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THE ORIGINS AND CHANGING IDENTITIES OF ETHNIC GERMANS IN UKRAINE AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN CANADA

This paper first describes the diverse origins and identities of German settlers in the territories which now comprise Ukraine, and the establishment and eventual dissolution of the German settlements within historical context and changing political situations. With the departure of ethnic Germans (*Völkdeutsche*) from Ukraine in three main waves, during the 1870s, 1920s, and following the Second World War, many Ukrainian-Germans resettled in Canada, particularly the western province of Saskatchewan. The precise origins in Ukraine of these Canadian settlers are described, then how their German identity has been changing over time.

Keywords: ethnic Germans, migration, the Russian Empire, the Mennonites.

У межах історичного контексту розглянуто процес заселення етнічними німцями Східних земель, у тому числі території сучасної України, створення і занепад їх колоній. Визначено регіони походження переселенців із України, особливості трансформації їх німецької ідентичності в Канаді.

Ключові слова: етнічні німці, міграція, Російська імперія, меноніти.

В рамках исторического контекста рассмотрен процесс заселения этническими немцами Восточных земель, в том числе территории, занимаемой современной Украиной, создание и упадок их колоний. Определены регионы происхождения переселенцев в Украине, особенности трансформации их немецкой идентичности в Канаде.

Ключевые слова: этнические немцы, миграция, Российская империя, меннониты.

Im Rahmen des historischen Kontextes werden der Prozess der Besiedlung der Ost-Gebiete, darunter auch der Territorien der heutigen Ukraine, durch die Deutschen sowie die Gründung und der Niedergang ihrer Kolonien dargestellt. Der Verfasser benennt die ukrainischen Herkunftsregionen der Kanada-Umsiedler und geht auf die Besonderheiten der Transformation der deutschen Identität der Umsiedler in der neuen Heimat Kanada ein.

Schlagwörter: ethnische Deutsche, Migration, Russisches Reich, Mennoniten.

Background: Early German Colonization of Eastern Europe¹

«*Ostkolonisation*», later referred to as «*drangnachosten*», the movement of ethnic Germans (*Völkdeutsche*) into eastern Europe, goes back centuries to medieval times. As early as the twelfth century the «Transylvanian Saxons» (actually not Saxons but from Luxemburg and Mosel and later Rheinland and Flanders) began to settle in Transylvania (today in Romania). By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Germans had settled Sudetenland, then Moravia (today in the Czech Republic), founded the Zipser colonies in Slovakia, and settled the Sathmar area in Romania, as well as Transcarpathia. By the thirteenth century Germans were consolidating control over West and East Prussia as well as Silesia (today in Poland) while farther to the northeast a longstanding Baltic German presence was beginning. During the fourteenth century Germans were settling in what is today central Poland, and formed the large Gottschee settlement on the present-day frontier between Slovenia and Croatia. With the expansion of the Hapsburg and later Austrian Empires during the late seventeenth century, Swabian Germans (*Donauschwaben*) settled the Banat region (today divided between Serbia, Romania, and Hungary). So for centuries prior to heavy German settlement of Ukraine and Russia, ethnic Germans had been settling most of the countries which today comprise eastern Europe.

German Settlement of Territories Today Comprising Ukraine²

There were two basic explanations for German settlement in Ukraine: Austrian and Russian imperial expansion. The Austrian Empire and its predecessor the Hapsburg Empire had for centuries looked eastward to expand political control; this process was augmented with the eventual lessening of Polish-Lithuanian control and the retreat of the Ottoman Empire. Lithuania had advanced southward into the Black Sea lands between the

¹ This summation is based on P.R. Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 104–106. For further details see L. Schumacher, *Donauschwaben und Karpatendeutsche* (Stuttgart: Buchdruckerei Eugen Heinz, ca. 1952); A. Valentin, *Die Banater Schwaben* (Munich, 1959).

² Details on German settlements in the former Russian Empire (origins of settlers, dates, colonies and communities) from Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Krushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Battleford, Saskatchewan: Marian Press, 1974); Rev. P. Conrad Keller, SJ, *Die Deutschen Kolonien in Südrussland*, vol. I, Odessa, 1905; vol. II, Odessa, 1914 (trans. A. Becker, *The German Colonies in South Russia, 1804–1904* (Saskatoon: Western Producer, 1968). The changing political map is portrayed in P.R. Magocsi, *Ukraine: A Historical Atlas* (University of Toronto Press, 1985).

