous rudeness caused major, and often long lasting rifts in his administration, creating much bad blood towards him.[58]

As the hurdle of Elise's confirmation was now over, Anna Margareta was ready to launch her daughter into Sitka's lucrative female poor marriage market. Cygnaeus' own letters give solid evidence to his own interest and ardent pursuit of her.[59]

However, on April 7, just 3 days past her confirmation, Doctor Sahlberg's replacement arrived in Sitka onboard the Company ship *Naslednik Alexandr*. He was the Dorpat University educated Doctor Alexander Friederich Frankenhaeuser, born in Abo, on December 27, 1811, whose family now resided in Vyborg. As a member of the city's German (language) Evangelical Lutheran parish, his home language

was German, the same as his Sitka based Vyborg compatriot's, Johan Joachim von Bartram.[60] In a letter to his sister Nathalia, Frankenhaeuser described Sitka's female poor marriage market thus:

> *Here one cannot get immersed into any deeper conversation with most of Sitka's Creole Ladies, as they do not possess anything but the outer shell of an education; both reading and writing are quite unknown to them. Still, as there are so few women here, they are quickly snatched-up by this large crowd of men, so eager to marry. You see, most of the Company's employees are single when they get here. Thus they end up getting married as soon as a fitting partner can be found. Now you can imagine what kind of impression our Finnish Ladies are making here. And, by the way, they are truly lovely. It is not so much due to their social standings, but far more due to their personalities. And, that's why many a marriage-seeking candidate has had to console him self by the proverbial words: sour are the grapes.*[61]

Here Frankenhaeuser is quite clearly indicating that young Wilhelmina Swartz and the yet younger Elise Ohmann had been "spoken for." This is also as close as Frankenhaeuser ever got in announcing to his sister that he was the one who had cut the decisive deal with Elise's mother, Anna Margareta Sundberg. On Anna Margaretha's part, as a widow without any means of her own, she was only walking down the same path her own widowed mother had taken in 1819-1821. It just might sheds some light on how Anna Margareta's own marriage had come about.

In 1845, while in Okhotsk, the Company's Pacific Siberian port, en route back to his employer at Russia's Sankt Petersburg Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Pastor Cygnaeus put all this quite bluntly into a letter to sister Johanna:

> *Elise Ohmann's wedding to Doctor Frankenhaeuser took place on April 25 this year. By then that union had been in-the-works for quite some time, and had almost been agreed-upon. However, it never got quite finalized until our departure-dates were posted.*[62]

What is noteworthy here is that by April 25, the Company's hectic sailing season was already going full force. As this was a year with an exchange of Governors, most of the Company's outgoing ships carried departing staff and workmen. For instance, Governor Etholen's Executing Adjoint, Lieutenant Captain Johan Joachim von Bartram and his wife departed Sitka the very same day this wedding was held. Some days later the Governor himself was scheduled to depart Sitka with his entire household staff. Thus, however belatedly this marriage occurred, (never mind their age difference), what Anna Margareta found important that she had finally succeeded in "parking" her young daughter into the arms of Sitka's most socially and economically "best bet." Never mind the fact it took place in the eleventh hour. What was of far greater importance, by

this marriage her Elise had been joined to one of Vyborg's prominent families. So, now with her mission completed, Anna Margareta Sundberg was ready to depart Sitka for Finland.

Through Siberia to Sankt Petersburg

There are no details describing Anna Margareta's own journey, crossing the stormy fog infested Northern Pacific. However, as Cygnaeus, she too was in Okhotsk, that miserable Company mud harbor town, when the Etholens youngest son, Carl Wilhelm, suddenly took ill and died on August 2, 1845. She was there when the Etholens mourned their child, and then buried him in the soil of this barren, windswept, and inhospitable place. A place they would never return to, nor ever again cover his grave with heaps of wild blooming flowers.[63]

Like the rest of the party, Anna Margareta mounted a horse at the mature age of 43, and rode traverse across those inhospitable mountains that separate the coast from Yakutsk on the Lena River. On this road she and the servants had to attend to all the Etholen family's needs, including the preparation of all their meals. On the barge up the River Lena it must have been somewhat easier to manage.[64]

The bustle of Irkutsk, a city far larger than Helsinki, let alone little Sitka, must have offered her much of interest. The wild sled ride through East and West Siberia, crossing the famed Ural Mountains, as well as the splendor of Moscow, must have impressed her deeply. They finally reached Sankt Petersburg at Christmas time. Here on the Moika, the Etholens were to reside for many years to come

In Sankt Petersburg, might the Etholens have offered Anna Margareta to continue as their household matron? Did she know that her oldest son, now 22, had worked as a journeyman baker in Sankt Petersburg from 1842 onwards? While there, did she search him out? And, did she look up her own brother, journeyman clock maker Gustaf Wilhelm Sundberg, who since 1821 had resided in that city? Did she ask them how her youngest child, 18 year old Nils Abraham Wilhelm was fairing? Will we ever know.

And, while in Sankt Petersburg, did she receive word that she was urgently needed back in Helsinki? Or did such a message reach her through official Government or Company channels, delivered through the intermediary of Admiral Etholen? Or was it her brother that was contacted, and through him she got the word, that in Helsinki, their paternal uncle, Carl Johan Sundberg, had suddenly died of cancer on January 7, 1846, in the middle of an ongoing court litigation? He was 68 (fig. 2).[65]

The Helsinki Surprise

Helsinki's Court (Swedish: *Radstuguratten*) proceedings for April 18, 1846, case no.18, states the following in stiff legal language:

> *Due to the written Power Of Attorney, signed by Gustaf Wilhelm Sundberg, Journeyman Clock (Watch)-maker, residing in Imperial Russia, and the Finance Bookkeeper's widow, Anna Margareta*

Ohman(n), who are the recently deceased Merchant Carl Johan Sundberg's own brother's children, and (according to said Sundberg's testament) the inheritors of said Sundberg's estate. Mr. Constantin Sauren, Cabinet Recorder at the Imperial Senate, has hereby deposited said Power of Attorney with this Court. Therein, Journeyman Sundberg and Widow Ohman(n) petitions this Court to officially, by public announcement, call forth, all those with outstanding claims against said Merchant Sundberg's estate, to present their claims at this Court, on a court- appointed date, specifying hour, day and year.

Their petition, which, based upon paragraph (such and such) and the therein stipulated legally performed appraisal of Merchant Sundberg's estate, who died on January 7, took place on March 21, which according to said Merchant Sundberg's testament designates said Journeyman Sundberg and the Widow Ohman(n) as his inheritors, was assessed to the following value: Fourteen thousand, Four-hundred and Ninety-eight Silver Rubles, and Seventy-six and three fourth Silver Kopek. Debts against it: Three hundred and Eighty-three Rubles and Three sevenths of a Kopek. Court's Decision: By official proclamation, published in all public newspapers throughout Finland, call all those with outstanding claims against Merchant Sundberg's estate, to approach this Court a year from now, on the first non-holy Monday in the month of May, before 12 o'clock noon, or forfeit this right to do so.[66]

The above record madkes no mention of their brother Adolph. When and where he died is still unknown.

With this sudden inheritance Anna Margareta and her brother had acquired considerable wealth and made considerable leaps in their social and economic standings. For Anna Margareta, those years serving as someone's lowly domestic were suddenly over.

Helsinki city parish's registry for incoming parishioners registered the following:

1846, April 21: Finance Book-Keeper Ohmann's widow, Anna Margareta Sundberg. Resides in Merchant Sundberg's Stone-built House.[67]

The same records for the month of March reveal that Etholen's former Chamber-Maid, Henrika Lovisa Sahlstrom, and his former Valet, Carl Johan Enberg, had been registered on March 1.[68] Might Anna Margareta have delayed her return from Sankt Petersburg, or, for whatever the reason, might she have delayed her parish reentry registration?

The answer might be found in the proceedings of the court case her uncle had been involved in when he suddenly died, as it too was now part of Anna Margareta's inheritance as one of two inheritors of Sundberg's estate. The Court record's state it had dispatched Carl Henrik Sandstrom, city clerk, with a summons for her to appear at Court on April 27. As the court record state, she did not appear as summoned, Sandstrom reported he had been informed that she had taken so ill she was bedridden.[69]

It is unknown exactly what date Anna Margareta received the message that her 39 year old brother and co-inheritor, journeyman clockmaker Gustaf Wilhelm Sundberg, had suffered a stroke in Sankt Petersburg and died on May 3rd . Three days later he was buried in the city's Wolkov Cemetery. Officiating at the burial was Pastor Hoffren, St. Katarina Parish's assistant pastor.[70]

Suddenly and most unexpectedly, in less than a month's time, Anna Margareta Sundberg found herself the sole

*Fig. 2 - Death listing for Carl John Sundberg (last entry)*

inheritor of her uncle's estate, doubling her wealth. With her social standing now more than fully restored, and economically well off, she was truly sitting pretty as the sole owner of her uncle's stone-built house.

Anna Margareta Sundberg
Mistress of the Historic Sederholm House

It is here that Anna Margareta Sundberg Ohmann's saga seamlessly dovetails with the one found on p. 290-303 in the Helsinki City Museum publication, *Narinkka* for 1995, where researcher Tiina Merisalo, in her essay: "Sederholmin Kivitalo, Porvaristalon Vaiheita Hyodyn Ajalta 1990-Luvulle", gives us some of this building's historical background data.

> The corner building designated as Katarine Street No. 1, was built in 1757. Its builder and owner was the wealthy Commercial Council-man, Nils Johan Sederholm, an imposing Helsinki businessman and shipping tycoon, as well as the Godfather of Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, son of King Gustaf the Third of Sweden-Finland. The house was stone-built, (unusual for its time), was most impressive in size

Fig. 3 - Sederholm House, built 1755-1757
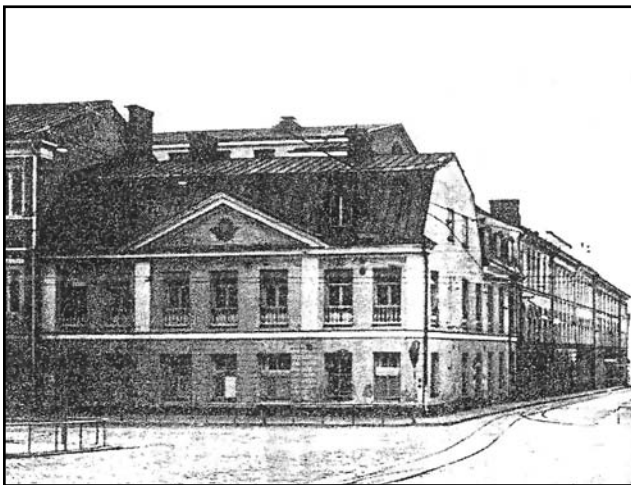
> and appearance. It clearly underscored its owner's wealth and position in the city. When in 1805 Nils Johan Sederholm died his two sons, Lars Johan and Alexander Magnus, continued their famed father's multifaceted business enterprise.[71]

At what date the Sederholm firm had acquired Gammelstad's Sawmill cannot be detected from any of the parish records. However, as its bookkeeper, Anna Margareta's grandfather, Fredrik Sundberg senior, might by then have been tied to this firm, her father, Fredrik junior, was rather clearly so. Additionally, her father's younger brother, Carl Johan, was by 1807 clearly working for Sederhom's 2 sons.[72] It was their building her uncle had bought in 1822, and drastically enlarged by building 2 additions and changing the entrance to the cobble-stoned side street. He then developed much of the building into

rental space, both for housing and for business.[73] The court case he was embroiled in at the time of his death was brought against him by Carl Wilhelm Lagerstam, one of his tenants who had rented an apartment consisting of "6 rooms, a kitchen, and the use of out-buildings." In his court case Lagerstam claimed the quarters were in such disrepair they were quite uninhabitable, although repeatedly requested, Sundberg's promised repairs had not been forthcoming. " This was the court case now attached to the building which his niece, Anna Margareta, had become the sole inheritor of after her brother's death on May 3, in 1846.[74]

Heeding the abovementioned court summons, 2 outstanding claims against Sundberg's estate were brought to the court's attention in May of 1847, and soon settled. The Lagerstam case seems to have been settled somewhat later.[75]

Life in Helsinki's Historic Sederholm House

As the owner of the Sederholm House Anna Margareta seems to have carried on where her uncle had left off: renting out space in the building for both commercial as well as for personal use. Sometime in 1846 Anna Margareta got word that she now was a grandmother. Back in Sitka on February 27, 1846, her daughter Elise had given birth to a son named Alexander Abraham. In rapid succession 3 additional children were born to Elise between 1847 and 1851, all girls.[76]

In December 1846 her oldest son, journeyman baker Gustaf Ferdinand returned from Sankt Petersburg, where for generations, tradition and expectation had provided Finland's journeymen the opportunity to hone their professional skills in efforts towards satisfying the capital's discriminating demands and desires. Thus Gustaf Ferdinand had but followed in his 2 maternal uncles' foot-steps. Helsinki City parish recorded the following entry into its ledgers:

> 1848, April 26, No. 362: Journeyman Baker Gustaf Ferdinand Ohmann is under
> Master Baker Silfverberg's supervision.[77]

The same parish's records for marriage announcements recorded the following for:

> 1849, September 14: The City Burger, Master Baker Gustaf Ferdinand Ohmann and Helena Lovisa Wallerman, deceased Crown Smith Carl Gustaf Wallerman's daughter.[78]

The actual wedding took place on October 20 that year. The couple took up residence in the Sederholm House. Finally having achieved the rank of Master Baker, and with it the rank of Burger, Gustaf Ferdinand opened up his own bakery establishment in the building's quarters vacated by departing Baker Blomberg.[79] For the same year and parish, out-moving records disclose:

> 1849, October 5. No. 358: Journeyman Carpenter [or Cabinetmaker] Nils Abraham Wilhelm Ohmann. Departs for Sankt Petersburg.[80]

Where had son Nils Abraham Wilhelm been hiding all those ten years? And why did he not attend his brother's wedding? While he was gone, Helena Lovisa gave birth to

a son, baptized on July 25, 1850. Of note is the list of assembled Godparents given Gustaf Ferdinand's little son:

> *Widowed Mrs. Annette Ohmann, Madame Adolfina Gylling, Goldsmith Gustaf Wickman, Inspector Petter Zetterberg, Doctor Alexander Frankenhaeuser and wife Elise, Paperproduct Jobber Anders Palmquist and his   w i f e Helina , University Student Johan Nervander, Master Dyer Andsten, Demoselles Mathilda Wickman and Augusta Nervander.*[81]

This was quite an assembly of note, apart from the Frankenhaeusers still in Sitka, members of the Gylling family were friends from Anna Margareta's years in Lovisa.[82] The Wickman siblings were most likely related to Ulrika Aberg Wickman, Anna Margareta's old friend, in whose building she was registered in 1831. The Nervander siblings were the children of her late husband's sister, Agata Emerentia, married to Professor Johan Jacob Nervander. Two years later, Augusta Mathilda Nervander married Professor Henrik Gustaf Borenius. Eight years later her brother, Lecturer Johan Hugo Emerik Nervander married Anna Alftan in Vyborg where he had taken up residence.[83] The Palmqvists were her son's in-laws.

One is bound to admire how the newly rich Anna Margareta managed to take advantage of such an occasion, pulling together an assembly of the best relations from her past and present life. Sadly, 3 years later her son's little boy died.[84] By then the Frankenhaeusers had returned to Vyborg where daughter Elise in rapid succession gave birth to 5 more children.[85]

Then in July of 1856 son Nils Abraham Wilhelm returned to Helsinki bearing a moving certificate describing him thus:

> *Borga Synod. No. 103, Sharpshooter in the Fourth Company, Nils Abraham Wilhelm Ohman(n), is due to sickliness now departing. Born in Abo September 1, 1827. Arrived in 1849. Free to Marry ... Attesting, Pastor Gronlund, Preacher at the parish of the Life Guard's Finnish Sharpshooter's Battalion at Nykyrka on June 4 1856.*

On the back of the original has been added "the son of Finance Book-Keeper Ohmann's widow, presently journeyman at Fredrika Wickberg, the carpenter's widow. "[86]

Why had son Nils Abraham Wilhelm en route to Sankt Petersburg, been diverted to spend 7 years as a sharpshooter in the army?   I have no answer yet.

However, 2 years later Nils Abraham Wilhelm made a socially unacceptable *faux pas* by marrying a domestic, On April 5, 1858, he wed the maidservant (Swedish: *Tjenstepigan*) Helena Gabrielsdotter, then 2 months pregnant.[87] The couple did occupied living-quarters in his mother's building, the Sederholm House. What is curious here, and perhaps underscores Anna Margareta's displeasure, is reflected in the Helsinki City parish Communion books for 1856-1865. The record for the old Sederholm building-complex identified as states Anna Margareta Ohmann is the "owner of the building Katarine Street 1".

Listed immediately below her name is "son, Master Baker Gustaf Ferdinand Ohmann" followed by his wife's name. The rest of the page is filled with a myriad of adult tenants living in that building, so is p. 52, as well as half of p. 53. The very last names on p. 53 are those of "Journeyman Carpenter Nils Abraham Wilhelm Ohmann and his wife Helena Gabrielsdotter," omitting any mention that this was also a son of hers.[88] From this one might gather that hers as well as the parish clergy's disapproval of her younger son's choice of bride and what might have prompted the marriage was strong enough to leave its marks in these records. The same disapproval is also clearly underscored in the stark contrast of listed godparents found in the baptism records of Gustaf Ferdinand's first-born son. Nils Abraham Wilhelm's and his wife's firstborn daughter, Helena Wilhelmina, was provided with only two godparents, a nurse and a maid (the record is partly so damaged that their names cannot be fully read).[89] The absence of the child's grandmother's and paternal uncle's names are startling to say the least. What the same parish children's books reveal for 1858-1870 is equally harrowing. On p. 55 for the building Katharine Street 1, Nils Abraham Wilhelm's and his wife's 5 children are listed, 3 sons and 2 daughters. All of them died between 1861 and 1870, 2 in 1865.[90] Might their deaths have been caused by the long famine years Finland experienced from 1862 to1869, when the country's population was badly decimated?

Nils Abraham Wilhelm was not the only son to embarrass their mother in her newly restored social standing, reflected in the above mentioned Radstugu court record through the descriptive term: "Widowed Mrs. Annette Ohman(n)" etc., not as previously found recorded: "The widow Sundberg" or "Ohman" etc.[91] In 1859, on September 15, her son "The Helsinki city burger, master baker Gustaf Ferdinand Ohmann," was hauled into Esbo Court on account of his violent drunken behavior towards a peddler. The Court, noting him as a "first timer," levied only punitive damages against him.[92]

The initial years of the 1860's were full of historical events: Imperial Russia freed its serfs. United States freed its slaves. Poland tried to free itself from Russia's strangling yoke. Finland got its own currency, as well as changed the laws giving its women near full legal emancipation. As a woman among women, Anna Margareta was freed from required male guardianship and its attached strings. This change in the law pertaining to women's rights might be reflected in Merisalo's essay. She states: "1862 Mrs. Ohman sold her building to Maria Koch, the tobacco manufacturer's widow."

If so, Helsinki's parish communion records indicate that after the sale Anna Margareta Sundberg continued to live in the building up to 1865, perhaps even longer. Her son, Helsinki City Burger, Master Baker Gustaf Ferdinand Ohmann and his wife moved to Helsinge Parish in 1863, then returned. Her other son, Journeyman Carpenter Nils Abraham Wilhelm and his wife seem to have lived at this address up to1870, perhaps even longer.[93]

As the Family History Library does not own any Helsinki parish church-records beyond the year 1863, including a few add-on information pieces up to 1870, my attempt to reconstruct Anna Margareta Sundberg Ohmann's later life must end here.[94]

However, Ronald Hackman has kindly informed me that Anna Margareta, mother of the Hackman family Baba, died in Helsinki on June 24, 1892 at the ripe old age of ninety, and was buried into Helsinki City's old Evangelical Lutheran Cemetery.

Post Script

Today the Sederholm House is part of the extensive Helsinki City Museum, and is open to the public. It is considered to be the oldest house standing on the mainland side of the city.[95] The building, part of the narrow block separating Helsinki's busy South Harbor and its bustling farmer's market, from the city's old and most beautiful Neo-Classical Senate Square. It is the easternmost building in a row of proud old and restored buildings, facing this once round cobblestone-covered square, designed by the famed architect Carl Engel. On the opposite side, the imposing white Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral can only be reach by climbing its enormously high flight of block-wide stairs. The west side of the square is defined by the original Alexander University building, today the main building of Helsinki University. Opposite it, the old Senate House encloses the square. In the center of the square stands a large bronze statue of Tzar Alexandr 1. This square, surrounded by mostly shimmering white buildings, is considered by many to be Northern Europe's most beautiful squares.

The Sederholm House is a vital part of its reach. As the fourth historic owner of this Sederholm House, Anna Margareta Sundberg's name is for all times tied to this venerable building and the beautiful square it flanks. A house and a square steeped in historical events tied to the history of Finland.

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Endnotes

Swedish is the original language used in most all the records quoted, which is my own mother tongue. Thus all quoted documents herein are presented in my own English translations, specifically made for the use in this essay. However, Medical Doctor Frankenhaeuser's letters are all written in German the language used within his childhood home. Ursula Kuettner has kindly translated them for me. One or two of Cygnaeus' and von Bartram's quoted letter in the original are also in German, von Bartram's child-hood home language. They appear in my translations into English.

Legend:
Evangelical Lutheran Church: ELC
Family History Library: FHL
Helsinge Parish: HP
Helsinki City Parish: HCP
Helsinki Kamnerratten Court Records:HKCR
Helsinki Radstuguratten Court Records: HRCR
Russian American Company Records: RACR
Finland's National Archives, Helsinki Finland: FNA
Enckell Family Wattila Archives: EFWA
Swedish-Finn Historical Society, Seattle: S-FHS
Russian Alaska's Evangelical Lutheran Church Birth and Baptism Records: RAELC
Enckell Archives pertaining to Finns and Balts in Russian Alaska and the Siberian Pacific Rim. Part of the S-FHS Archive holdings. EAFB
Documenting the Legacy of the Alaska Finns in the Russian Period: DLAF.

Note: the Enckell Archive Collection at the archives of the Swedish-Finn Historical Society, holds photocopies of all document mentioned in above text.