Dniester and Dnieper by 1392. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, established by the Union of 1596, included all of western Ukraine – Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Galicia, Bukovina. German settlement in Transcarpathia³ started as early as the twelfth century with early Saxon settlement and continued with the addition of Franconians by the fifteenth century, later «Schwarzwald Swabians», and an influx of Austrian settlers during the eighteenth century. This, then, would represent the earliest German settlement of any territory today comprising Ukraine. But it was not until the expansion eastward of the Hapsburg/Austrian realm, at the expense of Poland-Lithuania, that German settlement really commenced in earnest, after Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia were incorporated into the Austrian Empire in 1772, opening the way for extensive Austro-German colonization⁴.

The southern territories of what is today Ukraine (Silestre, Budzhak, Jedisan, Taurida and Crimea) had formed part of the realm of the Mongols and Tatars since at least the tenth century, becoming the Khanate of the Golden Horde, which gradually had been incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. During the seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire had continued to expand northwards into Bratslav, Podolia, and even as far as southern Kiev. The Russian Empire had long-established loose affiliation with Cossacks in the Zaporozhia Hetmanate, and succeeded in rapidly extending Russian imperial control over the Black Sea lands in 1763–1774, Taurida and Crimea in 1783, Odessa and Kherson in 1791. Farther north, the Russian Empire soon blocked further Austrian expansion, with incorporation of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podolia in 1793, and what was then called «West Galicia» (centered on Lublin) in 1809. Then to the south Bessarabia was added in 1812 and 1829–1856. Nonetheless, Russian imperial expansion also stimulated German settlement. The Russian Empress Catherine II was eager to resettle these new acquisitions as rapidly as possible with agriculturalists who would be loyal to the Russian crown, so she invited German (including Alsatian and Swiss, and even some Swedish) settlers to establish their own colonies in these new territories. Apart from free agricultural land, further inducements included a guarantee of religious freedom, a ten-year reprieve from taxation, freedom from the tradi-

³ Variouslly called Transcarpathian Rus, Subcarpathian Rus, or Carpatho-Rus.

⁴ German settlement in Transcarpathia has been described in P.R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus, 1848–1948* (Harvard University Press, 1978); and in Galicia by P.R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (University of Toronto Press, 1983).

tional Russian practice of peasant serfdom, and even permission to emigrate again provided that all debts to the crown were paid [2, p. 77].

The first «Russian»-German settlement was in fact in Russia, not Ukraine (as defined by present-day boundaries). The *Wolgadeutsch* colony centered on Saratov and Pokrovsk (Engels) on the Volga, developed in three stages: the predominantly Protestant (Lutheran and Baptist) *Wolgabergseite*, west of the river, in 1764–1767, the *Wolgawiesenseite*, across the river to the east, in 1772–1802, where many Swiss settled⁵, and later expansions around Samara (Kuybyshev) included the Lutheran settlement and the Alt Samara and Am Trakt Mennonite settlements in 1854–75. Altogether, the combined settlements included more than two hundred communities [11, p. 87].

Within Ukraine (as presently defined), tens of thousands of Germans settled in Volhynia from 1783 through the 1860s, establishing numerous communities; by the end of the nineteenth century they numbered more than 200,000 [11, p. 131; 13]. They included Germans from neighboring Russian Poland and Austrian Galicia as well as Mennonites and other Germans of West Prussian and Swiss origin.

The Mennonite odyssey is particularly fascinating. Named after Menno Simons (1492–1559), the progenitor of this denomination, a former Catholic priest who joined the Anabaptist movement which had spread from Switzerland, the first Mennonites were in Friesland, northern Netherlands, so likely spoke Frisian, a distinct Germanic language. Facing persecution both from Catholics as well as less communal-minded Protestants, they initially moved eastward into East Friesland in Germany, where they adopted the Low German language, then on to what was then the easternmost frontier of German settlement: West and East Prussia by the mid-sixteenth century. Here they had been invited to occupy undeveloped lands as part of the German colonization of eastern territories, in exchange for a promise of exemption from military service. However, by the 1780s they were encountering numerous problems with the militaristic Prussian government, so they began to leave to form new settlements in Poland; the Russian empress's invitation to form virtually autonomous colonies in the newly-acquired lands on the Russian Black Sea frontier seemed very compatible with their view of *das völk des eigentums* (a peculiar people), *das heiligevölk* (a holy people), concentrated in *de gemeinde* (community) within *die Mennischdegesellschaft* (broader Mennonite society) [2, p. 115]. Numerous villages and some quite significant towns

⁵ As evidenced in village names – Schaffhausen, Glarus, Basel, Zurich, Bern, Solothurn, Zug, Luzern, Unterwalden.

were established within these large settlements. Mennonites settled primarily in two original settlements: Chortitza, immediately west of Alexandrovsk (today Zaporozhye/Zaporizhia) – divided between present-day Zaporiz'ka and Dnipropetrovs'ka oblasts, where 18 original communities were established between 1789 and 1796; and Molotschna, northeast of Melitopol in Zaporiz'ka oblast, where four communities were established in 1804–1831, another two by Volhynian Mennonites in 1835–1836, and 12 in 1839–1863.⁶

No less fascinating was the Hutterite odyssey. Hutterites are a similarly communal Anabaptist religious people who originated as the followers of Jakob Hutter in the Sud Tirol region (then in Austria, now in Italy). By 1528 they had established their first real *bruderhof* (communal village or colony) in Moravia. In spite of constant persecution (Hutter was martyred in 1536), they numbered as many as 70,000 living in more than 90 *bruderhofs*; however by 1622 they had all been driven from Moravia, and some 20,000 survivors had migrated into Slovakia, Hungary and Transylvania, where they re-established more than thirty new colonies, including Kreutz in 1763–1770 [14; 2, p. 128–129]. With continuing persecution, especially Jesuit attempts to convert them in Slovakia, they were further reduced again in number. Finally, with Russian gains from the Ottomans, in 1770 just 123 Hutterites trekked from Kreutz to resettle at Wischenka on the Dessna River between Kiev and Chernigov (Chernihiv) near what would soon become the Belowesch German colony, in Chernivts'ka oblast. Subsequently in 1801 they resettled at Radichev, just to the south, then established the colony of Huttertal in 1842 and Johannesruh in 1852 near Melitopol in Zaporiz'ka oblast [11, p. 66–67, 132–133].

The area of German settlement in the Dnieper region soon expanded to include other German settlements: Near Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk), Josephstal was settled by Lutherans from Danzig and Riga in 1789; Rybalsk by West Prussians and Württemburger from Poland in 1791; Jamburg by Catholics from St. Petersburg in 1793 and Katharinenhof in 1870.

⁶ A comprehensive history of Mennonite migrations is found in C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1957). Mennonite settlements in Ukraine have been described in W. Quiring and H. Bartel, *In the Fullness of Time: 150 Years of Mennonite Sojourn in Russia* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1974); Friesen, J. (ed.), *Mennonites in Russia* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989); «Chortitza 'Old' Colony, 1789», *Preservings* (Journal of the Steinbach Historical Society), No. 20, June 2002; Friesen, R.P. *Building on the Past: Mennonite Architecture, Landscape and Settlements in Russia/Ukraine* (Raduga Publications, Manitoba, 2004); Urry, J. *Mennonites, Politics, and Peoplehood* (University of Manitoba Press, 2006).

Near Beryslav, the Schwedengebiet colony had originally been founded by 200 Swedish families freed from serfdom on the island of Dago (Estonia), who were resettled here in 1780 [11, p. 107–108]; yet they soon became outnumbered by Germans – Prussians and Württemburger – who in 1805 established three more communities here on the west bank of the Dnieper upstream from Beryslav in Khersons'ka oblast. The Prischib colony across the Molotschna River from the Molotschna Mennonite colony was settled primarily by southwest Germans who had previously settled in Poland; most were Lutheran but some were Catholic; 23 communities were established between 1805 and 1825. An offshoot of the Prischib colony, the Kronau colony on the east side of the Inguletz River, north of Kherson, consisted of 12 villages established in 1870. And on the west side of this river, the Sagradovka Mennonite colony contained 16 villages the following year (today this area is at the confluence of the borders of Khersons'ka, Mykolaivs'ka, and Dnepropetrovs'ka oblasts).

The Transnistria region between the Dnieper and Bug Rivers and Black Sea lands (Taurida) began to be settled in 1803–1810 by migrants from the Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg, and Alsace, who developed the Liebental colony west of Odessa in 1803–1810, consisting of six Protestant and four Catholic communities. The Glückstal colonists first settled Grigoriopol, an Armenian community on the Dniester, in 1804–1805; settlers from Württemberg and the Palatinate were later joined by other southwest Germans and Alsatians as well as migrants from Hungary, founding five original communities. The eight communities comprising the Kutschurgan colony northwest of Odessa (also in Odes'ka oblast) was settled in 1808–1809 mostly by Lutheran and Reformed southwest Germans and Alsatians. The Beresan colony, situated between Berezovka (Berezivka), Voznesens'k, and Nikolayev (Mykolaiv), was formed in 1809–1810 by southwest Germans of Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic persuasions, however specific communities tended to be settled by people of a particular faith; for example, Katharimental was settled in 1817–1819 by Catholics from Baden and the Palatinate, whereas neighbouring villages – including Johannestal – were Protestants mainly from Württemberg.

The first German communities in Krim (Crimea) were established in 1804–1810 by southwest Germans and Swiss. These were predominantly Lutheran but several were Catholic, and later in 1862 Mennonites arrived.