[1]. See *Eine Reise Am Die Welt Von Western Nach Osten Durch Sibirien Und Das Stille Und Atlantische Meer*. Original in German (1854), translated by Harald Jordan, a Tiling family member, publication pending. Copies of the original and translation in the EAFB.

[2]. RAELC, FHL microfilm 1883191, item 3 p. 1-9, 11-14. Published in DLAF p. 51-57

[3]. For instance by Olin in his *Alaska Del 1, Den Ryska Tiden* and *Alaska Del 2, Namnlistan*, and Jarl Enckell in his manuscript *Finlandare i Alaska 1840-1845*.

[4]. See DLAF, p. 52 under Alexander Abraham and Maria Amalia Lovisa Frankenhaeuser, and p. 53 under Elise Helene Frankenhaeuser.

[5]. See Sahlberg's diary covering July 1840.

[6]. If correct, it should be Albertova. Original letter in the Enckell Family Wattila Archives, Abo Akademi. Letter in Russian addressed to the von Bartrams in Helsinki, written by Mariia Alekseyev their former foster-daughter in Sitka, is undated, but the content clearly indicates it was written in 1846.

[7]. See HCP departing parishioners for September 1839.

[8]. See HCP communion-books for 1838-1849, p. 194 [FHL microfilm 0064198]

[9]. Moving certificate found in HCP among the incoming originals for the year 1846.

[10]. Registry for incoming parishioners for HCP on April 21, 1846 [FHL microfilm 0064213]

[11]. See birthplace annotated in the moving certificate issued from Sitka.

[12]. See HP children's books for 1800-1810, p. 172, for Gammelstad Saw Mill [FHL microfilm 0065076]

[13]. See HP communion books for 1806-1816, for Gammelstad Saw Mill p. 202 [FHL microfilm 0065070]

[14]. See HP communion books for 1796-1806, for Gammelstad Saw Mill p. 156 [FHL microfilm 0065069]

[15]. See HCP communion books for 1806-1816, p. 36, under Merchants [FHL microfilm 0064196] and HCP communion books for 1826-1836 p. 141 [FHL microfilm 0064196]. Gammelstad Dye Plant also registered a Sundberg, and among scattered individuals with the common Sundberg name, there is in the HCP records a mention in 1847 that a maid named Sundberg worked for the widowed Mrs. Ohman. However, at the time Helsinki could boast of at least two widowed Mrs. O(h)man(n)s, a common name. For this article I focused on only those I felt were directly connected to the core of Anna Margareta's life story.

[16]. See HP communion books for Gammelstad Saw Mill p. 202 [FHL microfilm 0065070]

[17]. See HP children's books for 1800-1835 for Gammelstad Saw Mill p. 155 [FHL microfilm 0065076]

[18]. See St. Petersburg's St. Katarina ELC received moving certificates January 25, 1826, no. 114 [FHL microfilm 0017865]

[19]. See above cited St. Katarina communion records for 1826-1830, p. 42 and 211, and 1831-1840, p. 680 [FHL 0127842], and the same parish death records for 1846, p. 18 [FHL microfilm 0127852]

[20]. See HP communion books for 1816-1822, p. 230 for Gammelstad Saw Mill [FHL microfilm 0065071]

[21]. See Abo Swedish parish birth and baptism books for 1793, September 1, and among many such available, the following volume: *Kejserliga Regerings-Konseljens, Eller Senaten För Finland, Ordforanden och Ledamoter, Samt Embets Tjensteman Under Aren 1809-1917, Samlade af G.F. Spare*, p. 84, etc. Additionally Mormon Church computer record, listing baptisms of Abraham Ohmann's and Eva Helena Strandheim's thirteen children and Merchant Skipper Jakob Strandheim's and Beata Christina Osterman's eleven children. Copies at EAFB

[22]. See Abo Swedish parish registered baptisms listing Bror Abraham Ohmann's godparents.

[23]. See Registry of Attorneys in Helsinki under Gustaf Adolf Ohmann and bibliography under Spare.

[24]. As the pages of Helsinki Kamnerratten court records are not numbered, they go by date recorded. See records dated August 11, 1821, and one no, 4 for 1822, and document dated Helsingfors October 2, 1822, signed by Samuel Roos, all in FHL microfilm 0064537; record of debts dated April 22, 1822, signed April 26, 1822; records encrusted with an "A", dated Abo September 3, 1822; "B", dated Helsingfors September 12, 1822; "C", dated Helsingfors September 16, 1822; "D", signed September 10, 1822, all in FHL microfilm 0064536.

[25]. See HCP death records for 1822, July, no. 25, for Sederholm's death-date; HCP communion books for 1826-1836, p. 141 [FHL microfilm 0064196]

[26]. See HCP birth and baptism records for registered birth on August 14, 1823.

[27]. See Lovisa City parish records for registered births and baptisms September 1, 1825.

[28]. For Anna Lovisa Simonsdotter Sundberg's death date see HCP communion books p. 141 [FHL microfilm 0064196]; and HCP death records for June 12, 1827. For Anna Lovisa Simonsdotter Sundberg's full name, death date, and cause of death. The correct date and place of birth are revealed in an original incoming moving certificate to HCP registered for July 5, 1856, and marked as no. 291.

[29]. See Masku parish records for incoming parishioners recorded for September 1827.

[30]. See Pastor Gustaf Granstrom's son's baptism record in the Masku parish records for the month of August 1828, giving the full list of godparents.

[31]. See Masku records for out-moving individuals dated November 11, 1828.

[32]. See Masku parish birth records for June 25, and deaths for July 4, 1829.

[33]. See HCP records holding original moving-in records. There are several in a cluster pertaining to Anna Margareta Sundberg, indicating they were registered in the parish no later than early September 1839.

[34]. See HCP communion books for 1827-1836, p. 144 [FHL microfilm 0064196] and Mormon Church computer records for list of Abraham Ohmann's children. Their birth dates do correspond. See also under Nervander in Bergholm's *Sukukirja*.

[35]. See HCP children's books for 1798-1856, p. 88.

[36]. See HCP incoming original moving records for 1839. It should be located near the one from Masku Parish (see note 33). It gives the impression that Anna Margareta was scrambling to satisfy her parish office demands so she could have an new one issued.

[37]. Starting in 1830 the Russian-American Company required its appointed Chief Managers and Alaska Governors to be married. This was to prevent a possible repeat of an earlier scandal when a Governor had married Baranoff's illegitimate Creole daughter, the beautiful Irina. For an account see Annie Furuhjelm's memoir *Manniskor och Oden*.

For Margareta Lovisa Sundwall's death at Ojam Manor see Gripenberg family histories and tree, in bibliography. Margareta Sundwall's marriage is recorded in HCP marriage records for 11 May 1839, the date her brother-in-law to-be, Commercial Councilman Justus Etholen, armed with an official Marine Department request issued by the groom, requested the first of three required public church announcements for the impending marriage. For Margaretha Sundwall's professional endeavors as a teacher at her uncle's (Odert Henrik Gripenberg) co-educational school in Helsinki, see her obituary published in *Hufvudstadsbladet* for April 18, 1894, as well as her diary inputs. For Odert Gripenberg and his schools see Tor Carpelan Attartavlor *For De Pa Finlands Riddahus Inskrivna Efter 1809 Adlade, Naturaliserade, Eller Adopterade Atterna*, p. 453. Additionally, there are several published accounts of Gripenberg, and his most progressive educational institutions.

[38]. See Katherine L. Arndt's compiled records extrapolated from RAC records in the Library of Congress. The work was requested by Dorothy Breedlove, member of Sitka Lutheran Church Historical Preservation Committee, and bears Arndt's signature (dated June 21, 1999).

[39]. See HCP recorded moving out individuals for September 1839.

[40]. See Johan Carlson's moving certificate issued in Sitka as no. 17, 1845, signed by Pastor Uno Cygnaeus, located in HCP records and also holding incoming original moving certificated for 1846.

[41]. See Enckell Family Wattila Archives for undated letter sent from Wattila Manor to Kronstadt and addressed to Sofia von Fieandt's two daughters. In this letter she mentions them both by their nick-names as staying in Kronstadt with Johan Joachim von Bartram. There is no question that their own maid was not with them. From its content this letter can be dated to the first days of Augus 1839. Sofia von Fieandt also mentions that they will receive many letters upon the ship's arrival to Helsinki. Etholen's personal Valet, Carl Johan Enberg is not found listed in HCP recorded departing parishioners. However his moving certificate issued in Sitka as no. 12, 1845, is located among the original certificates in HCP incoming for 1846. He was quite clearly in Kronstadt. Von Bartram's personal valet, Johan Fredrik Forsten was either hired as early as May or June, 1839, in Helsinki or later in Sankt Petersburg. HCP recorded the following: "1839, June 6, No 197: boy Johan Fredrik Forsten departing for Sankt Petersburg." In Aaron Sjostrom's letters (Borga Museum Archives) published in my translation into English in my DLAF p. 35-47, letter no. 9 dated May 16, 1845, he mentions that his constant companion and friend Johan Fredrik Forsten, von Bartram's personal valet had just departing with the von Bartrams for Finland. In a later letter Sjostrom mentions that Forsten had an aging widowed mother living in Helsinki. HCP children's books for 1820-1839, p. 530, lists Timberman's widow Anna Maria Forsten's three children. The middle child, Johan Fredrik, was born December 12, 1820.

42. See HCP communion books for 1798-1856, section 2-4, 827-1836, p. 88 [FHL microfilm 0064205]

43. Sahlberg's original diary is preserved in the archives of Helsinki University Library. Cygnaeus' letters covering the years 1839-1845 are preserved in the Finland National Archives Cygnaeus Collection.

44. See Cygnaeus' letter dated September 1841, addressed to his mother.

45. See Cygnaeus' letter dated Rio de Janeiro December 17, 1839.

46. For the birth of the Etholen's first-born see DLAF p. 51, and FHL microfilm 1883191. For the incident with Johannes and Madame Etholen's onset of premature labor, see Sahlberg's diary for March 17th , 23rd , and 25th .

47. Both Cygnaeus and Sahlberg recorded details of the two ships' arrival to Sitka.

48. Alexander Frankenhaeuser's letters are preserved in the private archives of the Frankenhaeuser Family. Family friend Carin Frankenhaeuser gave permission to use the typed versions in their original German.

49. See letter from Frankenhaeuser to sister Nathalia dated May 8, 1842. In this letter Frankenhaeuser also states that Sitka's so-called Finnish party was centered around the lovely Madame Margareta Swartz von Bartram, Sitka's second-ranking Lady.

50. See Cygnaeus' letter to Johanna dated 1840, July 26. For Godenhjelm and the altar painting see documentation in my DLAF, and the upper edge of Margaretha Etholen's original architectural layout plan of Sitka's Governor's mansion, published by Varjola in her *Gifts From The Great Land: The Etholen Collection*. Therein Margaretha Etholen has clearly marked where the painting was hanging, indicating it with Godenhjelm's name. See letter from Cygnaeus' to sister Johanna dated Sitka October 1840, p. 9. Both Cygnaeus and Frankenhaeuser described in their letters the elaborate decorations locally created for the balls. Frankenhaeuser wrote thus to his sister Nathalia from Sitka, in a letter dated May 8, 1842, section dated March 2, 1843: "Try to imagine such a decorated and brilliantly illuminated ballroom superseding everything to be found in Vyborg. In that hall a crowd moving in the same dances we danced (at home), creating such an image it can't but supersede our most unfulfilled dreams." See also Frankenhaeuser's letter to Nathalia, dated May 8, 1842, spanning to May of 1843, section dated March 2, (1843)

51. For Madame Etholen's school for girls in Sitka see Arndt's extrapolations from the Russian-American Company Archives: "vol. 14, no. 460 for April 3, 1842. F. 255-256: Main Office to Etolin. Replies to his no. 257 (May 13, 1841). Etholin reported that he finds it necessary to increase the budget of the girls' school in Novo-Arkhangel'sk. The Main Office consents to this. Praises the efforts of Etholin's wife on behalf of this school." Additionally Cygnaeus wrote to his sister the following in a letter dated Sitka October 1840: "The governor, or actually his wife has managed to establish a Girls' School … She has established a boarding house where fourteen students are presently enrolled.

…students spend each Saturday at the Governor's …. In this way a whole bunch of them are educated into becoming quite adequately presentable women." In a later letter, dated July 13 1844, Cygnaeus continues: "Nowadays the girls here are receiving a far better education than before. This includes polish. By now there is not a single girl here who is not versed in Russian grammar, history, geography ..." Madame Etholen also mentions this school in her diary. See also note 37.

52. see Cygnaeus' letter to Johanna for Simpson's visit, dated August 16, 1842-May 8, 1843, p. 30; for the birth of Alexander Etholen see DLAF p. 51, record no. 2; for a description of illness and death of Adolph Edward Etholen, and Madame Etholen's mental health, see Frankenhaeuser's letter dated May 8, 1842. The grave of the Etholens' first-born is still clearly visible with its tall iron cross, in Sitka's old Russian era Evangelical Lutheran Cemetery.

53. See Frankenhaeuser's letter as in note 50, section dated April 22.

54. See Cygnaeus' letter as in note 52, section dated April 22..

55. See DLAF p. 52 birth no. 3.

56. See Cygnaeus' letter dated October 13, 1840 ending May1841, section dated April 3. For the dedication and altar painting see my DLAF.

57. *Ibid*.

58. See Frankenhaeuser's letter to sister Nathalia dated May 8 1842, von Bartram's letter to Cygnaeus dated Lehtiniemi November 29, 1856, located in Finland's National Archives, Cygnaeus Collection, letters received, and Doctor Sahlberg's diary covering his time in Sitka.

59. See Cygnaeus' letter to sister Johanna dated April 7, 1841, section dated April 11, in letter dated August 1842-May 1843, he wrote about the dark mood he had fallen under; also same letter Dated April 13: and his letter dated September 29, 1843, wherein he laments: "Elise is a girl so lovely, that she is God's most wondrous creation on this earth. She is like no one else, which none other than I have been made better or more bitterly aware of."

60. See Cygnaeus letter to Johanna dated October 1840-May 8, 1841, p. 20 for April 7.

61. See Frankenhaeuser's letter to sister Nathalia dated New Archangelsk May 8, 1842, section dated March 2. However the same "sour grapes" could be applied to both Frankenhaeuser and Cygnaeus, as their letters are filled with their thinly veiled yearnings for Margareta Swartz von Bartram, they thought had all the sublime attributes wished-for in a female of that time. It was around her that Sitka's so called "Finnish Party" turned.

62. See Cygnaeus' letter to Johanna dated Okhotsk June 25, 1845.

63. For death-date see Tor Carpelan Attartavlor p. 89 and Cygnaeus' letter dated: "Up the River Lena September 9, 1854, about 90 verst from the city of Kirensk," section dated September 14.

64. *Ibid*., but a few paragraphs later.

65. See HCP death records for January 7, 1846 [FHL microfilm 0064212]; HCP communion books covering

1846 [FHL microfilm 0064198, p. 210.

66. See HRCR for April 18, 1845, court case no. 18. [FHL microfilm 0064460]

67. See HCP records of incoming parishioners, April 21, 1846 [FHL mcrofilm 0064213]

68. *Ibid*., for March 1, 1846.

69. See HRCR for April 27, 1846, court case no. 9.

70. See Russia, Sankt Petersburg's St Katarina parish death records for May 1846,
p. 18, no. 74 [FHL microfilm 0127852]

71. See HCP communion records covering 1806-1816, p. 36 for merchants [FHL microfilm 0064196]

72. Same record as the previous one.

73. See Merisalo's account.

74. See HRCR for October 19, court case no. 1, under Court's decision.

75. See HRCR for May 3, 1847, court case no. 4. One was Merchant Skipper Jacob Lindfors. The other dealt with Sundberg's part in the settlement of accounts. Concerning the deceased Merchant Book-Keeper Ole Petter Knutsson's estate. At the time of Knutsson's death he was Sundberg's tenants [FHL microfilm 0064462]

76. See DLAF p. 52-52.

77. See HCP listings for incoming parishioners for 1848, April 26, no. 362.

78. See HCP marriage records for September 14, 1849, no. 69 [FHL microfilm 006411]

79. See bibliography for Merisalo's account.

80. See HCP listing of departing parishioners for 1849, October 5, no. 358 [FHL microfilm 0064213]. Of the 25 individuals listed on this same half-page, 14 departed for Sankt Petersburg. Of these, 9 were journeymen, 1 was a store Clerks, 1 a Waiter, 1 a House-Maid.

81. See HCP birth records for July 25, 1850.

82. For Gylling see daughter Elisa Adolphina Wilhelmina Ohmann's baptism record, listing Assistant District Judge Gylling as one of her godparents.

83. See Bergholm's *Sukukirja* under Nervander.

84. See note 81. Add to record child's death April 13, 1853.

85. The Frankenhaeusers' departed Sitka, Russian Alaska November-December 1852, arriving in Vyborg in the summer of 1853. Mr.Ronald Hackman provided me with the names, birth, and death dates of the children born in Vyborg. See fig. 4.

86. See HCP original moving certificates for in-moving parishioners July 1856, no. 291.

87. See HCP marriage records for February 5, 1858, when the first Church announcement was made. His wife to-be bore the title in Swedish *Tjenstepigan*, which could mean she was employed in a home, a business, or institution of some kind.

88. See HCP communion record covering 1856-1865, p. 51-53 [FHL microfilm 0064201]

89. See HCP birth and baptism records for October 31, 1858.

90. See HCP children's books for 1856-1870, p. 55 [FHL microfilm 0064206]

91. See HRCR for April 27, 1846, court case no. 9; May 11, 1846, court case no 3; May 13, 1846, court case no. 9; May 20, 1846, court case no. 7; October 19, 1846, court case no. 1; November 16, 1846, court case no. 10; December 9 1846, court case no.12; all stating widowed Mrs. Annette, Anette or Anet Ohman, Ohmann.

92. See HCP as in note 88.

93. *Ibid*.

94. While in Finland in 2001, I had rather unfortunate experiences with the services offered at Helsinki's Parish Office for genealogical research situated at their "Tredje Linjen" address. I never received any response to my inquiries I had delivered in person. I was informed the search would take a certaun period of time and I would be notified of the results by mail or telephone. When I had waited a considerable while past the time suggested and then inquired again in person, I was informed they had no such inquiries in my name on file.

95. In 2001 an article in the Helsinki paper *Hufvudstadsblade*t pointed to a preserved building at Fort Sveaborg (now a district within inner-city Helsinki), which is a few years older than the Sederholm House.

Fig. 4 - Family tree of Anna Margareta Sundberg
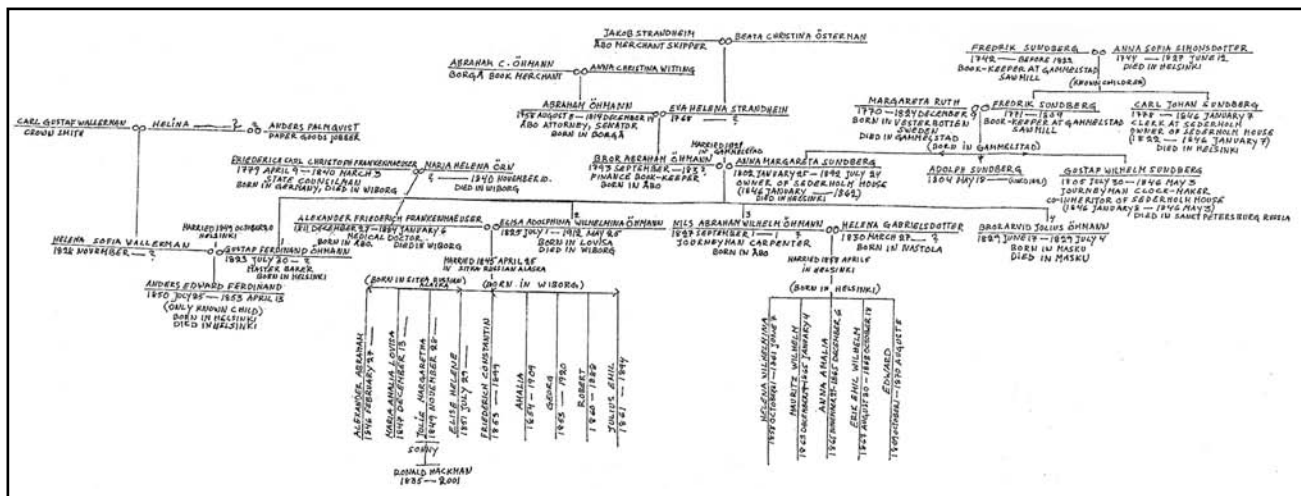
Pan World War I Migration Patterns of Banat Germans to North America

by David Dreyer and Anton Kraemer

Introduction

Studies on turn-of-the century European migration to America often center around the size of return rates to places of origin and the related ideas of linkage and chain migration. The terms "linkage' and "chain migration" are used to express the idea that a European locality is linked to a New World locality through migration. Linkage arises because immigrants from a given European locality tended to concentrate in a given North American locality. This effect resulted from the tendency of relatives and friends to follow one another abroad sequentially to the same American locality, so that not only towns, but neighborhoods and even families were divided on both sides of the Atlantic. The concentration of friends and relatives in a New World locality resulted in the creation of a community which mimicked in many ways the place of European origin.

Newspaper subscriptions, mail, the constant arrival of further new migrants and the return of others back to their home village kept the linked communities well informed about events and conditions in their respective twin. Residents in the European locality were generally knowledgeable on living conditions and employment prospects in the New World linked locality. Returnees who had worked in America for a few a years could give first hand accounts of conditions in the American locality.

Previous studies on these aspects of immigration generally depended on analysis of national migration statistics or anecdotal accounts. Few systematic studies on a microlevel, e.g. a village level have been published.[1]

This work considers some general aspects of migration of ethnic Germans from the Pre World War I Hungarian province of the Banat and, in more detail, the migration of *Donauschwab* immigrants from six of these Banat villages. The basis of this study is a database of more then 25,000 passenger ship abstracts of Banaters now available on the Internet. The term Banaters is used in this work to describe the descendants of ethnic German settlers recruited by the Habsburgs to colonize the Hungarian province of the Banat.