Southern Bessarabia⁷ had an incredibly diverse population consisting of Ukrainians, Germans, Romanians, Bulgarians, Jews, Tatars and Gaga-

⁷ i. e. the Budjak/Budzhak (or Bugenc in Romanian) salient, between Akkermann (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'ky) and the Danube, the western extension of Odes'ka oblast.

uz. The German settlers themselves came from diverse origins: southwest Germans, Bavarians speaking a Swabian dialect, northern Germans (Mecklenburger, Pomeranians, and Prussians via Poland) speaking Low German dialects, who tended to settle in separate communities identified by their origins and specific religious adherence. More than 2000 families (representing 10,000 people) had settled in 25 «mother» communities in 1814–1842, and many later communities were settled [11, p. 118]. Then in 1848–1858 these Bessarabian Germans established colonies – Atama-gea, Kataloi, and Ciucurova – in neighbouring Dobruja across the Danube to the south (now in Romania).

Finally, the Azov lands between Melitopol and Mariupol (north of Berdyansk in Zaporis'ka oblast), included a variety of German colonies containing more than 30 communities. Near Mariupol, Borisovo and Memrik were settled in 1818–1821 mostly by *Plattdeutsch*-speaking Lutherans but also some Catholics from Danzig and West Prussia, as well as some southwest Germans. Mennonites established the Bergthal colony in 1836–1852. The 11 villages comprising the Grunau colony were Lutheran, whereas the six comprising Eichwald were Catholic. A Swabian Separatist Colony consisting of five villages was founded by Württemburger in 1822. Still more communities comprised the Eugenfeld colony in 1838–1848. Farther to the east, in the Don region, Grosswerder was established in 1832, however these were mostly «daughter colonies» not established until the 1870s to early 1900s.

In sum, the regions which now are situated within Ukraine were then within the Russian Empire, with the exception of the westernmost regions of Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia; the Volga region was in Russia but not Ukraine. So the *Völkssdeutsche* of these regions within the Russian Empire (ie. including the Volga) all referred to themselves as *Russlanddeutsche* («Russian-Germans») or *Russaki* from *Sud-Russland* (South Russia), rather than «Ukrainian-Germans» in the case of regions which were in Ukraine, and continued to use this designation (enhanced by resettlement in Siberia – which was in Russia – during and following the Second World War). So in this paper, for more accuracy the term “Ukrainian-Germans” is used for ethnic Germans in Ukraine. A further distinction was traditionally drawn between Volga Germans (*Wolgadeutsche*) in Russia and Black Sea Germans (*Schwartzmeerdeutsche*) in Ukraine, yet the latter considered themselves to be «Russian-Germans» whereas German colonists in Transcarpathia, Bukovina, Galicia and possibly Volhynia (all re-

gions today within Ukraine) did not⁸. When they first arrived in Ukraine (ie. specific territories which now are situated within Ukraine), all these *Völkedeutsche* came from very diverse origins, consequently spoke many varieties of German⁹. It is more likely that all these dialects remained well-preserved in the German colonies, than becoming synthesized into a standard form of German, in view of the distance from Germany, relative isolation of the colonies from each other (not the least due to religious specificity), and in those days a lack of unifying German language media. Over time, though, unique forms of language developed, such as Russian Mennonite *Plattdeutsch* (*Mennoniten Plautdietsch*), which incorporated some loan words from Russian (although this was limited). Russian or Ukrainian never became the prevalent language of Germans in Ukraine until after the Second World War, when Ukrainians and Russians outnumbered Germans or completely took over former German communities, and possibly began to intermarry with Germans.

The Exodus of Germans from Ukraine

By the 1870s the privileges which the *Völkedeutsche* in the Russian Empire (i.e. including most of Ukraine) had enjoyed for a century began to be eliminated. In particular, the *ukase* of June 4, 1871 made them eligible for military service, which especially for pacifist Mennonites seemed unacceptable. Moreover, the far-reaching political autonomy of their colonies was affected by incorporation into larger Russian administrative areas, taxation exemptions were cancelled, community schools were obliged to teach in Russian and to emphasize Russification ensured by replacement of «unqualified» German teachers with Russian teachers [2, p. 78]. In revoking their longstanding privileges, the Russian czar effectively reduced them from landowners to mere tenants. Disillusioned by what they

⁸ «German-Russians» refers to ethnic Germans historically in the Russian Empire, thus includes not only Germans in Russia proper but also most Germans who settled in territories now within Ukraine and possibly even throughout the USSR. However, strictly speaking, this should exclude territories which were never within the Russian Empire: Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. For clarification, in this paper the term «Ukrainian-Germans» is preferred, to include Germans in all territories comprising present-day Ukraine plus Crimea (and their descendants in Canada).

⁹ Including northern Niedersachsen Low German (*Plattdeutsch*), High German (*Hochdeutsch*), Alsatian (*Alemmanisch*), the southwestern dialects of Palatinian and Baden-Württembergisch, Swabian dialect (*Swabischdeutsch*), Swiss German (*Schweizerdeutsch*), Prussian German (*Prussisch*), Hessian German (*Hessisch*), Saxon German (*Sachsisch*), etc.

perceived to be their inherent rights, thousands of families, even entire communities, decided to leave. Numerous Mennonites departed during the 1870s to recreate distinct settlements in western Canada¹⁰. In Volhynia Mennonites were followed by other Germans particularly from the 1890s to 1914, heading mainly to western Canada and the United States but some even to South America. In order to bolster the Baltic German presence 15–20,000 Volhynian Germans were resettled up in Courland (today in Lithuania and Latvia) in 1908–1913 [11, p. 132]. Between 1857 and 1914, altogether approximately 10,000 Germans emigrated from Bessarabia (including those who went immediately south into Dobruja) [11, p. 121]. Not only in the Russian Empire but elsewhere in eastern Europe *Völkedeutsche* now felt obliged to leave for similar and other reasons. For example, Dobruja was annexed by Romania in 1878, leading to the revocation of privileges, restriction of land holdings, and state control of schools; the imposition of military service in 1883 and a severe drought the following year were added to the persistent problem of shortage of available land, so in 1884–1885 many departed for North Dakota in the United States and Saskatchewan in Canada [2, p. 101]. Similarly, in 1874 the Hutterites (numbering some 700–800) left Ukraine to resettle in South Dakota [14; 11, p. 133].

Despite all this emigration, in 1914 the German population in Russia (i.e. including the regions of Ukraine which were at the time within the Russian Empire) was estimated at approximately two and a half million [13]. The First World War served to further exacerbate the situation of the remaining Russian-Germans, with Russia at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, all to the disadvantage of the German minorities. Pro-Russian Soviet Bolshevik forces from the east battled the pro-German Hetmanate government. A Ukrainian National Republic created in 1918 excluded Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia, which were claimed as parts of the West Ukrainian People's Republic, which nonetheless declared unity with the Ukrainian National Republic the next year. With the victory of the pro-Soviet forces the Ukrainian SSR was created by 1920, however Galicia and northern Bukovina were now in Poland, southern Bukovina and Bessarabia in Romania, Transcarpathia be-

¹⁰ A collection of documents pertaining to the Mennonite emigration during the 1870s is found in: Altester G. Wiebe, Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika (Winnipeg: Druckerei des Nordwesten, 1900 [trans. H. Janzen, Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America (Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981].

came part of the new country of Czechoslovakia, and Crimean ASSR was in Russia. All of which must have increasingly confused the German colonists as to where their political loyalty lay. A second major wave of Mennonite emigration resulted: during the 1920s more than 20,000 departed for Canada to join their brethren. This departure, which Mennonite historians refer to as «the break event», was considered the final demise of the «Mennonite Commonwealth» in Ukraine and Russia, although most still remained [30; 29; 6; 25; 21; 4].

Conditions during the next three decades became far worse for the remaining ethnic Germans. During the 1930s, the time of the great *Holodomor* (mass starvation in Ukraine), Stalin labelled Russian-Germans *kulaks* (relatively wealthier peasants), so sent some 50,000 to labour camps.¹¹ During the Second World War, though the invading German forces would likely have expected to find some solidarity with the German settlers, there could be little empathy of traditionally pacifist Mennonites with German militarism, and other *Völkdeutsche* – Lutherans and Catholics – would most likely have feared inevitable Russian and Ukrainian repercussions (although, to add to the confusion at the time, it was more likely that opportunistic Ukrainian nationalists wishing to break away from perceived Russian dominance sided with the German forces). Volhynia, central and southern Ukraine became the Reichskommissariat Ukraine in 1941; Romania (then a German ally) expanded to include Transnistria and Odessa in 1941; Galicia was within German-occupied Poland; Transcarpathia was annexed by Hungary in 1939 and Transylvania in 1940. In view of all these changes in international borders-concomitant with wide variance in Hungarian, Czech, and Ukrainian data – it is difficult to determine how many ethnic Germans remained in Transcarpathia¹².

Following the war, all these territories were included within an expanded Ukrainian SSR, with the exception of southern Bukovina (remain-

¹¹ Internet: Wikipedia: Black Sea Germans: History. In oblasts where Germans were concentrated, more than a quarter of the total population of Zaporiz'ka and Dnipropetrovs'ka, between 20-25% of Crimea, Khersons'ka, and Mykolaivs'ka, and 15-20% of Odes'ka, Zhytomyrs'ka, and Donets'ka declined during 1929-33 (M. Carynyk, L.Y. Luciuk, and B. Kordan, *The Foreign Office and the Famine of 1932-33* (Kingston, Ont.: Limestone Press, 1988)). An account of the *Holodomor* is R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986).