Development of the Banat

After the failure of the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683 the Austrian government launched a campaign to clear the Turks from the Southern approaches to Austria. These campaigns resulted in the expulsion of the Turks from the Great Hungarian Plain and eventually, under *Prinz* Eugen, capture of the Fortress of Belgrade. When the Habsburgs conquered the Banat from the Turks in 1716 it was a swampy, depopulated waste land.[2]

Under the Habsburgs the Banat was administratively established as property of the Crown. Among the various ethnic groups which the Austrian Crown recruited to settle in the Banat were Germans who came largely from the Upper Rhein Basin. This settlement period extended from 1722 to 1787. In order to avoid ethnic conflicts and simplify language differences the Habsburg authorities, tended to settle the various ethnic groups separately each in their own villages. At a staggering cost in lives, these German colonists built the villages and roads, drained the swamps and under difficult conditions eventually converted the Banat with its rich soils to the most productive agricultural region of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

These German colonists introduced, by the standards of the time, advanced agricultural techniques into a backward SE Europe. When the Banat was recovered from the Turks, the sparse indigenous population of Serbs and Romanians largely existed on a precarious, pastoral, subsistence basis. In the following two centuries the *Donauschwabs* readily adopted new agricultural techniques, crops and methods as they became available.

To a large degree these German settlers were culturally and linguistically isolated in the ethnic mix of Serbs, Hungarians, Romanians, and others found in the Banat. The Banaters possessed a distinctive dialect, a common heritage and the tradition of trekking from the Rhine valley to the marches of the Great Hungarian Plain in SE Europe where Christian faced Islam across a wild borderland. Except for the Banat Military Frontier,[3] Austria turned the administration of the Banat over to Hungary in 1778. Over a period of almost two centuries the cohesive Banaters were able to maintain their language and folkways in spite of increasingly heavy-handed acculturation pressures from the Hungarian Government. By the end of the 19th century the descendants of these German *Donauschwabs* constituted a sizable minority of the Banat population. The numbers of Banat Germans, with their high birth rate grew, until by the end of the 19th century they found themselves without further farmland for an expanding agrarian population.

The Banaters initially followed a hereditary system of primogeniture so that the oldest son inherited the farm and younger sons who wished to farm had to find farms through purchase or marriage. For the land proud agrarian Banaters the possession of farmland carried with it the highest prestige. After the Revolutions of 1849 the system of primogeniture was suspended and estates were divided among all the children. This system resulted in the division of estates so that by 1900 most farms were split up to the point that it was difficult to support a family on the fragmented land.

Beginning just after the turn of the century this agricultural population of Banaters began to look towards North America as a place to find temporary employment. Banaters were also caught up in the "America Fever" which

infected Central Eastern Europe at this time. The U. S. was considered as a land of unlimited possibilities. Migration to North America from Hungary tended to be greatest from the peripheral counties surrounding the core of Royal Hungary. These counties were often inhabited largely by ethnic minorities. Puskas argues that those migrating were more likely to be from an area which had a tradition of migration for local seasonal, usually harvest, work.[4] This practice of seasonal migration does not appear to apply to the Germans from the "rich Torontal and Bacs-Bodrog" counties of the Banat where there was no tradition of seasonal migration but where overseas migration spread faster than among those from less mobile and more economically conservative villages.

With relatively cheap transatlantic fares, many saw a few years in America with its profitable employment prospects as an opportunity to earn funds to establish themselves with a more secure future in their ancestral village. Others left with the view, at the outset, of creating a new life in America. The prospects for a better life were promising since wages were about 4 times higher in America than in Hungary. Moreover, industrial employment in America was year round compared to seasonal employment as farm laborers in the Banat.

Migration Data

U. S. passenger ship records contain much data of value in migration studies.[5, 6] Their use in studies of this kind, however, is difficult because of the massive size of the record base as well as the tedious and time consuming process of culling out the desired data.

For this study more than 25,000 passenger ship entries of Banaters have been extracted from the U. S. passenger ship records. This database is available on the Internet at http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~banatdata/DDB/HomePage.htm. When wives and kids are considered this database contains about 50,000 people, about half of all Banaters who immigrated to America. *Donauschwabs* tend to stand out in the passenger ship records because they were Hungarian by nationality but ethnically German. Not all Banat localities were extracted in this study. The database contains all entries from about 100 German villages in the Banat. Entries have been systematically extracted for the Baltimore records 1892-1912. Only *Nord Deutscher Lloyd* (NDL) ships out of Bremen discharged passengers in Baltimore. The New York records have been systematically abstracted for four years, 1903, 1905-1907. In addition, some New York entries for other years are included as microfilm became incidentally available. For statistical purposes the data given in Tables I and II are based on these data. Subsequently, after the Ellis Island website, containing images of New York records, 1892-1914, became available further entries were added to the database from this source. These later entries are not included for the purposes of calculating comparison migration rates among the various villages because of the biased way in which the Ellis Island data had to be collected.

The passenger ship abstracts include age, ship, date of arrival, place of origin and who the emigrant was going to join at their destination. Only indicated relatives at place of origin or destination were included in the abstracts. If those at the destination were simply friends or acquaintances this was not recorded in the abstracts. If the migrant was previously in America this was also indicated. A previous residence in the U. S. can be assumed to be the same as the current destination unless indicated otherwise. If the last residence was different from the place of birth (given in the records starting September 1906) this was so indicated. Knowing the port, date of arrival and name of the ship it is possible to verify any given entry from microfilm of records available from the National Archives or better the Family History Library in Salt Lake City.

The software used to record the abstracted data was created by Peter Alan Schmidt, Knoxville, Tenn. and allowed various sorting options. This software had the advantage of allowing the insertion of notes and other miscellaneous data in the entries. Additional annotated data included with the entries is set off in brackets to indicate that it is not part of the original passenger ship record but come from other sources, usually family books for the village. Entries for Banaters whose destination was to the Banat colony of South Western North Dakota are, for the most part, not included in this database.[7, 8] These have been collected elsewhere in a separate database.[8] Since this colony consisted, at best, of only 600 families the effect on the analysis which follows is minimal. The conditions under which the ND Banat community was established were not typical either in time and/or place relative to the major Banat settlements in large industrial cities of North America.

The Migration Process

By 1900 migration from Eastern Europe was a well organized process.[9, 10] One could book passage in the local village from a representative of a travel agency. These local representatives were usually innkeepers, priests or school teachers. The main travel agency in the Banat was the *Measlier Agency* which had a close working relationship with NDL. The Measlier Agency had offices in Major Eastern European cites, including Temeswar. The trip from the Banat, by railroad, to the port of departure was coordinated so that it minimized the time at the port of departure waiting for the ship to sail but was sufficient for health checks and other necessary tasks. It was possible to book passage, purchase and prepay for all tickets to a final destination in North American through the Measlier Agency. The data on the ship manifest for emigrants was collected by the travel agency at the time of booking. This data was forwarded on to the shipping company in advance of departure. It was then used to make up the manifest in the offices of the shipping line at the port of departure.

Banaters tended to favor Bremen as a departure port. NDL had a good reputation for well coordinated departures, dependability and the fair treatment of emigrants. Departures from Bremen to New York were twice a week,

later increased to three times a week. At this time, a passport was not required for departures from North Sea ports.

Initially, the Hungarian Government hoped to see an independent Hungarian-American line established which would transport emigrants via the Adriatic port of Fiume to NY. When this proved to be impractical the Government then tried to make arrangements with German members of the *Nord-Atlantischer Dampferlinen Verband* or better know as the "Continental Pool". In turn, these negotiations collapsed when the principals could not agree. Finally an agreement was arrived at with Cunard Lines. In June of 1904 the Hungarian government signed an agreement with Cunard shipping lines giving them exclusive rights to transport emigrants from Fiume to New York. To help funnel emigrants through Fiume the Hungarian National railways gave a fare reduction to groups of 10 or more passengers. Initially, in the Fall of 1904, Cunard did not have enough capacity so that emigrants had to wait for days and weeks in Fiume for passage.

This effort by the Hungarian government to divert emigrants from the North Sea ports through Fiume precipitated a fare war in the summer of 1904. Ticket prices

of the German members of the Continental Pool, *Hamburg-Amerikanisch Packetfahrt Actien Gesellschaft* (HAPAG) and NDL dropped from 250 crowns to as low as 90 crowns. These low fares helped trigger the increased migration rates of 1905-1907. The Hungarian government only gave passports and departure permits to emigrants leaving from Fiume. The application of intense economic and diplomatic pressure by the Continental Pool members eventually thwarted the efforts of Hungary and Cunard to monopolize the transport of Hungarian nationals from Hungary via Fiume. Agreement was reached with the Continental Pool for a significant number of Hungarian nationals to travel on Pool ships so that 38% more Hungarian emigrants left on NDL ships alone than on Cunard Line ships.

Nevertheless, the opening of the Adriatic, Fiume to New York route had a profound effect on emigrant traffic from North Sea ports. The relative distribution of Banaters from various departure ports for the years 1903, 1905, 1906 and 1907 is illustrated in fig. 1.

The domination of NDL and the port of Bremen in the transport of Banaters in 1903 before opening of the Fiume route is striking. By 1906 and 1907 departures from Fiume

Fig. 1 - Distribution of Banaters among European departure points
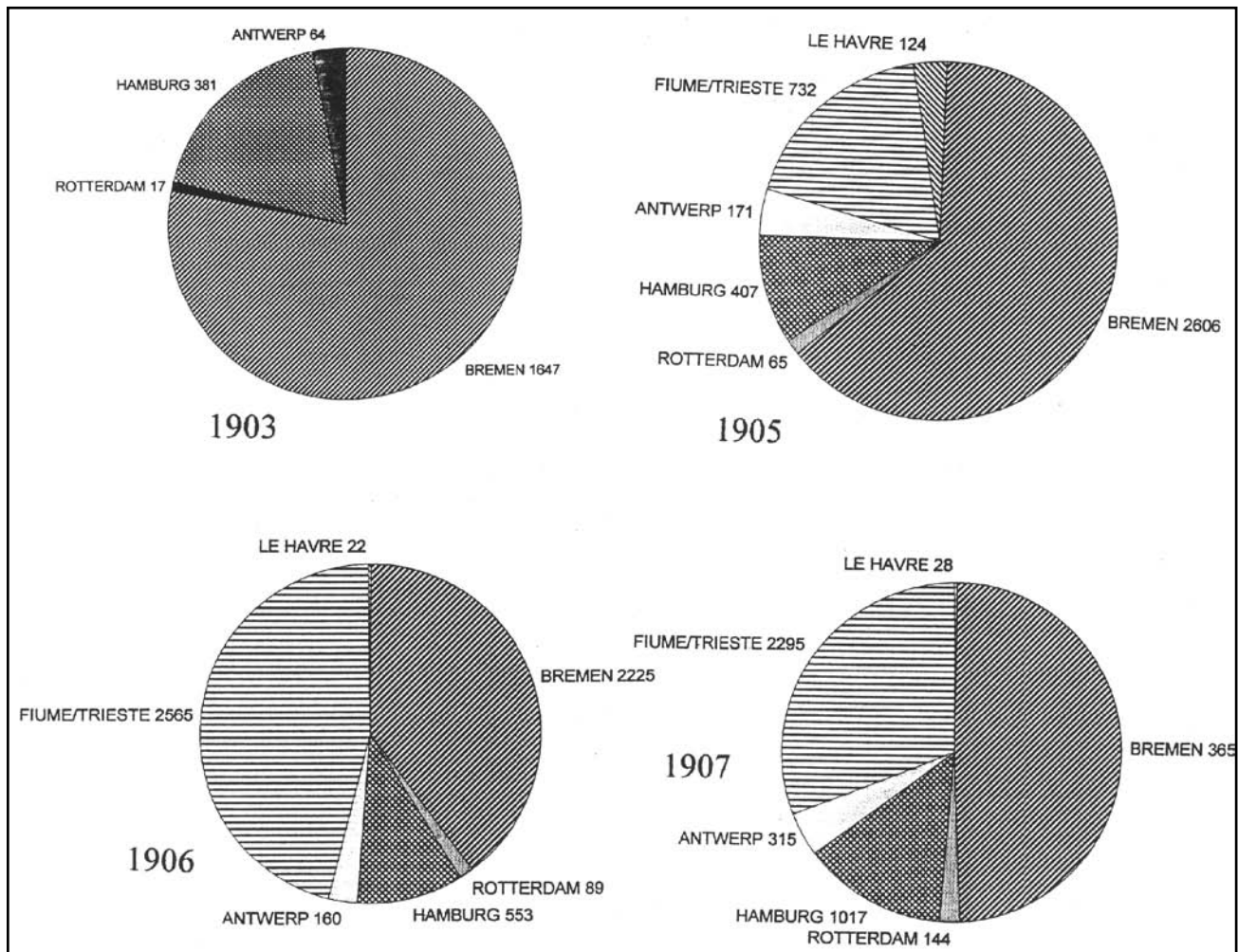
were the same proportion as from Bremen. For Banaters, Hamburg played a minor roll with Antwerp and Rotterdam as bit players. NDL ships departing from Bremen disembarked passengers in either New York or Baltimore. However, Cunard ships from Fiume, as well as Holland-American Line ships from Rotterdam, Red Star Line ships from Antwerp and HAPAG ships disembarked passengers only in New York.

Immigration from the Banat to America dropped dramatically after October of 1907 when the financial panic of 1907 set in. Based on 1906 traffic NDL and HAPAG had prepared for a massive flow of migrants in 1907 by a large increase in their shipping capacity. By the end of 1907 much of this increased tonnage sat idle when departures dropped precipitously. This dramatic drop in emigration traffic is a clear indication of the short time lag required for news to be relayed back to Europe regarding changing employment prospects in North America.

Migration and Return Migration Rates

Although most Banaters would have preferred agricultural employment few had the capital to go into farming under New World conditions or the commitment to the time span necessary to engage in successful farming operations. Industrial employment with its relatively high wages and year round occupation drew them to major urban centers.

Table 1 - Destinations of Banaters from some selected localities, 1892-1912 (from U.S. passenger records)

LOCALITY(1900 population)	ENTRIES	No (%)	TO A GIVEN LOCALITY
Alexanderhausen(1929)	142	98 (69%)	Philadelphia
Bakowa(2075)	99	69 (70%)	Milwaukee
Billed(4566)	478	177 (36%)	New Brunswick NJ
		144 (30%)	Cincinnati
Bogarosch(2919)	479	354 (66%)	Philadelphia/Pottstown
Busiasch(1045)	109	80 (71%)	Milwaukee/Cudahy
Etschka	45	21 (43%)	Louisville
Fibisch(2013)	67	43 (65%)	Mansfield Ohio
Franzfeld	82	73 (86%)	Mansfield Ohio
Gertiansoch(2765)	464	244 (53%)	Cincinnati
Glogon	223	119 (53%)	Los Angeles
		44 (20%)	Canada via U. S. ports
Gottlob(2286)	227	190 (84%)	Philadelphia
Gross Jetscha(3095)	421	249 (59%)	Philadelphia
Liebling(4169)	281	145 (51%)	Harrisburg Penn
Mercydorf(1839)	351	305 (87%)	NY/College Point
Mollydorf(1202)	263	131 (50%)	Catasauqua Penn
Neupanat(2185)	218	116 (53%)	Chicago
		44 (20%)	Oregon/Washington
Offsenitza	157	75 (47%)	St Paul
Perjamosch(5612)	596	247 (41%)	Cincinnati
Sackelhausen(4134)	645	459 (71%)	St Louis
Seultour	152	109 (72%)	Chicago
St Georgen(1576)	255	89 (35%)	St Louis
St Hubert	230	138 (60%)	Chicago

The first Banat settlement in North America of about 600 families occurred in SW ND starting in 1892. This relatively small agricultural colony does not fit the settlement pattern exhibited by the more than 100,000 Banaters who arrived after the turn of the century and are outside the scope of this study. The later Banat emigrants, for the most part, settled in major American cities and followed industrial rather than agricultural employment.

Chain migration is characterized by the linking of specific towns, neighborhoods as well as families on both sides of the Atlantic.[1, 17] The idea of chain migration is supported by extensive anecdotal evidence but only limited statistical evidence on a micro level.

This chain migration created a bond between an old world locality and a North American locality which was reinforced by the rapid feedback to Europe of changing employment prospects, living conditions, family news etc. by letter or word of mouth by returning migrants from the North American locality. This resulted in the recruitment of friends and relatives to a given locality in America. The process was aided by the support of those already established whether individually or through support organizations, immigrant aid societies in helping newcomers to become oriented and established.. The widespread use of prepaid tickets sent to relatives from America also tended to funnel new arrivals into the linked locality.

The distribution of Banaters from some selected villages and their corresponding concentrations in North American localities is given in Table I.

The tendency of Banaters from given locality to settle in a given North American locality is strikingly illustrated by the settlement of Franzfelders in Mansfield Ohio. Clearly in term of "linkage" Franzfeld is closely linked with Mansfield. The settlement of 84% of Gottlob emigrants in Philadelphia constitutes another remarkable case. Other linkages are obvious from the examples given in Table I.

With several exceptions, for example Karlsdorfers, Banaters avoided the steel mill and mining towns favored by other Hungarian emigrants. Other noteworthy settlements are the high proportion of Glogon emigrants who settled in Los Angeles,[18] a locality not favored in this time period by those from other Banat localities, and the relatively small but still significant number of Neupanaters who settled in the Willamette valley in Oregon and nearby coastal regions of Washington.

Of course, all these arrivals from linked villages were emerged in the larger local German-American community. Nevertheless, the long lists of Banat village associations that one could cite in these German-American communities is testimony to the cohesiveness and numbers of those from a single Banat locality relocated to a given American locality and illustrates how the Banaters as a group could set up social structures apart from the *Reichsdeutsch* or other *Volksdeutsch* groups.

Family books covering all church book (KB) records up to the year ca 2000 are available for six Banat localities (see Table II).[11-16] With the data from these church books one can match individuals in the passenger ship records with the birth, marriage and death records of the village of origin. For those cases in which migrants in the passenger ship records have been matched with the entries in the corresponding family books, the details have been entered in the notes part of the database. This additional data has been set off in brackets to indicate that it is not part of the passenger ship records (see website).

It was possible to match around 80% of those in the passenger ship records with KB data from the village of origin. These matches range from 73% for Klein Jetscha to 86% for Perjamosch (see Table II). The failure to match the remaining 15-20% must be ascribed to a number of different reasons. Most obvious is corruption of the surname spelling either when the passenger ship records were created or in a misreading of the name through difficult handwriting. The often quoted myth that difficult surnames were changed by American immigration authorities is clearly not true. No surnames were changed by immigration authorities.

LOCALITY (population)	ENTRIES	MATCHED (%)	RETURNED (%)
Alexanderhausen (1929)	190	148 (78%)	31 (16%)
Billed (4566)	629	466 (74%)	108 (17%)
Klein Jetscha (1528)	119	87 (73%)	30 (24%)
Liebling (4169)	294	247 (84%)	102 (35%)
Perjamosch (5612)	729	619 (85%)	120 (16%)
Ulmbach (2300)	170	139 (82%)	45 (26%)

Table 2 - Return migration rates for sselected Banat locations

Another factor which accounts for the failure to find matches between village records and passenger lists is the fact that some emigrants have given inaccurate information on their place of birth. This is easily illustrated in the cases of migrants from Giseladorf and Josefsdorf. These two villages were established in 1882 by relocation of frequently flooded villages on the lower Bega. In time, through internal migration, these villages were inhabited by families from all over the Banat. A striking number of immigrants from these two villages who were born before 1882 gave their place of birth as Giseladorf or Josefsdorf, clearly an impossibility. Surely some migrants from other Banat localities similarly gave their birth place as a locality that they were closely associated with or had lived in, perhaps for an extended periods, but were not born in the place indicated nor had any event occurred in their lives which required an entry in the KBs. Other cases of misleading birthplaces could be cited for those localities where it has not been possible to match immigrants with data in family books. In many cases for which it was not possible to make a match the individual nevertheless had a surname which was readily associated with that locality. No match could be made in a few cases where there was more than one person with the same name born in the same time period.
With the aid of family books for Banat localities one can determine the number of immigrants who appear in both the passenger ship records and the death records for that locality. From these results one can calculate the return rate of immigrants to these Banat villages.[17] These values are given in Table 2. These return rates varied considerably from village to village ranging from a low of 16-17 % for Billed, Alexanderhausen and Perjamosch to a high of 40% for Liebling.

Based on the 1900 Hungarian census (Table II) one can calculate the minimum migration rates from Banat villages.

These numbers are, of course, low because some NY data for 1904 and 1908-1914 is lacking. These are all years of relatively low migration to America compared to the peak years of 1905-1907.

For Billed the 466 matched entries account for 696 inhabitants, 10% of the 1900 population. The 21% return rate will be more than made up by the years not abstracted. In a similar fashion the 618 matched Perjamosch entries contain 773 inhabitants leading to a 14% population loss.

Although it is not possible to search the Ellis Island Internet web site systematically for all immigrants from a single village, it is obvious that after 1907 a relatively larger proportion of immigrants, especially those with families were making their second or third trip from the Banat to North America. In addition, there were many who were returning to America after making a visit to the home village. Many of these had small children who were born in America and have obviously been taken back to the Banat to visit grandparents and other relatives. The ability to make these return visits speaks well for the degree of prosperity Banaters achieved in America.

The numbers of those making multiple trips to America are given in Table III for some selected villages. These numbers are substantially lower than the numbers cited by Puskas (23%) for Hungarian immigrants as a whole.

Not unexpectedly there was a large increase in those making a second or third trip to America in the later records. About 6% of entries before 1908 were emigrants making a second trip to America. After 1907 this figure jumps to 26% for those from Gross Jetscha and 34% for those from Sackelhausen. Included in this multiple Atlantic crossing figure are those who are returning from making a visit to parents and relatives as well as those who have returned to gather up wives and kids who had previously remained and/ or to dispose of house and property before returning permanently to settle in America.

LOCALITY	NO. OF ENTRIES	NO. MAKING SECOND TRIP
Alexanderhausen	190	17 (9%)
Billed	629	42 (6%)
Gross Jetscha	615	64 (10%)
Perjamosch	729	46 (6%)
Sackelhausen	843	101 (12%)

Table 3 - Banaters making multiple trips to America

One can generally distinguish those returning to the Banat for a visit or to set their affairs in order from those who had returned with the intention of reestablishing themselves in their village of origin and when their attempts to readjust to their old environment failed, they gathered up their families, returning to settle in America for good. The former group, visitors and those who needed to tidy up their lives return to America again within a year of their arrival. The latter group which failed to readjust often have a gap of 2-4 years and sometimes even longer between their initial arrival and their later return to America.