¹² 15-31,000 were estimated in 1880; by 1910 33,000 (but 64,000 German-speakers); declining to just 10,000 by 1921; but then increasing to almost 14,000 by 1930; then decreasing sharply to about 3,500 today.

ing in Romania) and all but southern Bessarabia (now Moldavian SSR). In August 1941 the Soviet government deported hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans to «special settlements» far away in Siberia and Soviet Central Asia, in order to avoid anticipated collaboration with the invading and occupying German forces; moreover massive population transfers continued after the war, increasing the resettled German population in the USSR to over a million by 1949¹³. Throughout eastern Europe, ethnic Germans were now regarded by emergent postwar governments as enemy aliens, so were obliged either to follow retreating German military forces to Germany or be forcibly deported¹⁴. In 1955 ethnic Germans were officially «rehabilitated» by the Soviet government, but prohibited from returning to European USSR¹⁵. Since the 1980s ethnic Germans in the USSR

¹³ According to Soviet archives and ethnic population data and German sources, by the end of 1942 an estimated 1.2–1.5 million ethnic Germans were resettled in Siberia and Soviet Central Asia. Only 687,000 remained alive in these settlements by October 1945. 316,000 were serving as labour conscripts (to which they were assigned even if they requested serving in Soviet armed forces). And additionally between 203–370 thousand ethnic Germans who had been resettled by Germany in Poland during the occupation were subsequently deported to Siberia and Soviet Central Asia by the invading Soviet forces. One source estimates that at least 65,000 perished in the settlements and another 176,000 as forced labour after the war. For descriptions of these deportations and resettlements, see: K. Stumpp, *Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland* (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1964); A.M. Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978).

¹⁴ Detailed in A.B. Anderson, «Emigration from German Settlements in Eastern Europe: A Study in Historical Demography», in J.M.S. Priestly (ed.), *Proceedings of the First Banff Conference on Central and East European Studies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1977).

¹⁵ The official Soviet policies toward ethnic minorities have been described in detail in a wide variety of government publications. However, these policies have been critically examined in such publications as E. Goldhagen (ed.), *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (New York: Praeger, 1968); H.C. d'Encausse, *Decline of Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978); A.B. Anderson, «Political Implications of Recent Changes in Ethnic Population Composition in the USSR and Eastern Europe», CEESAC meeting, Dalhousie University, Halifax, May-June 1981; W.M. Mandel, *Soviet but not Russian* (University of Alberta Press and Ramparts Press, 1985); A.J. Motyl (ed.), *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); J. Devlin, *Slavophiles and Commissars* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); D.Z. Brodsky, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

were permitted to emigrate to Germany¹⁶. Many Ukrainian and Russian-Germans eventually ended up in Canada, constituting a third major wave of emigrants, however unlike their predecessors these postwar migrants settled primarily in cities, including in eastern Canada.

So how many ethnic Germans remain in Ukraine today? Hundreds of former German towns and villages remain but all of their original German names have now been changed to Ukrainian. *Strassendorf* – line villages – are still readily discernible, but their original ethnic German residents have been almost entirely replaced by Ukrainians and Russians; and in some cases German villages had already been entirely abandoned when their residents departed for North America long before the deportations. According to the 2001 census, there were 33,300 German-speakers in Ukraine¹⁷. However, there are approximately two million people familiar with German language in Russia, obviously many descended from «Russian» – Germans in Ukraine. According to census data, the number of Russians claiming German ethnicity has been declining rapidly due not only to emigration but also intermarriage with Russians and Ukrainians¹⁸. There are an estimated 2.3 million «German-Russians» counted in Germany¹⁹.

¹⁶ At least 90,000 Germans from the USSR resettled in Germany after the war, not including 250–320,000 Germans who retreated with the German forces by 1944 (which in turn would not have included most of the remaining population of Königsburg, which became the Russian city of Kaliningrad in 1945). An account of the departure of Germans from Königsburg and East Prussia is M. Egremont, *Forgotten Land: Journeys Among the Ghosts of East Prussia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011).

¹⁷ not including people speaking Yiddish, a Jewish Germanic dialect, who numbered far more: 634,000 in 1991.

¹⁸ The official census counted 597,000 claiming German ethnicity in 2002, down to only 394,000 in 2010. Today 18% of Germans in Russia are Orthodox, and Lutheran adherents have been proportionately declining. Data sources include Russian census data; also see Internet: Wikipedia: History of Germans in Russia, Ukraine, and the Soviet Union; Demographics. Language data are also found in E. Glyn Lewis, *Multilingualism in the Soviet Union* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1972); and B. Comrie, *The Languages of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge University Press, 1981). On religious policies and trends, see: H. Roemmich, *Die Evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in Russlandunter der Sowjetherrschaft* (Stuttgart: Landmannschaft der Deutschenaus Russland, 1961); J. B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites* (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1982); H. L. Parson, *Christianity Today in the USSR* (New York: International Publishers, 1987).

¹⁹ There may be some confusion in the data between government census data counting «Russians in Germany» or «German-Russians», «Russian-speaking Germans», and various estimates by Russian-German organizations (i.e. Germans from Russia, Ukraine, etc.) in Germany.

Resettlement in Canada²⁰

Apart from Germany, Canada and the United States received most of the legacy of ethnic German emigration from Russia and Ukraine. During the early 1880s the German influx into the United States may have reached 200,000 a year; vast areas of the northern prairies were converted into replicas of the Russian-German colonies, where German identity was adamantly preserved until the First World War [18]. To the north, the Canadian prairie provinces would receive the next – or even the same – generation of Russian-Germans when good agricultural land was becoming less available in the United States for large scale settlement; moreover thousands of Russian-Germans (most from Ukraine) were already migrating directly to western Canada and settling in distinct ethnic and religious settlements. The vast majority of the Germans who arrived in western Canada did not immigrate directly from Germany; they were *Völktsdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) from eastern Europe, not *Reichsdeutsche* (homeland Germans) from Germany itself²¹. Most ethnic Germans settled within their own specific bloc settlements which were predominantly Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist, Mennonite, or Hutterite. Let us now describe

²⁰ Details on the origins of German settlers in Saskatchewan from Ukraine and Russia have been selected from A.B. Anderson, *Settling Saskatchewan* (University of Regina Press, 2013). A classic study has been H. Lehmann (trans. G. P. Bassler), *The German Canadians, 1750–1937: Immigration, Settlement and Culture* (St. John's, Nfld.: Jespersion Press, 1986; originally published in German in two volumes, 1931 and 1939). See also G. Grams, *German Emigration to Canada and the Support of its Deutschtum during the Weimar Republic* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000).

²¹ In 1916 only 15,328 residents of the prairie provinces indicated that Germany was their country of birth, while 101,944 claimed German as their mother-tongue. In fact, according to one estimate, only 12% of the German immigrants who settled in western Canada before 1914 were *Reichsdeutsche*; the remainder were mostly *Völktsdeutsche* (44% arrived from Russia, 18% from Austria-Hungary, 6% from Romania, and another 18% came via the United States). In 1911 13.9% of the total population of Saskatchewan consisted of ethnic Germans, whereas only 1.1% had been born in Germany; in the neighbouring provinces ethnic Germans comprised 9.9% of the population of Alberta and 7.5% of Manitoba. Data from A.B. Anderson, *German Settlements in Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan German Council, 2005). – P. 5; and G. Grams, «Immigration and Return Migration of German Nationals, Saskatchewan, 1919–1939», in G.P. Marchildon (ed.), *Immigration and Settlement, 1870–1939* (University of Regina, 2009). – P. 414–415.

the origins in Ukraine of a number of major German settlements in Saskatchewan.

The Neu Elsass (New Alsace) Colony could claim to be the first German settlement to develop in Saskatchewan, in 1884. Centred on the town of Strasbourg, both the colony and community were likely named after the communities of Elsass and Strassburg in the Kutschurgan colony in Ukraine, or perhaps indirectly by migrants from «Russian-German» settlements in the United States²². Within the settlement, the Southey district was settled by German Lutherans in 1902–1905; the Fairy Hill, Wheatwyn, Fransfeld, and Freudental districts were strongly German Lutheran. Pastor Sigmund Manz, born in 1899 at Arbora, Bukovina, was raised on a homestead near Southey; he was ordained at Fairy Hill and later served a German Lutheran congregation at Lemberg. The small Lutheran church at Wheatwyn, built in 1906–1907, held services in German until the 1950s; the Germans who settled here came from Bukovina. German Catholics from Bukovina named the Kronsberg, Radant, and Sambor districts after their original villages (Radant after Radantz/Radauti in southern Bukovina, today in Romania). Volga German settlers founded a Lutheran church at Lockwood in 1913. German Catholics settling the Schell, Frohlich, and Mannheim (named after Mannheim in the Kutschurgan colony) districts around Holdfast arrived from diverse origins: German colonies in South Russia (Ukraine), Banat, the United States, and even South America.