Migration Patterns and Chain Migration

The migration process from various Banat villages was not uniform. Many Banat localities had their own individual, distinctive migration patterns. The most pronounced aspects of this effect is the non-uniform settlement patterns in North American contained in the idea of linkage (see Table 1). However, differences are apparent in other subtle ways as well.

If migration through departure ports followed the ratios given in fig. 1 then one might expect the bulk of departures for any given village to go largely through Bremen and Fiume with lesser numbers through Hamburg and a trickle via Antwerp and Rotterdam. Some of the more pronounced exceptions are given in Table 4.

LOCALITY	DEPARTURE PORTS	NUMBER OF ENTRIES(%)
Alexanderhausen	Hamburg	68 (52%)
	Fiume	33 (25%)
	Bremen	30 (23%)
Bogarosch	Hamburg	268 (62%)
	Bremen	72 (16%)
	Rotterdam	58 (13%)
	Fiume	34 (8%)
Glogowatz	Fiume	247 (58%)
	Hamburg	107 (25%)
	Trieste	70 (16%)
Karlsdorf	Antwerp	68 (39%)
	Fiume	64 (36%)
	Bremen	44 (25%)
Mercydorf	Hamburg	138 (42%)
	Fiume	125 (39%)
	Bremen	65 (20%)
Pardan	Hamburg	108 (44%)
	Bremen	86 (42%)
	Fiume	49 (20%)
Sackelhausen	Bremen	399 (64%)
	Le Havre	90 (14%)
	Fiume	53 (8%)
	Hamburg	53 (8%)
	Antwerp	29 (5%)
Warjasch	Hamburg	173 (61%)
	Bremen	70 (25%)
	Fiume	40 (14%)
Zichydorf	Antwerp	70 (64%)
	Bremen	39 (36%)

Table 4 - Relative numbers leaving from indicated ports

An abnormally high proportion of Alexanderhauseners, Bogaroschers, Mercydorfers, Pardaners and Warjaschers left via Hamburg. On the other hand, Zichydorfers and Karlsdorfers tended to travel on Red Star line departing from Antwerp, while an exceptionally high proportion of Bogaroschers left via Rotterdam. A remarkable high number of Sackelhauseners left from Le Havre, a port little used by Banaters from other localities. Few Glogowatzers left via Bremen, instead favoring Fiume and Trieste. Clearly many villages had a characteristic and preferred route which emigrants followed to North America and which differed significantly from that of other places. Obviously the concept of chain migration extended down to the level that migrants tended to follow one another to the New World even along the same pathway.

Since the Baltimore records were extracted systematically for the years 1892-1912, it is possible to plot the arrivals by year for a given village and arrive at a migration profile for that village. This profile is not uniform from village to village but some general comments can be made. Migration for almost all Banat localities before 1903 was very small. There was a big jump in 1903 and a fall off in 1904 followed by large increases in 1905-1907. Following 1907 the migration rate continued at relatively low levels up to WW I. This seesaw effect is particularly noticeable with Stefansfeld, Gertianosch, Deutsch Zerne, Sackelhausen and Hatzfeld (see fig. 2).
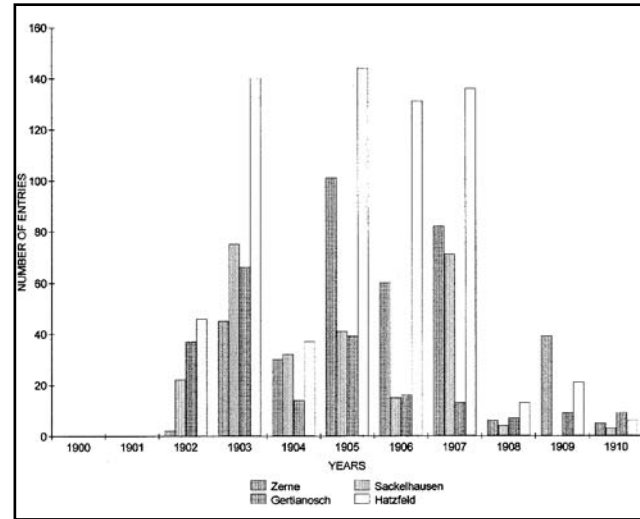
Fig. 2 - Banater migration through Baltimore

The migration decrease after the economic downturn leading to the panic of 1907 is striking. Less clear is the reason for the low rates in 1904 relative to 1903 and 1905 for many localities. There appears to be no unusual economic or political upheavals or dislocations to account for this relatively low rate in 1904. Since many migrants depended on prepaid tickets sent home by relatives in America, this suggests that it took a year for the first wave of 1903 migrants to establish themselves and save the necessary funds to bring families and relatives to join them. Several other villages, for example, Gross Jetscha and Tschakowa, showed a more flat but continuous rates of departures (fig. 3).

During the Balkan wars and just before the outbreak of World War I the issuing of emigrant permits for men subject to call up was suspended. Exceptions for this age group were tied to the payment of a tax. These measures are reflected in the profile of migrants . The pre 1907 preponderance of single young men among the migrants shifted to single women and family groups.

A close reading of the abstracts for several villages allows one to pick out a chain of individuals who sponsored subsequent emigrants. During the abstraction phase of this work it was only practical to record a sponsoring relative given in the final destination. With a few exceptions, friends
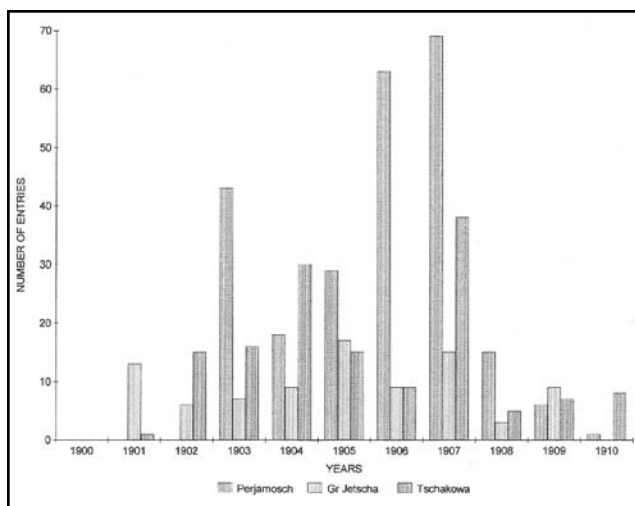
Fig. 3 - Banater migration through Baltimore

and acquaintances were not recorded. Nevertheless, using the data recorded it is possible to construct several lengthy migration chains. Two examples are given in fig. 4 and 5. Undoubtedly further inspection of the data would yield additional examples. The example of Friedrich Egler from Sackelhausen (fig. 7) illustrates the influence of a single individual, a "pioneer migrant" who facilitated and sponsored the migration process for many following migrants. Once started, the process became self-sustaining through a network of letters, returnees, travel accounts and prepaid tickets sent from America.
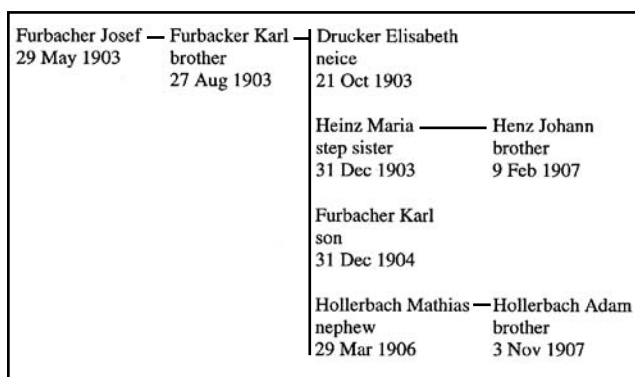
Fig. 4 - Perjamosch chain migration example

The family books available on Banat locations, with the exception of Ulmbach and Liebling have all been written on a group of relatively prosperous and closely related villages in the Banater Heide, the rich agricultural area to the west of Temeswar. In the Southwestern Banat were a group of daughter villages sited in the flood plain of the lower Bega and Temesch rivers. These villages were established from 1795 up to 1872 through internal Banat migration. Although also located on rich alluvial soils, crops were often lost and villages damaged or even totally destroyed through frequent flooding when the protective dikes were breached. The
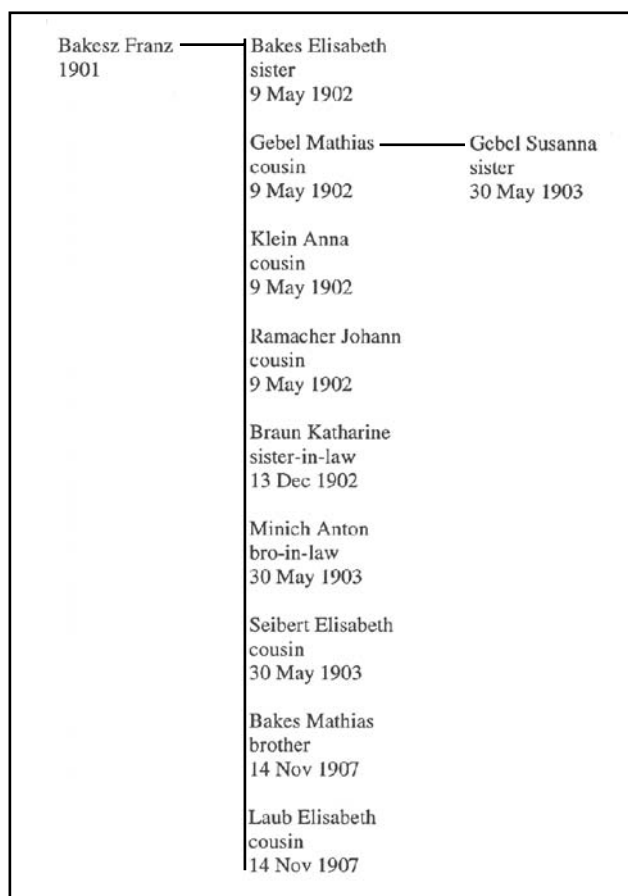
Fig. 5 - Billed chain migration example

inhabitants of these villages led a difficult existence. Among these frequently flooded villages are Ernsthausen, Rudolfsgnad, Sigmundfeld, Deutsch Etschka, Klek and Setschan. During the course of this work we have particularly looked for evidence in the migration data which would differentiate these frequently flood places from those of the more prosperous Heide. At this time, we have been unable to distinguish any differences in the migration patterns of these daughter villages from their more prosperous parent localities.

Acknowledgments

Endnotes

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[17]. Wymann, M, *Round-Trip to America* and references cite therein. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1993.

[18]. The concentration of Glogoners in Los Angeles has been previously noted, cf. Hans Tipre's *Deutsch-Ungarischer Familien-Kalender*, 1934, p. 73.

Fig. 6 - Map of the Banat

Fig. 7 - Sackelhausen chain migration example

Egler Barbara —— Egler Friedrich ——⌐ Egler Anna
1 Jul 1902   brother | wife
                       24 Sep 1902 | 3 Dec 1902
                                          |
                                          | Egler Jacob ——————? Holzinger Johann — Holzinger Kath
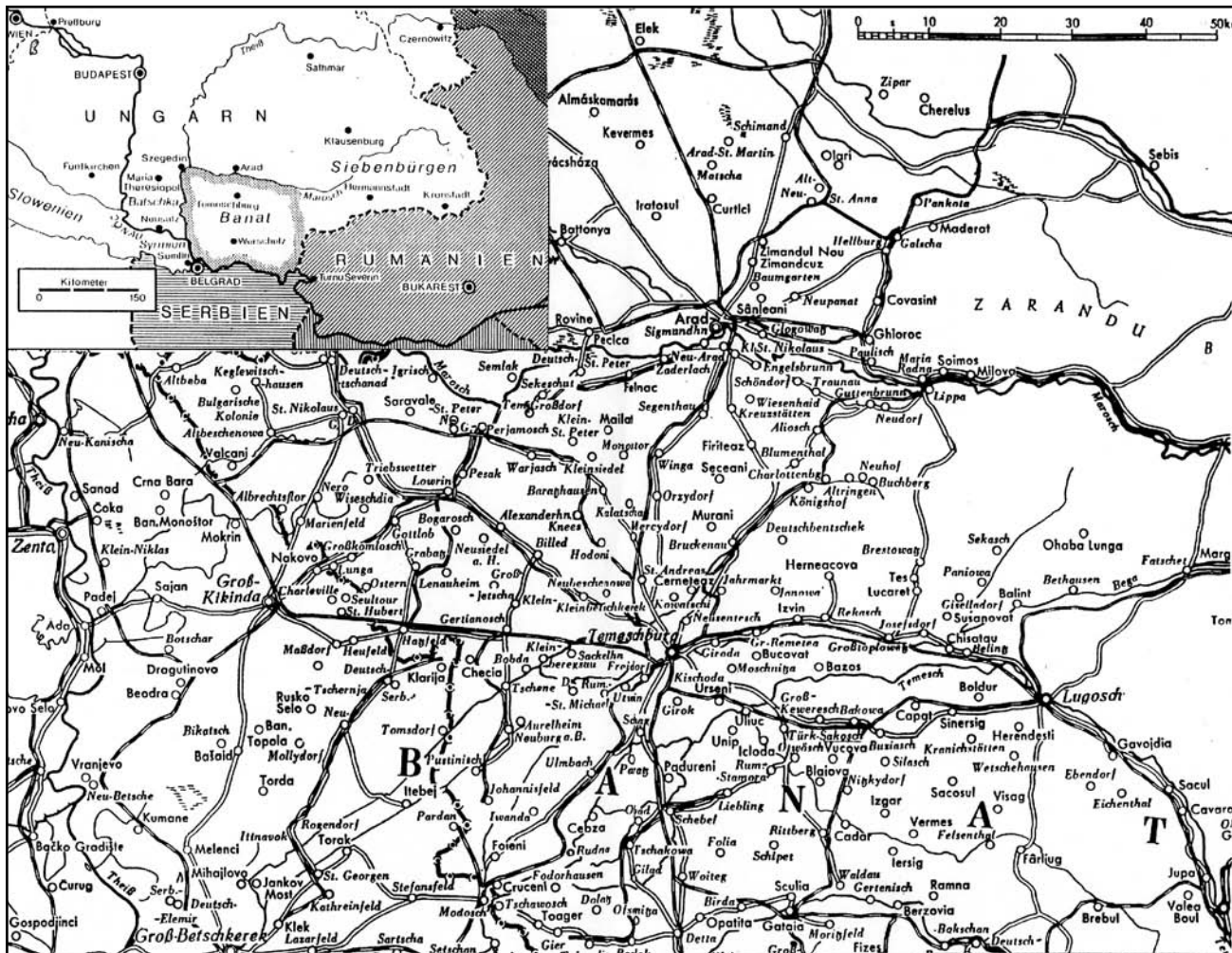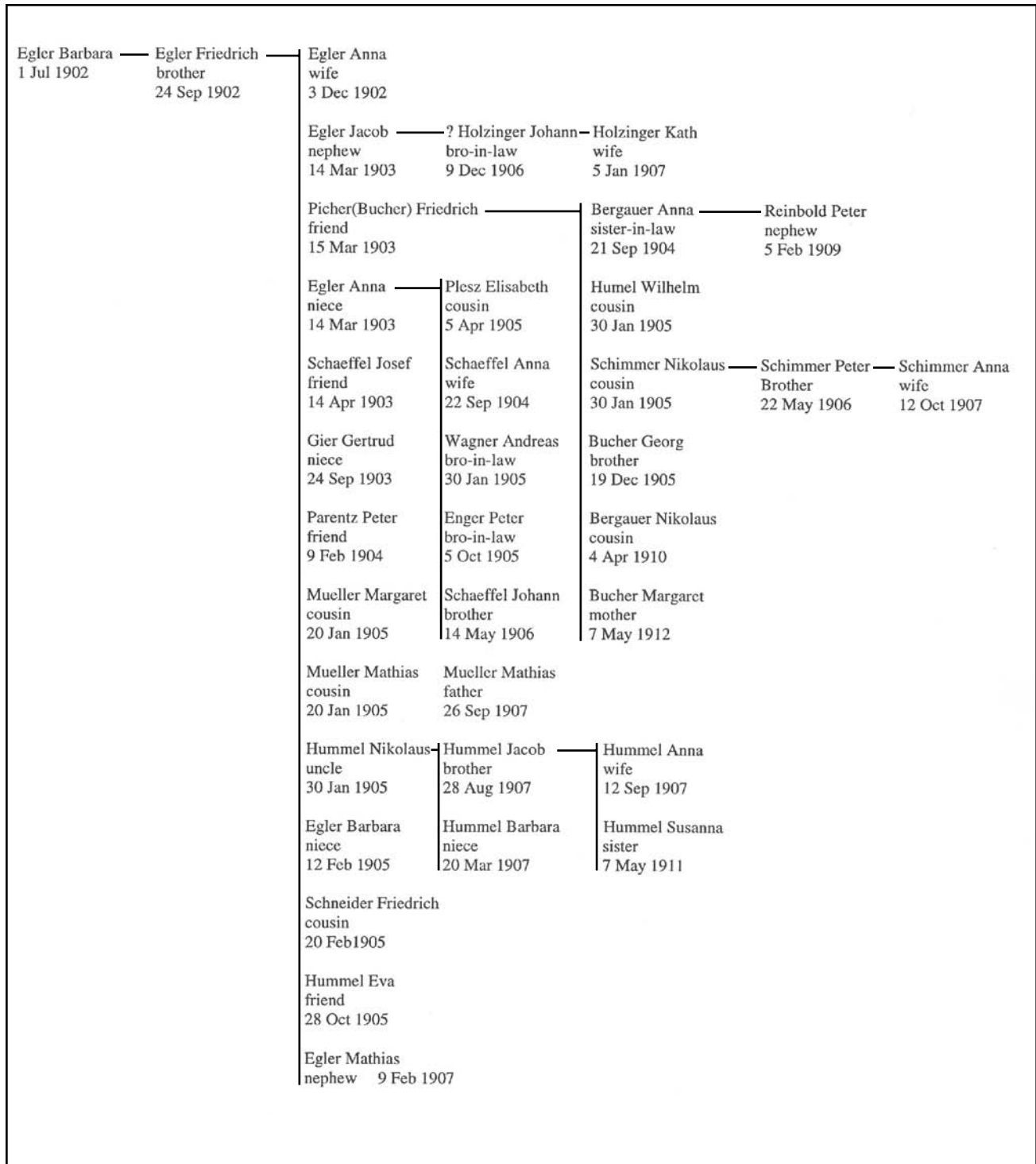 | nephew   bro-in-law   wife
                                          | 14 Mar 1903   9 Dec 1906   5 Jan 1907
                                          |
                                          | Picher(Bucher) Friedrich ——————— Bergauer Anna ——————— Reinbold Peter
                                          | friend   sister-in-law   nephew
                                          | 15 Mar 1903   21 Sep 1904   5 Feb 1909
                                          |
                                          | Egler Anna ——————Plesz Elisabeth   Humel Wilhelm
                                          | niece   cousin   cousin
                                          | 14 Mar 1903   5 Apr 1905   30 Jan 1905
                                          |
                                          | Schaeffel Josef   Schaeffel Anna   Schimmer Nikolaus ——— Schimmer Peter —— Schimmer Anna
                                          | friend   wife   cousin   Brother   wife
                                          | 14 Apr 1903   22 Sep 1904   30 Jan 1905   22 May 1906   12 Oct 1907
                                          |
                                          | Gier Gertrud   Wagner Andreas   Bucher Georg
                                          | niece   bro-in-law   brother
                                          | 24 Sep 1903   30 Jan 1905   19 Dec 1905
                                          |
                                          | Parentz Peter   Enger Peter   Bergauer Nikolaus
                                          | friend   bro-in-law   cousin
                                          | 9 Feb 1904   5 Oct 1905   4 Apr 1910
                                          |
                                          | Mueller Margaret Schaeffel Johann Bucher Margaret
                                          | cousin   brother   mother
                                          | 20 Jan 1905   14 May 1906   7 May 1912
                                          |
                                          | Mueller Mathias   Mueller Mathias
                                          | cousin   father
                                          | 20 Jan 1905   26 Sep 1907
                                          |
                                          | Hummel Nikolaus—Hummel Jacob —————— Hummel Anna
                                          | uncle   brother   wife
                                          | 30 Jan 1905   28 Aug 1907   12 Sep 1907
                                          |
                                          | Egler Barbara   Hummel Barbara   Hummel Susanna
                                          | niece   niece   sister
                                          | 12 Feb 1905   20 Mar 1907   7 May 1911
                                          |
                                          | Schneider Friedrich
                                          | cousin
                                          | 20 Feb1905
                                          |
                                          | Hummel Eva
                                          | friend
                                          | 28 Oct 1905
                                          |
                                          | Egler Mathias
                                          | nephew   9 Feb 1907

Saskatchewan Genealogical Society

by Marge Thomas, Executive Director

The *Saskatchewan Genealogical Society* (SGS) was incorporated in 1969 with 35 members. The Society is constituted under the Non-Profit Corporations Act as a charitable non-profit corporation. The founding members established the society as a province-wide umbrella organization with the intent that local branches would be formed for the benefit of local members.

Initially, SGS served a small membership, whose first task was to prepare a constitution, assemble some resource materials, and publicize its presence. By 1975, membership had grown to 200 and SGS had a small library located at the University of Regina. During the first few years, SGS was completely dependent on volunteer workers and donated space for the library. Membership growth was rapid and with growth came the need to expand the library. In 1981, SGS received elgibility status by the Government of Saskatchewan as a Provincial Cultural Organization (PCO) to receive Lottery Dollars. By 1985, it was necessary to find permanent space to house the library and to serve as a base from which materials could be mailed. It was also necessary

Fig. 1 - The SGS Library

to create staff positions so that members and the public could have regular access to SGS programs. SGS presently has a staff of 3 full-time employees made up of Executive Director, Executive Assistant and Librarian and a part-time Education Coordinator. Volunteers donated over 100,000 hours for the provincial body alone and over 50,000 at the branch level. Thanks to all of these people we are able to provide a wide menu of programming.

In 1985, SGS began receiving operational funding from Saskatchewan Lotteries Trust Fund. The Society moved to its present location at 1870 Lorne Street at that time. This location has made the library accessible to its members and the general public. With a permanent location, membership and book donations have increased rapidly, so too, have the demands on the facilities by our membership and the public

at large, including organizations from the public and private sectors. SGS is a recognized leader in the genealogical community.

SGS has approximately 1900 individual members and 152 institutional members. There are 20 active branches around the province.

Mission

SGS is a volunteer provincial heritage organization whose purpose is to promote and develop the study, research, and preservation of Genealogy and Family History.

Mandate

•   Promote the collection, preservation and accessibility of Saskatchewan cultural heritage records.
•   Assist anyone researching his/her Saskatchewan heritage and Saskatchewan residents researching their ancestral heritage anywhere.
•   To be the collective voice of genealogy and family history in Saskatchewan.
•   To coordinate genealogical and family history related projects in Saskatchewan.

Board of Directors

The Board consists of the following people:

President - Bev Weston
Past President - Arlene Frolick
Vice President - Rocky Sample
Directors: Isabel Jungwirth, David Pickering, Blanche Fleming, Brian Brodie, Carole Andrews

SGS Programs and Services

The SGS offers many programs and services to assist in the research of its membership. Most significant are the following:
•   Library. The library is the main SGS program and the principand reason many people become members. Through this program, we offer our membership and the public a centralized location for genealogical resources in Saskatchewan. Because of our facilities and central location, the library has a high profile and usage continues to grow. Members and non-members travel long distances to use our facilities. SGS receives a large number of research and reference service requests through referrals. Many donations of books and microforms are received because of the library and professional services that are offered.

The SGS library is the largest genealogical lending library in Canada. Over 5,000 people from across Canada, United States and around the world visit the library annually. The collection, which is valued in excess of $300,000 is

made up of approximately 20,000 books, maps, microfilm, microfiche and periodical records. SGS exchanges periodicals with societies throughout Canada, the United States; British Isles, Australia and New Zealand. Our collection has been developed to help our members trace their heritage throughout Canada and the rest of the world. This includes European maps, guidebooks, microfiche/film (including actual church records, and gazetteers. We have an extensive collection of materials about the Germans from Russia, Galicia, Bukovina, Hungary and the recently completed Germans to America collection of 67 volumes of listing Passengers arriving at US Ports covering the years 1850-1897. The *Zichydorf Village Association* has deposited their large collection of resources in the SGS Library.

The library is staffed with a knowledgeable librarian to provide assistance to those doing research. The library is open from 9:30 am to 4:30 pm Tuesday through Saturday during the winter, and Monday tthough Friday during the summer.
• *Research*. SGS provides a research service of Saskatchewan sources and all SGS resources. See our web site for more information on fees and procedures: <http://www.saskgenealogy.com>
• *Cemetery Program*. Since 1975, SGS has been locating and recording cemeteries. To date, we have located 3,215 cemeteries and transcribed 2,075.
• *Obituary File*. This file contains over 750,000 obituaries clipped from newspapers throughout Saskatchewan. Most are for the past 10-15 years from 27 different newspapers.
• *Saskatchewan Residents Index* (SRI). This is an index on a database from Saskatchewan resources. There are currently over 2.2 million names. This includes several local history books that have been indexed by articles not just family names.
• *Education*. Throughout the year, SGS offers classes for the certification of record searchers, instructors and researchers. A College of Certified Saskatchewan Genealogists (CCSG) was formed by the graduates of our accreditation courses. Workshops are also provided on a variety of topics.
• *Seminars*. SGS holds an Annual Seminar generally in the fall. During 2002 SGS played a leading role in hosting the international genealogical conference "*Discovering Our Links to Europe*" in partnership with The Bukovina Society of the Americas; the East European Genealogical Society; the Federation of East European Family History Societies (FEEFHS) and the Society for German Genealogy in Eastern Europe held in Regina, Saskatchewan.

Publications

SGS publishes a quarterly journal titled the *Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Bulletin*. The journal includes articles on researching from all cultures. The society published a book titled *Tracing Your Saskatchewan Ancestors: A Guide to the Resources and How to Use Them.*

This book has been placed on the reading list by Saskatchewan Learning formerly known as the Saskatchewan Department of Education for use in schools. The Society is presently publishing a series of books titled *Births, Deaths and Marriages from the Regina Leader Post from 1883 to the latest book 1913*. The next book will cover 1914-1918. The Society also publishes *Fratautz and the Fratautzers: The Rise and Fall of a German Village Community in Bukovina,* translated by Sophie A. Welisch and *Fürstenthal: A German Bohemian Community in Bukovina,* also translated by Sophie A. Welisch.

SGS also sells a variety of forms and publications to assist people with their research. We sell the *Census Index for 1891 for NorthWest Territories*, published by SGS Regina Branch. Also, *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas*, edited by William Keel and Kurt Rein. A complete list is located on our website.

Membership Fees and Benefits

The membership runs from January to December. Members receive a copy of the quarterly journal and for those residing in Canada may borrow books through the mail. Members may also access our microfiche/film collection in person at the SGS library and join a local branch. For the year 2003, the fees are $33 for a family; $30 for seniors (65+); Institutions $33 and life membership $500. Fees are payable in Canadian funds for those residing in Canada and residents outside of Canada payable in US funds only.

Points of Contact

To learn more about our Society visit the website at www.saskgenealogy.com. Contact SGS by phone at 1-306-781-6021; by fax at 1-306-781-6021. Visit or write to SGS at 1870 Lorne St. Regina, SK. S4P 2L7.

Please note SGS Library is fragrance free so please do not use perfume, cologne, aftershave or scented hair products.

Fig. 2 - Researcher at the SGS Library

The Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Library

by Laura M. Hanowski and Celeste Rider

The Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Library is located in Room 201, 1870 Lorne Street in Regina, Saskatchewan. A map to show our location is found in the inside front cover of each Bulletin. It is owned and operated by the Saskatchewan Genealogical Society but is open to the public. It is open five days a week from 9:30 am - 4:30 pm. From mid-September to the end of April it is open from Tuesday to Saturday; and from May until mid-September it is open from Monday to Friday. The library is closed between Christmas and New Years. The library also closes on Friday and Saturday during the annual seminar and the annual meeting. It is closed Saturdays on long weekends.

The Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Library is made up of materials based on the needs and interests of the membership. These resources range from how to get started doing research in each area to indexes and records that enable the researcher to trace their ancestors from Saskatchewan back to the 1600's in Canada and the United States, the 1500's in Great Britain and Scandinavia and the 1700's in Europe. A selection of gazetteers and maps help the researcher to find the names and locations of communities their ancestors lived in. This information helps with learning the current names and points to possible locations where the records they need could be found today.

The SGS Library collection began with how-to books and a collection of genealogies put together by members. As the membership grew, so did the collection. When public monies became available, a wide range of materials was purchased to meet the needs of the membership. The Board of Directors suggested that SGS join the Federation of Family History Societies based in England so that we could be part of a lobby group to enable genealogical societies to purchase microfiche copies of the International Genealogical Index (IGI) and the Family History Library Locality Catalog (FHLC) from the Genealogical Society of Utah. Since that time, SGS has purchased three editions of these records for the collection. Members continue to donate funds to purchase collections that many people could use. The Index to Births, Marriages and Deaths for England and Wales, the Loiselle Index, which is an index of Roman Catholic marriages in Quebec from 1603 - 1963, the Indexes to Birth, Marriage and Death Registrations for Ontario are just a few examples. At the end of 1999 the collection consisted of 19,580 books, 928 periodicals, 1,156 microfilms, 34,457 microfiche, 240 maps, 10 videos and 22 CD-Roms. Total value of the collection is presently in excess of $300,000. The value of the collection grows about $10,000 per year.

During the 1980's, many books were published by genealogical societies and researchers throughout the world. SGS was able to purchase copies of the major publications. When the world economy slowed down in the 1990's, the SGS Library budget decreased and fewer books were published. Collection development centered on the purchase of the newest editions of major works already in the collection and the completion of collections that were already begun. From the beginning, a policy was set that stated SGS would not duplicate materials found in major institutions in Saskatchewan. This meant we would not purchase local histories. It was decided that SGS would also not purchase family histories. However, SGS would accept donations of these books and could issue income tax receipts for the value of the books. To date, more than 3,500 books have been received in this manner.

SGS purchases subscriptions to sixteen journals and exchanges a further one hundred and fifty-seven journals with societies and their branches in Canada, United States, Great Britain, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania. SGS also receives regular donations from members and non-members for another six journals. SGS has complete collections of a number of journals that are no longer being published but continue to be of value to the researcher. Two members of the society extract items of interest from these periodicals which are published in each issue of the Bulletin. This means members are kept up-to-date with new resources and research techniques around the world. To help members find articles that were published in these journals, SGS has purchased the CD-Rom of the 1999 edition of PERSI - the PERiodical Source Index.

One of the first SGS librarians arranged for SGS to acquire the Library Rate from Canada Post. This means that SGS can mail library books in Canada for a reduced rate that includes the return postage. It also means SGS must participate in the Interlibrary Loan program. The policy states members will receive priority. In 2001, 400 packages of books were mailed to members and four packages were mailed as Interlibrary Loan requests. SGS encouraged those who use the mail-out service to donate funds to maintain the service. Forty-five members donated $390 in 2001. SGS Library Mailing Policy restricts the mail-outs to books under the value of $100. There also is a weight and size limit to avoid damage to the binding of the books.

Once SGS purchased copies of the International Genealogical Index and the Family History Locality Catalog, members wanted help with how to use these resources. At this time the librarian began offering workshops at SGS on how to make the most use of them. Today workshops are offered throughout the year on how to use the major collections in the library. For those who are unable to come to the library there is an opportunity to have research done for them. There are also research guides available for purchase.

When SGS started purchasing resource materials on microfiche, it meant obtaining microfiche readers. Light

bulbs were expensive so a policy was set to charge $1 per day for use of the machines so a supply of bulbs could be kept on hand. For a number of years those who wanted copies from the fiche were able to order them but a volunteer from the society went to the Regina Public Library to make them. SGS now owns its own reader/printer and charges to make copies. When SGS was able to purchase microfilm, microfilm readers were purchased. The $1 charge to purchase light bulbs applies.

Beginning with the publication of the first Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Bulletin, the lists of the new materials added to the SGS collection have been listed in each edition of the Bulletin. In 1971, 1975, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1986 and 1993, copies of the library collection were published and made available to the membership. The computer program used for the 1992 edition quickly became obsolete so no new copies were available, but there are still copies available for borrowing. SGS has since purchased a commercial library program and has begun entering the resources in it. Once this is complete, copies will likely be available on CD-Rom.

Articles about the special collections for Ontario, Quebec, United States, British Isles, Europe, the Metis Scrip records have been printed in the Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Bulletin. Copies of these articles are also found on SGS Web site http://www.saskgenealogy.com Only members of the Society are able to access these records in person but SGS will do research for members and non-member. Monies raised help purchase more materials for the library.

An important part of the library collection is the obituary, cemetery and Saskatchewan Resident Index programs. Members and non-members from throughout the province volunteer their time to update and maintain the valuable collections. The obituary collection was begun in 1972 with obituaries from the Regina Leader Post and the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix. Since that time some 750,000 obituaries have been collected. The majority date from 1985 but there are many from the 1800's.

The Cemetery Collection was begun in 1975 to locate cemeteries and private burial site throughout the province. To date 3,215 cemeteries and/or burial sites in 299 Rural Municipalities are registered and 2,075 recorded, with copies of records for 1,600 of these sites in the collection. The list of sites and those for which there are records is found on SGS web page. The public as well as members may access the cemetery collection in person. Searches for a fee can be made for those who cannot come to the library. The fees enable SGS to maintain the cemetery program. The Saskatchewan Residents Index (SRI) was started as the 25th Anniversary project. It is a database with more than 2.2 million names taken from local histories, Cummins Maps, Voters' Lists, cemetery records, school year books and some city and rural directories. This data base is being added to continually. There is a $1 fee charged to use the database and .15¢ per page for prints. This helps cover computer costs.

Saskatchewan Genealogical Society receives substantial funding from Saskatchewan Lotteries. This means SGS must provide services that benefit the people of Saskatchewan. SGS Library is open to the public but only members are able to access the microfilm/microfiche collection. Each year people come to use SGS Library from throughout the world. Many people learn about the library through the SGS Web site or Saskatchewan Tourism magazine. These people in turn donate funds which are used to purchase more resources for the library.

In addition to the collections of materials that make up the collection found in the main library of SGS there are two very important collections that were established for the branches of the society. The first is the Core Collection, a group of books given to each branch when they were formed. The other is the Floater Collection, a group of over 300 books that are duplicate of some of the most popular books found in the main collection that are exchanged between the branches at the Annual Meeting.
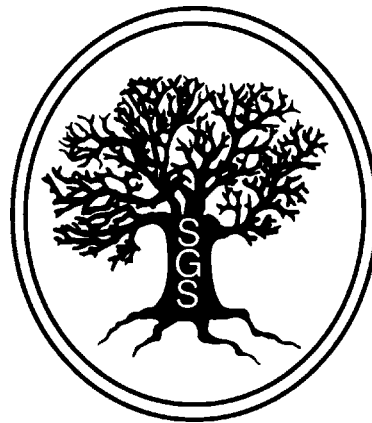
SGS Education Coordinator Laura Hanowski with FEEFHS vice-president Kahlile Mehr

The Bukovina Society of the Americas

by Oren Windholz, President, Bukovina Society

History of Bukovina

From 1775 to 1918 Bukovina was the easternmost crown land of the Austrian Empire. As a multi-ethnic province, its name has several spellings: Bukowina or Buchenland in German, Bukowina in Polish, Bucovina in Romanian, and Bukovyna in Ukrainian, all of which mean Land of Beech Trees. Today only a geographical expression, Bukovina retains a nostalgia for many whose ancestors once called it their homeland. Although a modern-day visitor is greeted by signs welcoming him to "Bukovina," and its public buildings still display the former crown land's coat of arms, there are few institutions that have been unaffected by the political vicissitudes of the twentieth century.

Bukovina, on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, was once incorporated into the Principality of Moldavia with Suceava serving as its capital from 1388. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the painted monasteries of Arbora, Dragomirna, Humor, Moldoviţa, Putna, Suceviţa, and Voroneţ were constructed under the patronage of the Moldavian princes, in particular Stephen the Great (1459-1504) and his son Petru Rareš (ruled 1527-1546). Famous for their exterior frescoes blending the traditions of Romanian folk art with Gothic and Byzantine styles, these monasteries remain among the greatest cultural treasures of Romania and have been deemed to be world monuments by the United Nations.

Along with the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, Bukovina for centuries lived under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. It remained under Turkish control until occupied by the Russians in 1769, then by the Austrians in 1774. By the Treaty of Constantinople in 1775, control of Bukovina passed to the Austrian Empire. Administered as a district of the province of Galicia from 1786, Bukovina gained separate crown land status in 1849. With the Compromise of 1867, which created the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, Bukovina, like Galicia, remained under Austrian administration, while neighboring Transylvania came under Hungarian rule.

During World War I Bukovina became a battlefield between Austrian and Russian troops. Although the Russians finally withdrew in 1917, Austria ceded the province to Romania by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1919. The inter-war period witnessed the Romanization of Bukovina's institutions, the political reorganization from federal to unitary state with all decisions emanating from Bucharest, and the restructuring of Bukovina from crown land to five administrative districts (*Judetze*): Cernauţi, Câmpulung, Radauţi, Storojineţ and Suceava. Romanian replaced German as the official language, and civil servants had two years in which to show competency in Romanian or face discharge from service. With the Romanization of the school system from kindergarten to university, instruction in German became available only as a separate course of study or through private schools maintained by parish or community.

The outbreak of World War II on September 1, 1939 opened a floodgate of hostilities, which would engulf Europe for the next six years. Especially affected were central and eastern Europe, which experienced unprecedented devastation and social disruption including resettlement of populations. With the Soviet annexation of northern Bukovina on June 28, 1940, the wheels were set in motion for the transfer of its German population to Germany. While its control of northern Bukovina was reversed during the course of the war, the Yalta Agreement upheld the Soviet Union's annexation of all lands acquired while allied with Germany under the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (1939). Northern Bukovina as far as the Seret River, with its Ukrainian plurality, was incorporated as the Chernivetska Oblast first into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and then into independent Ukraine; southern Bukovina remained under Romanian control.

Immigration to and from Bukovina

Bukovina covers an area of 10,422 square kilometers. In 1775 its population numbered about 60,000 or six people per square kilometer. To encourage the development of this sparsely settled land, the Austrian government subsidized the immigration of German colonists to Bukovina. Capitalizing on its natural resources of agricultural land, forests, and minerals, they recruited farmers, lumbermen and skilled workers for a glassworks industry, and miners to exploit its ore reserves. In addition, many came unbidden and unsubsidized by the state, including Poles, Jews, Hungarians, Romanians, Gypsies, and Ukrainians. Bukovina, where these ethnic groups lived side-by-side in mutual toleration and cooperation, has been termed, "Europe in miniature." By 1910, its population had increased to over 800,000.

The state-subsidized German colonists came from three distinct areas: Swabians and Palatines from what is now Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate in south-western Germany; German Bohemians from the Bohemian Forest (*Böhmerwald*), now in the Czech Republic; and Zipsers from the High Tatra Mountains, now in Spiš County, Slovakia. Until World War I officials, administrators, educators and craftsmen from other areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire continued to be drawn to Bukovina, where many took up permanent roots.

As the population of Bukovina expanded, so did the pressures for emigration. Farmers with large families could no longer subdivide their homesteads among their numerous progeny, and industry in Bukovina had failed to keep pace with economic development in other Austrian crown lands or the New World.

The first wave of Bukovina German immigration to the Americas began in the 1880's. Following a pattern of chain migration, most of these newcomers settled in communities among their *Landsleute* where farmland was readily available. Their destinations included, among others, Ellis County, KS; Yuma County, CO; Naperville, IL in the Chicago area; Saskatchewan, Canada; and Rio Negro, Brazil. A second wave of immigration to the New World took place in the years immediately preceding and following World War I. The closing of the frontier in 1890 and the lack of free land forced those immigrating after this time either to purchase land or look to the cities for a livelihood. Arriving at Ellis Island, many stayed on in New York City and its environs or moved on to other urban centers where they found work in the nation's expanding industrial sector.

Nativism and its concomitant negative attitude to the so-called "New Immigrants", i.e., those from eastern and southernEurope, led the Congress of the United states in 1921 to restrict immigration based on nationality. Admission of each nationality was limited to 3 percent of the foreign-born of that group in America based on the 1910 census. While Germany had a relatively high quota, Romania, in which the Bukovina Germans found themselves after World War I, had a small one. The Reed-Johnson act of 1924 further curtailed immigration, setting the annual quota for any nationality at 2 percent of the number of foreign-born of each nationality resident in the United States according to the 1890 census. With immigration virtually closed to residents of Bukovina after 1924, many who wished to leave their homeland turned to Canada, which welcomed homesteaders for its central provinces. Given the porous nature of the U.S. - Canadian border, many immigrants found their way to the States.

World War II provided the major impetus for the Bukovina Germans to leave their homeland. After the Soviet annexation of northern Bukovina, an agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany, and later a similar agreement between Romania and Germany, allowed the ethnic Germans voluntarily to depart for Germany.

Nearly all the Bukovina Germans, some 95,000 people, accepted the terms of the *Umsiedlung* (resettlement) to the Reich. In 1945 many who took up residence in German-occupied Poland or in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, were again en route, this time fleeing from the advancing Red Army or a hostile indigenous population. An estimated 20 percent of the Bukovina Germans lost their lives during the course of World War II as battle casualties, in POW camps, through bombings and partisan attacks, or in flight from the war zones.

Those who survived the hostilities found themselves in the German Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic or Austria after the war. Some were forcibly repatriated to Bukovina while others were deported to Siberia. The passage of the Refugee Relief Act (1953) followed by the McCarran-Walter Act (1957) facilitated the immigration to the United States of displaced persons, the category in which the Bukovinia Germans found themselves

after 1945. Those repatriated to Bukovina were not well received and lived without civil rights for five years. A number were granted exit visas in the 1970s and were eventually able to leave Romania. Very few Germans remain in Bukovina today.

The Bukovina Society of the Americas

In 1988 a committee of interested individuals founded the Bukovina Society of the Americas, which includes among its objectives:
• to further historical knowledge of and preserve historical records relating to the Bukovina German heritage;
• to promote respect for and recognition of the history and accomplishments of the immigrants from Bukovina including their heritage, traditions and records;
• to encourage historical research relating to the emigration of our forebears from Germany and Austria to Bukovina and from Bukovina to the New World and foster interest in colleges, universities, and educational institutions among students, faculty, and historians of studies and research relating to our ethnic heritage;
• to establish and maintain an ethnic repository at the Center for Ethnic Studies, Ft. Hays State University in Hays, Kansas for the collection of documents, photographs and artifacts relating to Bukovinians both at home and abroad;
• to encourage research and compilation of personal family histories through genealogical forums;
• to affiliate with other societies and institutions committed to similar goals and objectives;
• to maintain a website with information relating to the Society's activities as well as to the history and culture of Bukovina and its people.

The Society's heritage festival in July of 1989 commemorating the centennial of the Ellis pioneers took on an international role through presenters from the United States, Germany and Spain. Each year the Society sponsors a convention, sometimes in conjunction with other associations in the United States or abroad. Participation in the latter have included: the German Genealogy and Heritage Conference in Waco, TX (1997); the 11th annual Bucovina Fest of the Associação Alemã-Bucovina de Cultura-ABC in Rio Negro, Brazil (2001); and the FEEFHS International Genealogical Conference in Regina, SK, Canada (2002). Over the years we have witnessed a steady increase in numbers of attendees and presenters.

Membership is open to anyone who is of Bukovinian heritage or interested in its history and culture. Drawn from the United States, Canada, Brazil, Germany and several other foreign countries, we now have a committed membership of approximately 350 who support our endeavors. The Bukovina Society is directed and run entirely by volunteers. Speakers at all meetings and conventions, members of the board of directors, and workers remodeling and operating the headquarters have all generously donated their time without compensation.

In addition to its quarterly Newsletter, the Society has published six books:

• *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas* (1996) $15.00 US, edited by Dr. William Keel and Dr. Kurt Rein
• *The Bukovina Germans* (1990) $5.00 US, by Irma Bornemann, translated by Dr. Sophie A. Welisch
• *Bukovina Villages/Towns/Cities and Their Germans* (1990) $10.00 US, by Dr. Sophie A. Welisch
• *The First Meeting of the Bukovina Society of the Americas: July 19 - 22, 1989* $5.00 US, ed. Oren Windholz
• *Anika* (2000) Memoirs of a teen-age girl from southern Bukovina caught up on the maelstrom of World War II $5.00 US, by Anne-Marie Hilgarth, ed. Dr. Sophie A. Welisch

The Society offers books by other authors and publishers as well as Bukovina memorabilia. An order form with price list is available from the Society's headquarters at P O Box 81, Ellis, KS 67637.

The Society's affiliations with international organizations include:

Bukowina-Institut and Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen e.V.
Alter Postweg 97a
86159 Augsburg, Germany
Tel.: 0821/577067
Fax: 0821/582607
E-mail: bukinst@t-online.de

Associação Alemã-Bucovina de Cultura (Bukovina-German Cultural Association)
Professor Ayrton Gonçalves Celestino
Rua Waldemar Kost, 1505
Curitiba - Paranã CEP 81630-180
Brazil
E-mail: ayrgcelestino@ig.com.br

Fig. 1 -Headquarters of the Bukovina Society of the Americas in Ellis Kansas

Website

In 1996 Larry Jensen, a founding member of the Society, took the initiative of pioneering a website for the Bukovina Society. This initial website was on his personal AOL account; shortly thereafter he created a mirror site on the FEEFHS server. Larry's efforts significantly increased the visibility of the Bukovina Society and attracted new members from around the world. Early in 2002 Werner Zoglauer and Rebecca Hageman became the Society's webmasters, expanding and upgrading the new site at a new location <www.bukovinasociety.org> The new website includes all content (some updated) from the old site as well as substantial new material. Large amounts of data continue to be added with a few links still under construction. In this short time we have recorded thousands of visits to the site from nineteen countries. The links include:

What's New
Site Map of the Web Pages
About Us
Bukovina Society Calendar & Events
Bukovina Genealogy & Contacts
Details about Bukovina Families and Villages
Library of Bukovina-Related Articles on the Site
Newsletters of the Society
Map Room
Bukovina Society in the News
Museum on the Web
Store for Books and Memorabilia
Search the Bukovina Website
Other Organizations
Guest Book
Contributors
Auf Deutsch [in German]

Organization

The Bukovina Society of the Americas is a non-profit corporation registered in the State of Kansas. On September 11, 1997 the Society received a determination from the Internal Revenue Service that it is a tax exempt organization under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Expenses are funded by membership dues, sale of books and donations. Dues are $150.00 US for lifetime and $15.00 US for annual membership. The principal benefits of membership, in addition to supporting the Society and its goals, include the quarterly Newsletter, access to its 8800 name data base assembled by Werner Zoglauer at the Society headquarters, and the opportunity to network with individuals of similar interests. Donations and contributions to the Society are tax deductible in the United States and can be directed to the Society's headquarters at P O Box 81, Ellis, KS 67637. The contact person for the Society is Oren Windholz at the Society's postal box number or by e-mail at owindholz@ruraltel.net.

Due to the need for frequent transactions of a business and legal nature the Society's Board of Directors consists of members drawn locally from the Ellis, Kansas area. In addition, an International Board serves to give the Society a

broader base through its wider contacts with Bukovina and Bukovinians both here and abroad. At their respective annual meetings early in 2002 both Boards voted to merge into one body over a period of four years, a decision prompted by the ease and speed of electronic communication.

Board of Directors

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Bukovina Society Emblem

The emblem of the Bukovina Society of the Americas and other Bukovina organizations worldwide is the coat of arms of our ancestral homeland. Awarded in 1862 by Emperor Francis Joseph I to the crown land of Bukovina, it depicts an aurochs, an extinct wild European ox, presumably the ancestor of today's cattle. The head of the aurochs is set on a blue and red field surrounded by three golden stars.

Society Headquarters and Museum

The First Congregational Church, founded in Ellis, Kansas in 1873, was believed to be the first organized congregation in the town. Its first services were held in the Ellis House and in the town's first schoolhouse. In 1907 through the generosity of the congregation and local citizens, the present building was erected. It was a grand event for the times, and prominently featured in the local newspaper. The church closed in 1971, but a centennial celebration in 1973 followed by the incorporation of the

Ellis Arts and Historical Society assured preservation of the historic building.

The Bukovina Society had many aspirations, and a headquarters building seemed far off except for the generous cooperation of the trustees of the Arts and Historical Society. The City Council of Ellis in May of 1991 gave its unanimous consent to make the facilities of the First Congregational Church available to the Society. Because of its use as a community center, the Council also agreed to pay for utilities and basic maintenance. Dedication of the Society's headquarters took place at the opening of its third annual convention in July of 1991. Its chapel serves as the site of occasional weddings while the lower level is used for meetings, meals, and receptions.

The museum at the Bukovina Society Headquarters maintains a collection of artifacts including clothing, farm implements, mechanical tools, books, musical instruments, documents, photographs, and artifacts brought from Bukovina by members who toured Bukovina in recent years. It is open to the public every afternoon on Tuesday through Saturday; visitors can gain access at other hours by contacting one of the Board members listed on the mailbox outside the museum.

Fig. 2 -Emblem of the Bukovina Society of the Americas

History of the Oberländer Family

by Renate Gschwendtner[1]

[translated by Dr. Sophie A. Welisch]

Settlement in Bukovina

Gottlieb Oberländer left his hometown of Göllnitz in the Zips [Szepes, now Slovakia] after the Austrian nobleman Karl Manz von Mariensee began searching for trained personnel to process iron ore in South Bukovina. In 1807 an ironworks was constructed on the Moldova River near Wama [Vama]. The community of Eisenau [Prisaca Dornei] arose one year later, initially settled by thirty-eight Germans, all from the Zips.

The homeland of the Zipsers lay in Upper Hungary. In the thirteenth century the Hungarian King Bela IV invited German settlers into the country in order to cultivate land desolated and devastated by the Tatar hordes. In 1270 the Zipsers, according to the so-called "Zipser Decree," were guaranteed autonomy and various privileges. Because of the abundance of minerals, a mining industry developed. Knight von Manz certainly looked in the right place for specialists for his new iron foundries.

Life in Eisenau

Gottfried Oberländer was a foundry worker and would have been among the first Zipsers in Eisenau. In 1812 he married Elisabeth Christofori of Gurahumora [Gura Humorului], who came from Hettau in the Zips. These two became the progenitors of a large descendency.

The foundry remained the principal source of work for the villagers until 1870. In addition, they kept cattle and poultry, and planted potatoes, oats, barley, poppies, turnips, cabbage, vegetables, hemp, and flax. When Emperor Frances 1(1768-1835) toured Bukovina in 1817, he also visited Eisenau. In his travelogue he wrote:

"August 12 ... Gently up and down, where the Wama basin extends into a narrow valley, [one sees] to the left the new village laid out by Manz with attractive wooden houses built according to regulations and occupied entirely by Zipsers. There is also a large long building, Manz's foundry, with five hammers, furnished very nicely with bellows. Here he makes bars, iron rails, etc. from the iron of Jakobeny. The wheel room is covered with a mill-race. He built the iron works here because the Moldova [River] does not freeze. He sells the iron in Bukovina and Galicia but not so much, according to his statements, that he can do without importing foreign iron. More iron foundries can be built. In a house level to the ground is a one-room school in which some thirty children of both sexes are taught to read and write ..."

The first church in Eisenau was erected in 1821. Most of the villagers were Lutheran, with a Catholic minority of less than 10 percent. Both denominations held religious services in the church. When in 1825 an agreement was drawn up for the common use of the church, Gottlieb Oberländer was among the signatories for the Lutheran Christians.

Depleted mineral resources and poor investments on the part of the mining administration led to the decline of the mining industry in Bukovina. In 1870 the entire Manz family enterprise came under the ownership of its largest creditor, the Greek Orthodox Religious Foundation. The establishment of this foundation dates back to Emperor Joseph II [1741-1790] and the dissolution of numerous Greek-Orthodox monasteries.

The Eisenau iron works continued to operate after the take-over and added a rolling mill which processed old iron. From it, plow shares, shovels, pickaxes, kettles, and various sorts of sheet and hoop iron as well as iron wire were manufactured. In addition, the old rails of the Lemberg-Czernowitz-Jassy [Lvov-Cherovtsy-Iaşi] railroad line were also melted down.

After the dissolution of the Manz enterprises in Bukovina, the Oberländer males had to look around for other sources of livelihood. They supported their families as foresters and construction workers, as teamsters, or as quarry workers. Many labored away from home and sometimes returned home after being away for weeks. The single daughters hired out as maids of the well-to-do in places like Wama, Kimpolung [Campulung], Dorna Watra [Vatra Dornei] and Czernowitz.

Fruits and vegetables were grown in the household garden plots and in the fields. They planted flax and used it to make bedding, table cloths and towels. They raised geese for their feathers and meat and chickens for eggs and a Sunday roast. At the Oberländers several cows were usually kept in the stable and they fattened hogs. In the forests they gathered berries and mushrooms.

Life and cuisine had their limitations, often rather meager. Gisela Oberländer, descendant of Gottlieb, recalled how many of the older ladies could only prepare simple dishes. Only after working as maids in well-to-do homes did the females gain wider cooking skills.

Katharina Oberländer Marries Angelo Cattaneo

With the development of railroads at the end of the nineteenth century, many Italian construction workers, brought in because of their skills in stone masonry, married into German families. In 1891 Katharina Oberländer married the stone mason Angelo Cattaneo from Alzate in the province of Como. With the completion of the railroad line, Angelo Cattaneo worked in forestry. The couple had one son and six daughters.

On October 22, 1900 the Imperial and Royal [*kaiserlich u. königlich*, or *k.k.*] notary Simeon Baranowski in Kimpulung issued the following bill of sale: Katharina Katani (the Italian name had been Germanized) acquired property in Eisenau from Michael and Sofie Löffler. At the time of the documentation the Katanis had already built a

house. The purchasing price of 160 crowns had been paid several months earlier. In April 1911 Angelo Katani (Cattaneo) applied for Austrian citizenship.

World War I

The First World War presented Eisenau with intermittent quartering of Russian and Austrian troops. The villagers learned of the outbreak of the war through a town crier with a drum. Shortly thereafter the Katanis' only son, Ambros, was inducted. He returned home with a bullet in his lung, which could not be removed. For a long time he suffered from his injuries, yet he survived and later again worked as a stone mason. He died in 1962 with the bullet still in his lung.

The father of the family was exempted from military service because he was employed as a bridge guard on the Bokotara railroad bridge, which lay between Alt Kimpolung and Eisenau. Due to fear of attacks, the bridge was guarded around the clock.

Early in 1916 Russian troops marched through Eisenau to the front. Previously the Eisenauers had heard atrocity stories about the murder of small children. Since the Katani house lay on the main street, the children were brought to Samowilla, a friend of Angelo Katani, likewise from Italy. For fourteen days the mother carried food to them. When it became obvious that the Russians did not harm the children, she brought them back home. In time the children felt so secure that they ran after the military bands, which accompanied the Russian troops to the front, in order to hear the music.

In the direction of Hurgisch, near the so-called trenches, the Katanis owned parcels of land and a hay stand. As a Romanian at the direction of the Russians was taking hay from there, Angelo Katani became enraged and struck him a blow. Two Russian soldiers began looking for Katani who, when he saw them coming, ran out the back door, through the garden, and jumped over the fence. The soldiers saw his tracks and assumed Katani had fled up the mountain. Luckily they did not go up to the fence, since he was cowering in back of it in the snow. When they departed, he hid for fourteen days at the home of his friend, Samowilla, where his wife brought him food every day.

The women often had to hide out for days at a time. They crawled into cellars, whose trap doors were covered with rugs and all sorts of items or ran behind the houses to the mountain and hid in the bushes which grew all over the meadows.

One daughter of the Katanis, Amalie, barely escaped being raped. She was underway with her younger sister, Gisela, when she was attacked by two Russians. They pulled her to the ground. But since the younger sister steadfastly remained at her side, they had moral afterthoughts and let Amalie go.

As the Russian troops were forced to retreat by the Austrians, they blew up Eisenau's two bridges. Those living near the Sawoi Bridge were warned and opened their windows, although the explosion of the railroad bridge shattered many window panes. The retreating Russians shot up the place and, while most of the bullets landed on the mountain slopes above the houses, some buildings were nonetheless also hit Since the owners immediately put out the fires, total destruction was avoided. Only one stable burned entirely to the ground. One lady from Kälbergasse, who was standing in the courtyard with her baby in her arms, was killed by a grenade. With the exception of a few scratches, the baby was uninjured.

The frightened villagers drove their cattle ahead of them and departed Eisenau in the direction of the approaching Austrian troops. The Katanis took their three cows and likewise joined the entourage. They had hidden one cow in a cellar.

At the Bokotara Bridge the Russians had thrown away a lot of bread. The people of Eisenau began gathering these military supplies when two Austrian cavalry men approached. They warned the people that the Russians could observe them with their binoculars and advised them to hide with their cattle in the forest. Several women got the idea of making a fire which was noticed by the enemy troops, causing them to fire a round of shots.

Angelo Katani had enough of the people's nonsense and drove his cows to Tomnatic Mountain, where there was a hut. This is where in normal times the Katanis' young cattle would be pastured for the summer. Angelo stayed there for several weeks and his wife brought food to him daily.

As the Austrians marched into the village, the Katanis had to empty a room where the soldiers established an officers' kitchen. The cook, Emil Gall of Vienna, was a friendly young man, who fell in love with Amalie Katani and often gave the daughters something special. The officers ate to gramophone music and sometimes organized dance evenings.

These rather pleasant quartered guests were followed by Hungarian Imperial and Royal troop detachments, which again set up their kitchen in the Katani house. The new cook was not so generous, and Gisela Katani was rude to him. With time he became so annoyed that he threw a handful of sharp paprika in her eyes. Gisela endured terrible pain and for a while could not see. Her father threw the cook out of the house and complained to the officers. After that, the kitchen was relocated to another house.

At night the soldiers stole potatoes from the fields and the young people of the village had to keep watch. Summer school instruction repeatedly failed to take place for longer periods of time. Gisela Katani attended school for about four years, until her mother took her out of school before her allotted time and sent her to work as a maid.

Interwar Period

After the war Bukovina was incorporated into Romania. Henceforth, education was to be conducted only in the Romanian language. Gisela Oberländer recalls her only hour of instruction in Romanian. The new teacher wanted her to write "hen" and "rooster" on the blackboard in Romanian. She could not do it, nor could anyone in the class. Unnerved,

the teacher gave up and accommodated himself to the pupils who were just beginning in school. From about 1923-24 classes in Eisenau were conducted only in Romanian.

In 1925 Angelo Cattaneo died at the age of sixty-two. His widow wanted to leave the house to her daughter Auguste and her son-in-law Franz Presser. When this daughter died young and without offspring, the youngest daughter, Gisela got the house and also undertook the care of her old mother. The other children either got money or parcels of land. Gisela and her husband Rudolf Oberländer had previously owned another house, which they turned over as compensation to their brother-in-law Presser.

In 1929 Gisela Katani married Rudolf Oberländer, her cousin in second degree of kinship. He worked as a mason and had fulfilled his military obligation in the Romanian army. Workers were needed for tunnel construction in Ilva. After Rudolf Oberländer started working there, he could return to his family only every five or six weeks.

In 1930 their daughter Edith was born. Because only Romanian was taught in the schools, a "school committee" was established in Eisenau, which got clearance by the Ministry of Culture to offer a German course. Between 1936-38 the teacher Kastenhuber from Grossau in Transylvania conducted German lessons in the parish house. Later teacher Frambach took over the German lessons. During her school years Edith always attended the classes in the parish house.

World War II: Resettlement

When the Second World War broke out, the Oberländers hoped that Bukovina would be spared. They could not realize that the loss of their homeland lay ahead of them. In October 1940 Germany and Romania reached an accord about the resettlement of the Germans from South Bukovina.

When the resettlement commission was activated, Gisela and Rudolf Oberländer hesitated. They did not want to abandon their homeland and their homestead. But as more and more villagers opted for resettlement and the threat of war intensified, the Oberländers feared being left behind and consented with heavy heart.

Baron von der Goltz, assessor in Kimpolung, judged the social situation in Eisenau to be catastrophic and noted "that the desire for resettlement among the Eisenauers was unusually strong; they saw the return to the Reich as a solution to their dire straits at the last hour and therefore could hardly wait to be transported to the Reich."
Perhaps this characterization fit individual families. However, it was not true of the Oberländers. Although they lived in modest circumstances, they would have gladly continued a peaceful life in Eisenau.

Two transports were set aside for the village of Eisenau. "The village was dismal after half of the people had departed," Gisela Oberländer related. "The empty houses and wailing dogs had a depressing effect."

The few possessions which could be taken were packed in a large wooden crate and transported in special train cars.

These freight cars remained at an Austrian railroad station for weeks and the contents rotted. The family could only take portable luggage which, according to regulations, was to contain food for three days. Gisela Oberländer had killed and roasted her chickens.

The people boarded the train in Eisenau and after short stopovers in Budapest, Bruck an der Leitha and Vienna, arrived in Bavaria. Here the Eisenau villagers found shelter in three monasteries: St. Magdalena in Altötting, St. Ottilien, and Algasing near Dorfen.

Camp Residence in the Monastery Algasing in Bavaria

The Oberländers were sent to Algasing. At the train station of the next largest town, in Dorfen, the transferees were greeted by National Socialist party dignitaries. Then the train proceeded, taking the Eisenauers to the monastery, where a reception awaited them. The next day Gisela Oberländer noticed that an arch of flowers had been set up but damaged by the locals who were not so enthusiastic about the arrival of the strangers. The newcomers were led across the fields to the monastery to avoid passing the partially destroyed arch.

Men and women were assigned to separate sleeping quarters, each holding about sixty persons. The men were only present on weekends, since they had to work in a munitions factory in Kraiburg, about forty miles away. The camp administrator withheld the men's wages. Gisela Oberländer did not want to put up with that and a misunderstanding arose. Camp life was difficult and the Oberländers had to spend one year in Algasing: from November 1940 to September 1941.

The Immigrant Central Authority [*Einwandererzentralstelle* (EWZ)] established so-called itinerant commissions, which processed the transferees in the resettlement camps. The Bukovina Germans were classified into one of four categories based on racial criteria identified with Roman numerals and into one of five categories based on political criteria identified with Arabic numerals. Those with Roman numerals I, II, and III were the "0-cases" [*Osten* - East]. They were to be settled in the East. Anyone assigned the number IV was an "A case," [*Alt Reich* - Old Reich] and not considered worthy to manage a farmstead in the East.

The Oberländers were destined for the "Old Reich," although they wanted to settle in Silesia along with the other people from Eisenau. They were thus presumably in value level IV. Gisela Oberländer surmised that her dispute with the camp administrator and perhaps her half-Italian origin led to this decision. Since her sisters, who also had the same Italian father, and also the siblings of Rudolf Oberländer were classified as 0's, the influence of the camp administrator no doubt played a role.

Camp Life in Resettlement Camp 2 in Liebenburg/Harz near Salzgitter

In September 1941 the family received its naturalization papers and after a short stay in a transit camp, relocated to

Resettlement Camp 2 in Liebenburg/Harz. Now instead of living with sixty people, they only had fifteen in one room. Since the war was dragging out, food for the population became scarce and the Oberländers often went hungry. Rudolf Oberländer had to work in the Hermann-Göring Works in Watenstedt. He saw his family only on weekends.

At school Edith Oberländer became infected with typhus. Her mother also got ill. The camp was put under quarantine and the Oberländers, who were the only camp occupants to get typhus, were hospitalized in Hildesheim. A minor epidemic had broken out among the Liebenburg population. Some people died, but Edith and Gisela Oberländer survived. When they returned to the camp after several weeks, the camp administrator did not want to shelter the "typhus pigs," as he called them. He despised them, since because of them he had to put up with the quarantine and all sorts of complications with the authorities. With the help of these authorities, Gisela Oberländer won out and the family could remain in the camp. In any event the administrator denied them provisions, and they had to cook over a candle for themselves.

Via correspondence with her relatives, who had been resettled in Upper Silesia, the Oberländers heard that one did not suffer any hunger there. Gisela applied to the Immigrant Central Authority for resettlement in Silesia. Since her request initially remained unfulfilled, she, along with three other camp residents, traveled to Berlin to present her case personally. Finally she was successful and toward the end of 1942 the Oberländers could depart for Silesia.

Domicile in Silesia and Flight

The Oberländers were assigned a small farmstead in Wolfsdorf near Bielitz. The Polish owners had to evacuate the premises. When Gisela Oberländer saw by what injustice the family had acquired the farmstead, it became clear to her that they could find no permanent residence there. "But at least for once we will not have to hunger," she observed. "I ate myself big and fat, since I suspected we would soon have to move on."

The German population lived in perpetual fear of the Polish partisans, who wanted to avenge the injustice which the Polish house and property owners had sustained. This caused Rudolf Oberländer to have apprehension about what would happen to his wife and daughter if he were inducted and they remained behind unprotected. He mentioned his concerns to a Polish acquaintance, who daily came to them for milk. The man replied that Rudolf should not worry about it Later, the Oberländers suspected that he probably had connections with the resistance groups.

Rudolf Oberländer was inducted into the military and in December 1944 his wife was notified that he was missing in action. She received the few private articles from the baggage of her husband.

As the Germans out of fear decided to flee from the advancing Russians, Gisela and Edith Oberländer packed their few belongings onto a horse-drawn cart of brother-in-law Anton Hennel. Together with him and his wife Amalie they made their way. The trek went through Czechoslovakia to Austria.

Due to continued differences of opinion, Gisela Oberländer separated from her sister and her husband in Znaim [Moravia]. For many months mother and daughter lived there before they again took flight because of the many air raids and fear of the advancing Russians.

While pausing for rest on the estate of a nobleman in Drosendorf in Austria, the Russian troops caught up with them. They continued their flight on foot. Together with numerous other refugees, they overnighted in a barn, from which the Russians seized and raped women and girls. When the Russians were looking for victims, they concealed themselves and snuck away. They were very lucky not to have been violated.

Gisela and Edith Oberländer wanted to go to Bavaria, to the American occupation zone, where they had spent a year in the monastery of Algasing. They had relatives living near there, in Taufkirchen on the Vils [River], from whom they hoped to get help.

Traveling by train for a short distance, they arrived in the border city of Passau [Bavaria]. From there they had to continue on foot. Sometimes American soldiers took them by truck. On July 17, 1945 they reached Taufkirchen. Their entire worldly possessions consisted of two suitcases and one rucksack with a few personal articles.

Post-War Period in Bavaria

Taufkirchen was saturated with refugees. The authorities forced the local population to quarter the newcomers. Edith and Gisela Oberländer first lived with their relatives, then in a pantry and later in an apartment where, together with other refugees, they shared a common kitchen. Finally they got two small rooms in a one-family house. Gisela looked for work with a farmer in the neighborhood. Edith was sent to a seamstress in order to learn to sew. Later she worked in a weaving mill.

Rudolf Oberländer, who had been declared missing in action, survived the war and landed in American captivity. On November 1, 1944 he became POW No. 31-965079 and on October 5, 1945, was tried by a Captain F. A. Arnold A. Hansen and fined 440 Reichsmarks. In Le Havre, France, he was put aboard a ship bound for a POW camp in the USA. The ship left port but then turned back. In 1946 Rudolf Oberländer was a free man.

He also thought of the relatives in Bavaria. From them he hoped to hear something about the fate of his family. One can only imagine his happiness when he met his wife and daughter there.

Now the three lived in the small rooms. The famine winter of 1946-47, which cost the lives of so many people, stood before them. In contrast to some others, the family survived rather well in those hard times. Gisela Oberländer requested to be paid in kind for her work on the farm and had laid up provisions.

The post-war period was difficult, but the people from Bukovina were ambitious and worked hard. Most of them

again acquired property and many Eisenauers built houses in Taufkirchen and in the neighboring town of Dorfen.

In 1950 Edith Oberländer married, and together with her husband and her parents, built a house in Dorfen.

The Oberländers felt comfortable in Bavaria. They worked diligently and achieved a modest standard of living. Rudolf Oberländer, who again found work as a mason, had to retire early because of poor health. He was only able to enjoy retirement for a few years; then he became seriously ill and died at the age of sixty-four. Gisela Oberländer is ninety-one years old and lives contentedly in the circle of her family. She takes special pleasure in both her great-grandchildren.

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Notes

[1] Renate began researching her heritage eleven years ago. At age seven she traveled to Bukvina with her parents, who wanted to see their homeland one last time. Renate, with her husband Johann and two sons age six and twelve, lives in Dingolfing, Germany. She is a member of the Bukovina General mailing list

Map of the Zips (Szepes) and Galicia
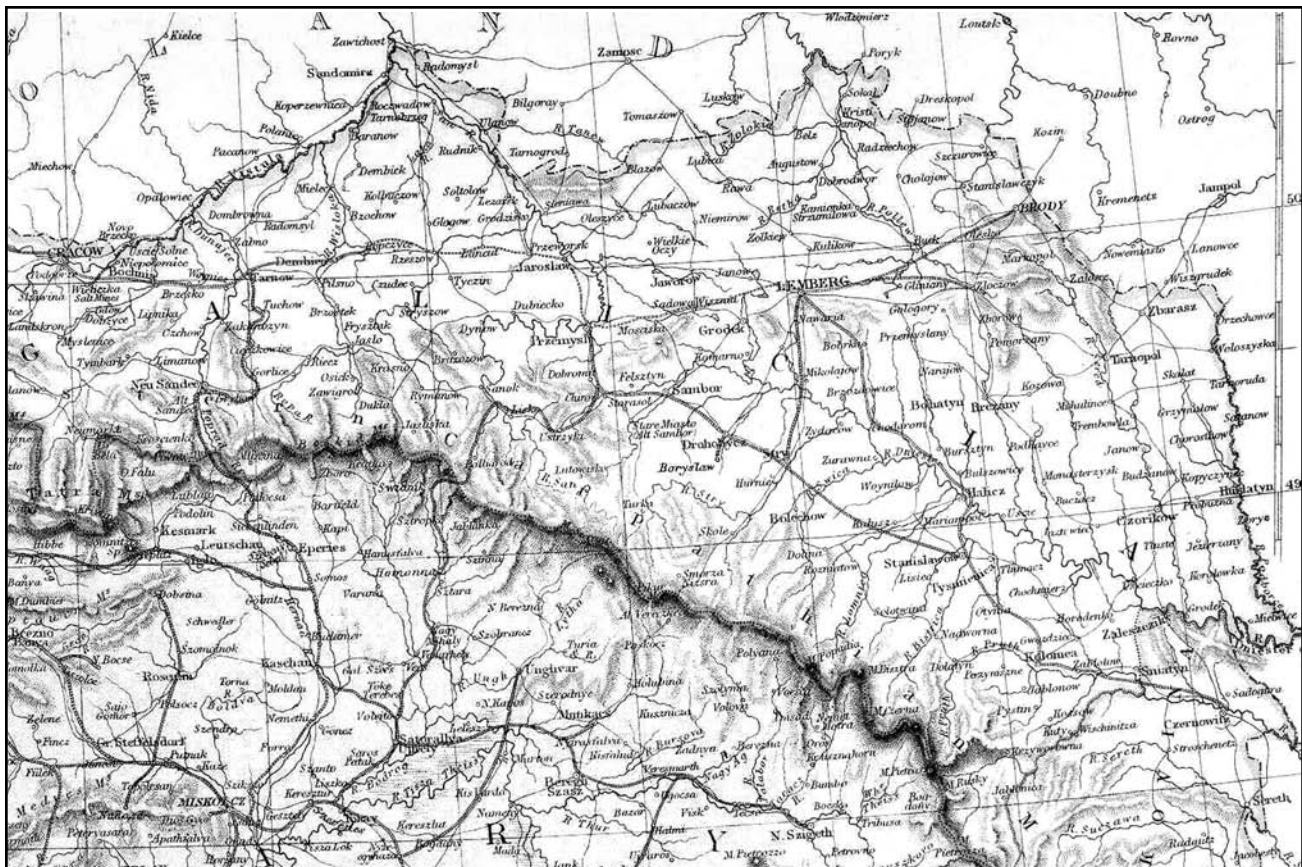
FEEFHS Convention 2002 Summary

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The International Genealogical Conference, Discover Your Roots to Europe was held in Regina, Saskatchewan 18 - 21 July 2002. The conference was co-sponsored by the Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, the Bukovina Society of the Americas, the East European Genealogical Society, the Federation of East European Family History Societies and the Society for German Genealogy in Eastern Europe. This was the first time that these societies, from both sides of the border, worked together to sponsor a major genealogical conference. By working together, the societies were able to develop a program that featured forty-four expert speakers and panellists from throughout Canada, the United States, Germany, Hungary and Brazil to cover a multitude of topics. Many of these topics could not be offered at a one host conference. The three hundred and fifty people from five provinces and fourteen states in attendance had a choice of sixty-three sessions to attend. Summaries for all but four presentations are found in the 230 page syllabus.

The conference began with a plenary session on the use of gazetteers and maps in genealogical research presented by Dave Obee. This enabled everyone to be together before deciding which of the five or six concurrent sessions they would attend throughout the rest of the day. The last session on Friday and Saturday was another opportunity to learn together from panel discussions. On Friday the panel topic was "How to Prepare Before Visiting A Record Centre. Tips to Make the Most Effective Use of Your Time." The moderator was Irmgard Hein Ellingson and featured Celeste Rider, librarian for the Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, Ken Aitken, librarian, from the Prairie History Room at the Regina Public Library, Chris Gebhard, an archivist from the Saskatchewan Archives Board and Kahlile Mehr, a librarian and collection specialist, from the Family History Library. Each panellist presented tips for how to make the best use of the collections in their centre. Attendees said they appreciated the opportunity to learn about the individual record centres and felt that if they used the tips they would be better prepared when visiting a record centre closer to home. On Saturday the panel topic was "Do I Hire a Professional Researcher, Visit an Overseas Archive Myself, Go With a Tour Group or Do All of the Above?" The moderator was Thomas Edlund and featured professional researchers Linda Wiggins and Duncan Gardiner. Linda Neely, Brian Brodie, Dave Obee, Brian Lenius and Maralyn Wellauer-Lenius provided information about recent visits to archives in Ireland, England, Ukraine and Germany. Howard Krushel, who leads genealogy tours to Europe, rounded out the panel. Each panellist shared their experiences and offered suggestions which provided much "food for thought."

Each of the host sponsors was responsible for organizing speakers and topics for one stream in the program. This meant that there were sessions about many ethnic and religious groups. Sessions about how language and culture affect genealogical research as well as research techniques and sources.

The Saskatchewan Genealogical Society (SGS) offered a sessions about specific collections of genealogical value at the Saskatchewan Archives by Chris Gebhard, Canadian Immigration records by Pat Ryan and Post World War Two Canadian immigration records by Dave Obee. There were also sessions on specific research techniques: Using Bibliographies and Catalogues by Ken Aitken, Finding Females Ancestors by Shirley Bucca, Overcoming Brick Walls to Britain by Pat Ryan, Organizing Your Research Records by Thelma Findlay and Selecting and Using Computer Software for Your Genealogy by Chris Krismer. The final session on Ethics in Genealogy by Alvin Murray generated a lot of feedback from those who attended. These ranged from "this is common sense", to "I had never thought about ethics before" to "I wish we could have had a discussion about some of the points."

The program presented by the Bukovina Society of the Americas (BSA) featured sessions on settlements of Bukovina people at the Roman Catholic community at Mariahilf, Saskatchewan by Gordon Domm, the Bukovina Germans in Lewis County, Washington by Mary Lee Rose was presented by Irmgard Hein Ellingson and Bukovina Settlements in Parana and Santa Catrina, Brazil by Dr. Aryton Celestino. Michael Augustine, Aryton Celestino and Steve Parke used slide presentations to trace the migration patterns from Bavaria to Bohemia to Bukovina, then to North and South America while explaining how they had conducted their research. There were four presentations about research sources and techniques for tracing Bukovina ancestors from North America, in Germany, Ukraine, Romania and Hungary. These were given by Irmgard Hein Ellingson, Laura Hanowski, Elizabeth Long and László Rudolph. A session given by Van Massirer explored the influence of the Baptist faith on settlers in the United States and Canada and how the translation of early records of Canaan Church of Crawford, Texas is helping current generations recognize the effect of religious thinking on their ancestors.

The East European Genealogical Society (EEGS) sessions included four sessions on Austrian Army records and how to use these records to further ones genealogical research presented by Karen and Leo Hobbs; two sessions on Immigration Through Germany to America by Maralyn Wellauer-Lenius; and sessions on Using East European Jewish Genealogical Resources" by Susana Bloch; Land and Property Maps of the Austrian Empire Primarily in Galicia, and Accessing Genealogical Records in Poland and Ukraine by Brian Lenius; How to Build a Family Tree Using Canadian and East European Records by Thelma Findlay.

The sessions sponsored by the Federation of East European Family History Societies (FEEFHS) represented the broad diversity of interests shared by their members. There was a session on Austria-Hungary for Genealogists and Czech Genealogical Research by Duncan Gardiner, Research in Imperial Russia and the Germans From Russia by Thom. Edlund, Research in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by Kahlile Mehr, Jewish Genealogy for the Non-Jewish Researcher by Gladys Friedman Paulin, Travel in the 19th Century and Deciphering the Old German Documents by Frank Soural and Feast Days and Holidays Celebrated in Germany and German Emigration records by Marion Wolfert.

The Society for German Genealogy in Eastern Europe "A Poland and Volhynia Genealogy Group" (SGGEE) started off with a session about the SGGEE database, followed later with a session on making the best use of the SGGEE website by Gary Warner. Jerry Frank presented two sessions about the German Migration East to Hungary, Galicia, Bessarabia, the Black Sea and Volga areas, Poland and Volhynia. There was a session about the history and use of the Einwandererzenralstelle (EWZ) records by Richard Benert. This was followed by a two part presentation
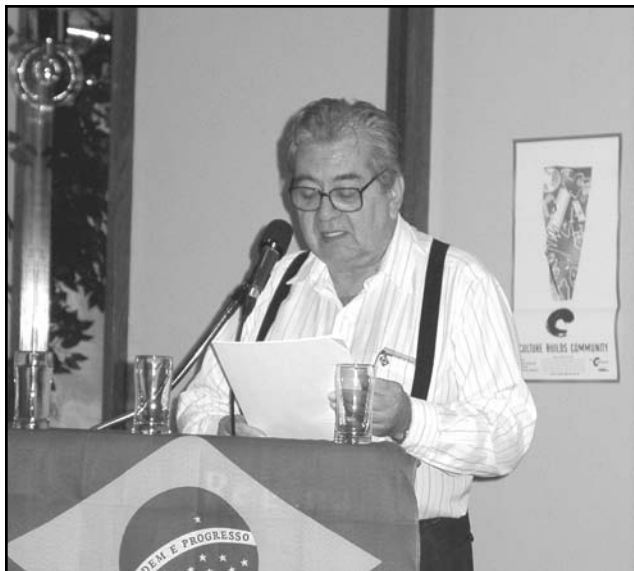
Dr. Aryton Celestino speaking at the BSA dinner

showing how to obtain the EWZ documents and how the presenters Irmgard Hein Ellingson and Dave Obee used them to further their genealogical research. Al Muth, presented two sessions on Polish records. The first on How to Read the Vital Records and the second on Searching the Early 19th Century Vital Records of Poland. The last session, presented by Kahlile Mehr, featured the acquisitions in the Family History Library for Ukraine and Poland.

Because of the large gathering of researchers doing European research there were a series of sessions that were of interest to very specific ethnic or religious groups. These included the Volga Germans in Parana, Brazil by Dr. Aryton Celestino, East and West Prussian Genealogical Research by Edward Brandt, Researching Your Russian Doukhobor Roots by Jon Kalmakoff, What's a Banat? by Glenn Schwartz, Slovak Genealogical Research by Duncan Gardiner, Balkan Research by Thom. Edlund, Jewish Immigrant Farmers in Saskatchewan by Gladys Friedman Paulin and Where Was Pomerania? by Marsha Gustad.

Two highlights of the conference were the Friday and Saturday night banquets. The Friday night banquet was hosted by the Bukovina Society of the Americas. Following a short musical presentation by Steve Parke of Pueblo, Colorado Dr. Aryton Celestino spoke about the German Bohemian Bukovina Families of Rio Negro and Mafra, Brazil. Aryton illustrated his talk with slides of these Brazilian communities. The Saturday night banquet was hosted by FEEFHS. Thom Edlund gave a penetrating description about FEEFHS and introduced the evening speaker, Kahlile Mehr. Kahlile used slides to illustrate how records are selected for microfilming, the procedure for doing so and the challenges with cataloguing the European records. Attendees said they learned much from the presentations on both evenings.

John Movius, webmaster for FEEFHS, Werner Zoglauer, webmaster for the BSA, and Gary Warner of SGGEE were present throughout the conference to help people with their research problems and to help people make the most effective use of their websites. The SGGEE also brought books and maps to help people trace their Volhynian German roots. The East European Genealogical Society also helped attendees with research problems

Following the Saturday lunch all hosting groups plus the Zichydorf Village Association had business and information meetings. Those who didn't attend the meetings spent time visiting the vendor room or examining the surnames people were searching posted on the hall walls.

One hundred and ninety five people filled in evaluation forms. The general consensus was that the conference was well organized and had a excellent selection of topics and speakers. It was felt that a conference sponsored by a number of organizations should be held every five or six years alternating between Canada and the United States.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the organizing committee Irmgard Hein Ellingson, Denise Kolsar, John Marsh and Kahlile Mehr for their help with making the conference a success. Special thanks goes to Louise Sauve for her work preparing the name tags, the program and the syllabus and to Lisa Warren and Marge Thomas, of the SGS office, who looked after the administrative details. Thanks also goes to the volunteers who helped prepare the registration packages and man the registration desk.

The Bukovina German Cultural Association (ABC) of Rio Negro/Mafra

by Aryton Gonçalves Celestino

[Presented at the conference banquet hosted by the Bukovina Society of the Americas, 19 July 2002]

My sincere thanks to the International Genealogical Conference and to the Saskatchewan Genealogical Society and its representatives, Mrs. Marge Thomas and Mrs. Laura Hanowski for their warm welcome and extraordinary efforts in making my participation at this conference possible. Thank you, Mrs. Marge Thomas! Thank you, Mrs. Laura Hanowski! My thanks also to Mrs. Irmgard Hein Elllingson, who had encouraged me to participate in this conference.

Before telling you about our Association, I would like to gave you an historic overview in order that you might better grasp the significance of the Bukovina-German Cultural Association (ABC) to the Bukovina community of Rio Negro, Mafra, and other towns in Brazil.

Fig. 1 - Map of Paraná showing the location of Rio Negro

In 1887 and 1888 the first groups of Bukovina-German and Bukovina-Polish settlers departed for Brazil. Fifty years later, in 1937, under the leadership of my grandfather, Ignatz Schödlbauer, their descendants celebrated the golden jubilee of their immigration to Brazil. The ten days of festivities followed, which included expositions of agricultural products and livestock, religious services, dances, ethnic foods, displays of photographs, and so forth.

Inspired by that occasion, Ignatz Schödlbauer decided to write a book in order to preserve the experiences and historic traditions of the Bukovinians. This book was intended as a gift to their families and a means of maintaining and nurturing their origins.
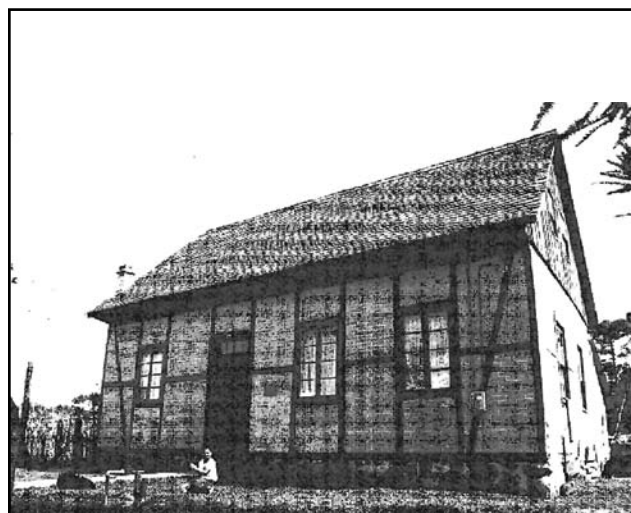
However, during World War II there occurred a persecution of our Bukovinian people and also a contempt for them because of their German origin. The use of German in public places was forbidden. Settlers were humiliated and criticized by the Brazilian nationalists.

Ignatz Schödlbauer died in 1946, just after the end of the World War II, with his book still unpublished. Even after the war the Bukovinians faced discrimination because they were simple people, living without luxury and ostentation. As a result, theirs was a traumatic experience, causing them to abandon their ethnic traditions. With the passing of time the feeling of humiliation and shame became even stronger. To be called a "Bukovinian" was an insult and occasionally provoked a fight.

In the 1950s, when I was an adolescent, my aunt, Ida Schödelbauer gave me my grandfather's original manuscripts. Using these documents as the basis of my studies, I was able to publish a book of some 700 pages, entitled "Os Bucovinos do Brasil. . . e a História de Rio Negro" (The Bukovinians of Brazil . . . and the History of Rio Negro) in which I detail the complete history of the Brazilian Bukovinians. This book represents fifty years of my research. In April of this year I made two public presentations of my book followed by an appearance at the University of Contestado in Mafra to address an assembled group of students, professors and civil leaders.

To backtrack a bit: the year 1987, marking the centennial of the Bukovinian immigration to Brazil, witnessed another jubilee celebration. On that occasion, in a public square, I recounted the history of our people in short segments. Then I published about 200 short articles about

Fig. 2 - The old school of Passa Tres, Rio Negro

our ancestors' history, for local Rio Negro and Mafra newspapers.

In 1991 we began a project intended to uplift our humiliated people by exposing them to their origins, their traditions and their customs. They needed to forget their shame and develop pride in their Bukovinian heritage as well as to honor their ancestors' memory.

With a group of Bukovinians, among them Dr. Fernando Reitmeyer, we celebrated our first Bukovina Week in Rio Negro and Mafra. Its success led many of our people enthusiastically to embrace with joy the new era that then began. The event triggered other activities, including the formation of the Bukovinian Choral Group. This was followed by a group dedicated to folk dancing, which, at my suggestion, calls itself "Boarischer Wind" (Bavarian Wind), referring to the earliest origins of our people. Since the beginning to the present day this group is under the direction of José Adalberto Semmer and his wife.

Many Bukovinians of Rio Negro and Mafra enthusiastically welcomed our efforts. The festivities, including the choral and dance groups as well as the newspaper articles, did much to further the concept of an association to carry out all these activities. This organization, representing the entire Bukovinian community, still needed a board of directors and by-laws drawn up in accordance with Brazilian custom and law.
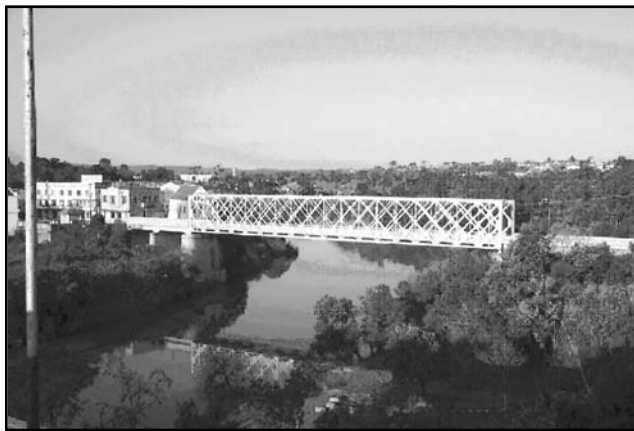
Fig. 3 - The town of Rio Negro

In early1992 I personally drafted the by-laws of the Bukovina-German Cultural Association-ABC, as well as its constitution, objectives, and projected activities. Via radio and newspapers we invited all interested descendants and friends of Bukovinians to attend a meeting on February 22, 1992 at the Sociedade de Agricultura "União" (Agricultural "Union" Society) in Rio Negro, our people's traditional meeting place, to discuss and approve the by-laws of our association.

About fifty persons attended who, after hearing the purpose of the meeting and its by-laws, unanimously approved and proceeded to elect its first board: President: Ayrton Gonçalves Celestino; Vice-President: Henrique Schafhauser; Secretary: Waldine Ruthes; Treasurer: Cirineu

Wolf; Social Director: José Adalberto Semmer. Elected to serve on the Deliberation and Inspection Council were: Carlos Walter Kolb, Lídio Reddin, Ricardo Schelbauer, Raul Schelbauer, Lourival Schelbauer, Francisco Reichhardt and Estanislau Seidl Henning.

With an organization and a board of directors, the Association began planning and organizing events for the Bukovinians of Rio Negro.

I remained president of the Association until 1997, when for reasons of health, I stepped down. Mr. João Jacó Fuchs assumed the presidency and remains in that office to this day. The other board members include: Vice-President: Lourival Schelbauer, 1st Secretary: Maria Helena Fuchs da Rosa, 2nd Secretary: Audenir Artur Valério, 1st Treasurer: Mário Reichhardt, 2nd Treasurer: Benedito Reimão de Mello, Director of Property: José Pedro Maidl, Cultural Director: Osvalda Lindenberg Pereira, Social Director: José Adalberto Semmer, Deliberation and Inspection Council: Agostinho Fuchs, Francisco Kraschinski, Alberto Reichhardt, Cláudia Maria França, Rafael Schafaschek, Marcos Hable, João Batista Schelbauer and Sebastião Z. da Rosa Filho; Substitutes: Heriberto Fuchs and Geraldo Schelbauer; Honorary President: Ayrton Gonçalves Celestino.

Our Association then adopted and registered its by-laws, which had been drafted in accordance with Brazilian state and federal law.

We then began a campaign to acquire, as a donation, the property and building of the old Passa Três school, an historic building which once served as the headquarters of the School Society and in which the settlers' children received instruction in the early years and through the 1950s. According to town ordinance #693/1992 of Rio Negro, the building was declared an historic monument that was to be preserved and not modified or demolished. In 1993, in accordance with Rio Negro ordinance #754/93, the school building was donated to the Association for restoration and for the installation of the Bukovina community's museum to contain photographs and artifacts of the early settlers. The building will also house the library and will serve as the center of Bukovina culture and the official headquarters of the Association. Unfortunately, from lack of funds, the restoration is not yet completed. We hope, however, to do it next year.

Since 1992 the Association has annually sponsored a "Bucovina Fest." On these occasions we have dances, parades through the streets of Rio Negro and Mafra, meals of ethnic foods with other Bukovina families, thanksgiving masses in memory of our ancestors, choral and dance groups, displays of photographs and artifacts from the immigrant generation, speeches, and conferences. In the last year 2001 we had visitors from the United States and Germany, who participated in all events and made presentations at the University of Contestado in Mafra, State of Santa Catarina. Among them were: Werner Zoglauer, who spoke on behalf of Oren Windholz, President of the Bukovina Society of the Americas, Dr. Sophie A. Welisch; Irmgard Hein Ellingson, who was not present but had

forwarded her speech; Maria Lang Becker; and Dr. Ortfried Kotzian, representing the Bukovina Institute in Germany. The speeches were well attended. Aside from the above individuals, Steve Parke, Michael Augustin, Edward Becker and Maria Louise Kotzian also traveled to Brazil to participate in the Association's activities.

At each Bucovina Fest a queen and her attendants are elected. These young girls represent our people's youth and beauty. Among the families who have competed for the distinction of having one of their own named queen we usually find young ladies from the families of Fuchs, Reichhardt, Schafaschek, Schafhauser and Schödlbauer. A good time is had by all as the guests participate in dances to traditional music and enjoy the ethnic foods and beverages.

We also invite the consuls of Romania, Germany and Austria to our Bucovina Fests. And they were frequiently present in our festivities, when possible. Because of his steadfast participation and support in our activities, Vasile Macovei was bestowed an honorary membership in our Association when he was Romania's general consul in Brazil. In addition, the town of Rio Negro also awarded him the title of honorary member. Mr. Macovei has since become Ambassador of Romania in Uruguay.

This year, on the occasion of the presentation of my book, "Os Bucovinos do Brasil," I had the honor of having Mr. Ion Floroiu, Ambassador of Romania in Brazil, in the audience.

At my urging, a Bukovinian descendant in Rio Negro will be appointed honorary consul of Romania in the State of Paraná. We hope that this connection will lead to an expansion of cultural activity for our Association and of the Bukovinian community of Rio Negro and Mafra.

In recent years we have sponsored several expositions, which have included photographs of our ancestors and of Bukovina, artifacts used by the settlers, items representing Bukovina culture, works of art by Romanian artists from Bukovina and from our region, Romanian tapestries, and typical Romanian folk costumes.

Yearly, on the occasion of the feast day of St. Nicholas on December 6, we celebrate Bukovina Christmas with mass followed by a lunch based on Bukovinian cuisine and a goodly supply of beer. This is a time of family celebration. The children receive many gifts and candies from St. Nick, who appears in his traditional attire. Folk groups perform at the festivities. These are cheerful times during which everyone enjoys a fraternity that increases every year.

At the 1995 Bukovina Christmas we had a dedication of the Bukovina cross in Bukovina Square at the entrance to Rio Negro. This took place in agreement with the town council of Rio Negro. The cross was designed by the Romanian artist, Radu Bercea, according to our guidelines and inspired by my 1994 visit to Bukovina. The Rio Negro cross is a replica of one I saw at the monastery of Klosterhumora.

In the next years we plan to build an archway to Rio Negro, in Bukovina Square at the entrance to Rio Negro, that will be in the Bukovina-Romanian style, designed by the renowned painter, Radu Bercea, of Gura Humorului in Bukovina.

I cannot omit mentioning the good results we have realized through the Association's sponsorship of German language classes for those interested in learning German.

Because of the Association's many activities, the municipal government of Rio Negro, by its ordinance #743/1993, has named it a "public service organization." With this status the Association enjoys the benefits provided by law.

I hope my description of our Association's activities has given you an idea its importance to the Bukovinian community of Rio Negro and Mafra. We are certain that our work has contributed much to rehabilitating the self-respect of our Bukovinians and has infused them with courage to face life as well as to develop pride in their origins and gain a knowledge of their history and traditions. The rejection of their heritage is now in the past. We have taken a long step in the recovery of our dignity and self-worth.

I wish to take this opportunity to invite you all to attend our 13th annual Bucovina Fest in Rio Negro scheduled to be held from July 4-6. All are welcome. Let's celebrate together in Brazil.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Poster celebrating the 50th anniversary of Bukovina to Rio Negro immigration, 1887-1938

The following societies and organizations have homepages or Resource Guide listings on the FEEFHS web site at http://feefhs.org. To find the homepage of a particular societu, use the web site index.

AHSGR, California District Council
3233 North West Avenue
Fresno CA 93705-3402

AHSGR, Central California Chapter
3233 North West Avenue
Fresno CA 93705-3402

AHSGR International
631 D Street
Lincoln, Nebraska 68502-1199

AHSGR, North Star Chapter
6226 5th Avenue South
Richfield MN 55423-1637

Along the Galician Grapevine
c/o Glen Linschied, P.O. Box 194
Butterfield, MN 56120-0194

Anglo-German Family History Society
14 River Reach
Teddington, Middlesex, TW11 9QL, England

Apati/Apathy Ancestral Association
191 Selma Avenue
Englewood FL 34223-3830

Avotaynu, Inc.
155 North Washington Avenue
Bergenfield, New Jersey 07621-1742

Banat Online Discussion Group
c/o Bob Madler 2510 Snapdragon Street
Bozeman, MT 59718

BLITZ (Russian-Baltic Information Service)
907 Mission Avenue
San Rafael CA 94901; St. Petersburg Russia

Bukovina Society of the Americas
P.O. Box 81
Ellis KS 67637-0081

Bukovina Székely Project
c/o Beth Long
San Diego, CA

California Czech and Slovak Club
P.O. Box 20542
Castro Valley CA 94546-8542

Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies
169 Riverton Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R2L E5

Concord/Walnut Creek Family History Center
1523 North El Camino Drive
Clayton CA 94517-1028

Conversations with the Elders (Chelyabinsk, Siberia)
c/o Fr. Blaine Burkey, O.F.M.Cap. St. Crispin Friary
3731 Westminster Place, St. Louis MO 63108-3707

Croatian Roots Research Service
161 East 88th Street
New York NY 10128-2245

Czech and Slovak Genealogy Society of Arizona
4921 East Exeter Boulevard
Phoenix AZ 85018-2942

Czech and Slovak American Genealogy Society of Illinois
P.O. Box 313
Sugar Grove IL 60554-0313

Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (CVU)
1703 Mark Lane
Rockville MD 20852-4106

Davis Genealogical Club and Library
c/o Davis Senior Center, 648 A Street
Davis CA 95616-3602

East European Genealogical Society Inc.
P.O. Box 2536
Winnipeg, MB R3C 4A7, Canada

European Focus Photography
P.O. Box 550
Bountiful UT 84011-0550

Family History Library
35 North West Temple Street
Salt Lake City UT 84150-1003

Family Tree Genealogical & Probate Research Bureau
Falk Minsa UTCA 8
Budapest, Hungary H-1055

Galizien German Descendants
2035 Dorsch Road
Walnut Creek CA 94598-1126

Genealogical Forum of Oregon, Inc.
2130 SW 5th Avenue
Portland OR 97201-4934

Genealogy Unlimited, Inc.
4687 Falaise Drive
Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada V8Y 1B4

German-Bohemian Heritage Society
P.O. Box 822
New Ulm MN 56073-0822

German Genealogical Digest, Inc.
P.O. Box 112054
Salt Lake City UT 84147-2054

Germanic Genealogical Society
c/o Del Thomas, 9835 Bonnie Glen Parkway
Chicago City, MN 55013-9346

German Genealogical Society of America
2125 Wright Avenue, Suite C-9
La Verne CA 91750-5814

German Research and Translation, Inc.
1001 South 1020 West
Woods Cross, Utah 84087-2074

German Research Association, Inc.
P.O. Box 711600
San Diego CA 92171-1600

Germans from Russia Heritage Collection
c/o NDSU Libraries, P.O. Box 5599
Fargo ND 58105-5599

Germans from Russia Heritage Society (GRHS)
1008 East Central Avenue
Bismarck ND 58501-1936

Germans from Russia Heritage Society
1008 East Central Avenue
Bismarck ND 58501-1936

GRHS, Northern California Chapter
6304 39th Avenue
Sacramento CA 95824-1912

Gesher Galicia
1658 Estate Circle
Naperville IL 60565

Glückstal Colonies Research Association
611 Esplanade
Redondo Beach CA 90277-4130

Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library
1700 South Main Steet
Goshen, IN 46526

Gottscheer Heritage and Genealogy Association
174 South Hoover Avenue
Louisville CO 80027-2130

Heimatmuseum der Deutschen aus Bessarabien
Florienstrasse 17
70188 Stuttgart, Germany

Institute for Migration & Ancestral Research
Richard-Wagner-Str. 31
D-18119 Warnemünde, Germany

Immigrant Genealogy Society
P.O. Box 7369
Burbank CA 91510-7369

International Institute of Archival Science
Glavni trg 7
62000 Maribor Slovenia

Jewish Genealogical Society of Illinois
P.O. Box 515
Northbrook IL 60065-0515

Jewish Genealogical Society of Los Angeles
P.O. Box 55443
Sherman Oaks CA 91413-5544

Jewish Genealogical Society of Michigan
P.O. Box 251693
Detroit, MI 48325-1693

Jewish Genealogical Society of Oregon
c/o Mittleman Jewish Community, 6651 S W Capitol Hwy.
Portland Oregon 97219

Jewish Genealogical Society of Pittsburgh
2131 5th Avenue
Pittsburgh PA 15219-5505

Jewish Historical Society of Southern Alberta
914 Royal Avenue SW
Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2T 0L5

Kashubian Association of North America (KANA)
P. O. Box 27732
Minneapolis MN 55427-7732

Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland
Raitelsbergstrasse 49
70188 Stuttgart, Germany

"A Letter from Siberia"
c/o Fr. Blaine Burkey, O.F.M.Cap., St. Crispin Friary
3731 Westminster Place, St. Louis, MO 63108-3707

Lietuvos Bajoru Karaliskoji Sajunga
c/o Daiva Zygas, 950 East Lobster Trap Lane
Tempe AZ 85283

Mennonite Historical Library
c/o Goshen College1700 South Main Street
Goshen IN 46526-4724

Mesa Arizona Family History Center
41 South Hobson Street
Mesa AZ 85204-102141(no mail to this location)

Milwaukee County Genealogical Society
P.O. Box 27326
Milwaukee WI 53227-0326

Milwaukee Wisconsin Family History Center
c/o Shirley A. Schreiber, 9600 West Grange Avenue
Hales Corners WI 53130

Minnesota Genealogical Society
5768 Olson Memorial Highway
Golden Valley MN 55422

Monroe, Juneau, Jackson Genealogical Workshop
1016 Jane Drive
Sparta WI 54656

Moravian Heritage Society
c/o Thomas Hrncirik, A.G. 31910 Road 160
Visalia CA 93292-9044

Ontario Genealogy Society
40 Orchard View Boulevard, Suite 102
Toronto, ON M4R 1B9, Canada

Palatines to America
611 East Weber Road
Columbus, Ohio   43211-1097

Picton Press
P.O. Box 250
Rockport, Maine 04856

Pokrajinski Arhiv Maribor
Glavni trg 7
62000 Maribor, Slovenia

Polish Genealogical Society of America
c/o Paul Valaska, Pres., 984 Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago IL 60621-4101

Polish Genealogical Society of California
c/o Les Amer, P.O. Box 713
Midway City, CA 92655-0713

Polish Genealogical Society of Greater Cleveland
c/o John F Szuch, 105 Pleasant View Drive
Seville, OH 44273-9507

Polish Genealogical Society of Massachusetts
c/o John F. Skibiski Jr., Pres., P.O. Box 381
Northhampton MA 01061

Polish Genealogical Society of Minnesota
c/o Greg Kishel, 446 Mt Carver Blvd
St. Paul MN 55105-1326

Polish Genealogical Society of Michigan
c/o Burton History College 5201 Woodward Street
Detroit MI 48202

Polish Genealogical Society of Minnesota
5768 Olson Memorial Highway
Golden Valley MN

Polish Genealogical Society of New York State
299 Barnard Street
Buffalo, NY 14206-3212

Die Pommerschen Leute
c/o Gayle Grunwald O'Connell, 1531 Golden Drive
Herbutus, WI 53033-9790

Die Pommerschen Leute (Pommern Newsletter)
c/o IGS Pommern SIG, P.O. Box 7369
Burbank CA 91510

Pommerscher Verein Freistadt
P.O. Box 204
Germantown, WI 53022-0204

Romanian American Heritage Center
2540 Grey Tower Road
Jackson MI 49201-2208

Routes to Roots (Jewish)
c/o Miriam Weiner, C.G., 136 Sandpiper Key
Secaucus NJ 07094-2210

Rusin Association of Minnesota
c/o Larry Goga, 1115 Pineview Lane North
Plymouth MN 55441-4655

Sacramento Muti-Region Family History Center
8556 Pershing Avenue
Fair Oaks CA 95628

Santa Clara County Historical and Genealogical Society
2635 Homestead Road
Santa Clara CA 95051-1817

Saskatchewan Genealogy Society, Prov. Headquarters
P.O. Box 1894
Regina, SK S4P 3E1, Canada

Schroeder and Fuelling
P.O. Box 100822
51608 Gummersbach, Westfalen, Germany

Silesian-American Genealogy Society
1910 East 5685 South
Salt Lake City UT 84121-1343

Silesian Genealogical Society of Wroclaw, "Worsten"
P.O. Box 312
PL 50-950 Wroclaw 2 POLAND

Slavic Research Institute
c/o Thomas Hrncirik, A.G., 31910 Road 160
Visalia CA 93292-9044

Slovak Heritage & Folklore Society
c/o Helene Cincebeaux, 151 Colebrook Drive
Rochester NY 14617-2215

[Slovak] SLRP- Surname Location Reference Project
c/o Joseph Hornack, P.O. Box 31831
Cleveland, OH 44131-0831

SLOVAK-WORLD (Slovakian Genealogy Listserver)
c/o Forest Research Institute
Zvolen, Slovakia

Slovenian Genealogical Society
Lipica 7, 4220
Skofja Loka, Slovenia

Slovenian Genealogy Soc. International Headquarters
52 Old Farm Road
Camp Hill PA 17011-2604

Society for German-American Studies
c/o LaVern J. Rippley, Ph.D., St Olaf's College
Northfield MN 55057-1098

 Society for German Genealogy in Eastern Europe
P.O. Box 905 Str "M'
Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2P 2J3

Society of Svenskbyborna
c/o Karl-Olof Hinas
Gute, Bal, S-620 30 Slite, Sweden

The Swiss Connection (Swiss Newsletter)
2845 North 72nd Street
Milwaukee WI 53210-1106

Theresientaler Heimatbund
Hofwiesenstrasse 16
D -74405 Gaildorf, Germany

Towarzystwo Genealogiczno-Heraldyczne
Wodna 27 (Palac Gorkow)
61-781 Poznan, Poland

Transilvanian Saxons Genealogy and Heritage Society
c/o Paul Kreutzer, P.O. Box 3319
Youngstown, OH 44513-3319

Travel Genie Maps
3815 Calhoun Avenue
Ames IA 50010-4106

Ukrainian Genealogical & Historical Society of Canada
R. R. #2
Cochrane, Alberta T0L 0W0, Canada

United Romanian Society
14512 Royal Drive
Sterling Heights MI 48312

Die Vorfahren Pommern Database
c/o Jerry Dalum, 9315 Claret Street
San Antonio TX 78250-2523

Western Australian Genealogical Society
Attn: Journals Officer, Unit 6, 48 May Street
Bayswater, Western Australia 6053 Australia

Worsten Genealogical Society of Wroclaw, Poland
P.O. Box 312
PL 50-950, Wroclaw 2, Poland

Zickydorf (Banat) **Village Association**
2274 Baldwin Bay
Regina, Saskatchewan, S4V 1H2, Canada

FEEFHS Membership Application and Subscription Form

Name of Organization or Personal Name: _____

_____

Address: _____

City: _____ State/Country: _____ ZIP/Postal Code: _____

Telephone:_____ Fax: _____ E-Mail: _____

(Please check the appropriate box below to indicate your desired involvement with FEEFHS.)

☐ **Organizational Membership**

    ☐ Under 250 members   (dues $25 per year)
    ☐ 250–500 members   (dues $35 per year)
    ☐ Over 500 members   (dues $50 per year)

☐ **Individual Membership**   (dues $25 per year)

☐ **Family Membership**   (dues $30 per year for two family members sharing one *Journal* subscription)

☐ **Non Member Subscription to *FEEFHS Journal***

    ☐ Personal   ($30 per year)
    ☐ Library or Archive   ($30 per year)

If you are applying for FEEFHS membership, please complete the reverse side of this form.

Additionally, a donation towards the FEEFHS Website is greatly appreciated.
    $_____ Myron Grunwald Memorial Fund (for purchase of faster server)
    $_____ Website Operating Expense

Mail your check or bank draft with the appropriate membership dues or subscription fee in U.S. dollars to:
FEEFHS Treasurer, P.O. Box 510898, Salt Lake City, UT 84151-0898

Benefits of FEEFHS Membership

    -Subscription to *FEEFHS Journal* and electronic newsletter.
    -Homepage on the http://feefhs.org website for your genealogical society or genealogy related business.
    -Promotion of your genealogical society or genealogy related business, it's publications, projects, and services.
    -Assistance in locating resources and training for new and developing genealogical societies.
    -Opportunities for networking and collaboration with other FEEFHS members.
    -Opportunities for FEEFHS co-sponsorship of your society's conferences and other events.
    -Preferred involvement in FEEFHS International Conventions and other FEEFHS sponsored events.
    -Preferred invitation to publish in *FEEFHS Journal*, on FEEFHS website, or in FEEFHS monograph series.
    -Query privileges in *FEEFHS Journal* and on FEEFHS website.
    -A listing on FEEFHS online *Resource Guide to East European Genealogy* for professional researchers.
    -Right to select a representative from your organization to serve on the board of directors of FEEFHS.
    -Right to vote annually for FEEFHS officers.
    -Opportunity to serve on FEEFHS committees.
    -Opportunity to serve as a FEEFHS officer, etc.

FEEFHS Membership Application (continued)

(Please answer the following questions as part of your membership application.)

Your representative on the FEEFHS Board of Directors

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State/Country: _____ ZIP/Postal Code: _____

Telephone:_____ Fax: _____ E-Mail: _____

Editor of your Organization's Publication

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State/Country: _____ ZIP/Postal Code: _____

Telephone:_____ Fax: _____ E-Mail: _____

Name of publication: _____

Questions for Member Organizations

Major conferences and/or special events: _____
_____

Terms of membership, including dues: _____
_____

Do you provide translation services? _____ Which languages? _____
Do you provide research services? _____ Please describe: _____
_____

Questions for Individual Members and FEEFHS Board of Directors Representatives

Ethnic/religious/national area of interest: _____
Language skills: _____
Computer skills:_____
Type of computer: _____ O/S: _____ Word processor: _____ Modem speed: _____

Will you volunteer to participate in the following FEEFHS activities? (Check all that apply.):

___ Speak at FEEFHS conventions
___ Staff a FEEFHS table at a non-FEEFHS event
___ Prepare lists of archives, libraries, holdings, etc.
___ Type transcriptions/extractions, etc.
___ Write HTML for FEEFHS website
___ Mentor a new or developing society
___ Answer genealogy research queries
___ Write or solicit articles for *FEEFHS Journal*

___ Translate articles for FEEFHS publications
___ Extract data from microfilm/fiche
___ Compile bibliographies
___ Serve on convention planning committee
___ Participate in research projects
___ Be a contributing editor for *FEEFHS Journal*
___ Publicize FEEFHS events & services in your area
___ Serve as a FEEFHS officer

(Please attach additional information, comments, and suggestions, if necessary.)