As the Neu Elsass settlement was developing, another predominantly German Lutheran settlement began to develop in 1884–85: the Hohenlohe colony, founded by Fürst (Count) Hermann Ernst von Hohenlohe-Langenburg. Immigrants from Bessarabia arrived in 1888–1891. Centred on the *Evangelische Lutherische Kirke zu Sint Paulus Gemeinde* in the town of Langenburg (1889), outlying Lutheran congregations included Hoffenthal (1892) and Beresina (1895), named by immigrants from the village of Beresina in southern Bessarabia. Pastor Koss arrived from Glusha, Kowel, Volhynia to serve families from the same region in 1917. While this settlement was predominantly Lutheran, the Landshut district was settled by Bavarian Catholics from the Black Sea colonies.

As these predominantly Protestant settlements were developing, a third Protestant settlement came into existence. In 1885 Baptist immigrants from Dobruja founded NeuTulscha, northeast of Regina. The settlement's name was changed to Edenwold by German settlers from Bukovina, soon joined

²² The town used the original German spelling of Strassburg until 1919, the railway station and post office until 1956, when the French spelling was adopted.

by other Germans from Poland, Galicia, and Russia (possibly South Russia or Ukraine) during the early 1900-s. By 1889, when the first Lutheran service was held, the settlement had a Lutheran majority, who founded the *Deutsche Evangelische Sankt Johannes Gemeinde* in 1893; this congregation was served by Bukovina-born Pastor Sigmund Manz. Some Catholics later settled in the area in 1907.

A third large settlement to be established primarily by Ukrainian-Germans in Saskatchewan was St. Joseph's colony just to the south of Edenwold near Balgonie, founded in 1886 by fifty families from Josephstal in the Liebental colony near Odessa. The settlement began to expand when more families arrived between 1890 and 1893 from Rastadt and Munchen in the Beresan colony as well as from Klosterdorf in the Schwedengebiet; they settled south of St. Joseph's colony, establishing St. Peter's colony by 1894. They recreated *dorf* villages similar to those they had left in Ukraine: Rastadtdorf, Katherinental, and Speier (named after communities in the Beresan colony). By 1896 there were more than two hundred families in the expanded settlement, almost all of them Catholics [2, p. 84]; yet Lutherans from the Black Sea lands and Bukovina had formed their own concentrations by 1898–1899, and soon were organizing congregations. The settlement expanded rapidly to include new communities (Odessa by 1901–04, Kronau named after the Kronau colony in the Dnieper region – by 1909–12) and rural districts (Franzfeld, Josephstal, Andreasheim, Mayerling, New Holstein, Seitz, Sibel Plains, etc.).

Meanwhile, in 1887 primarily Baptist and Lutheran *Wolgadeutsch* began to develop a significant settlement north of Yorkton. This distinct settlement grew to include the villages of Ebenezer, Gorlitz, Hamton, Rhein and Springside, and the outlying rural districts of Langenau, Kitzman, Grunert, and Brunntal (named after a village in the Samara colony on the Volga). Baptists established a congregation in Ebenezer in 1889, and Lutherans in Brunntal in 1904, Runnymede in 1917, and Rhein in 1920. Volhynian Germans settled nearby in the town of Yorkton.

As Ukrainian and Russian-German settlements were established in rapid succession, *Völkedeutsche* settled the region to the south and west of the town of Melville. A predominantly Lutheran settlement of Galician Germans developed around the communities of Neudorf and Lemberg (German for L'viv) after 1890 (including the surrounding rural districts of Weissenburg, Erlösser, Baber, Heil Lake, Peace, Piller, and Ulmer). Two Lutheran churches were constructed in Neudorf and another two in Lemberg in 1901 and 1906 as well as a Catholic church in 1901. The Gottinger rural telephone company served the area. A Swabian dialect was

spoken by the original settlers, reflecting their heritage in Ukraine and penultimately Swabia. Catholics (and a minority of Lutherans) from Bukovina, Bessarabia, Galicia, and Poland concentrated south of Melville around Grayson (originally called Nieven) in 1896 and in the Mariahilf settlement, founded in 1900 around Killaly (including the Hauer and Gelowitz districts). Baltic German Lutherans settled in the town of Melville; Lutherans at Hubbard, while Lutherans were joined by Mennonites in the Reimer and Mona districts around Duff and by Baptists at Fenwood; Catholics settled at Goodeve; while the Königsburg district was originally settled by German-speaking «Ruthenian Calvinists» whose evangelical church eventually became Ukrainian Orthodox.

Largescale Mennonite migration from Ukraine to western Canada commenced in 1874 when conservative Mennonites from the Chortitzacolony resettled in the East Reserve and the following year conservative Mennonites from the Fürstenland and Bergthal colonies in the West Reserve in Manitoba.²³ It was not until 1891 that the largest Mennonite settlement – what came to be called the Saskatchewan Valley settlement – in the neighbouring province of Saskatchewan developed in several stages. Initially immigrants of the more liberal Rosenort Gemeinde (which became the General Conference) from West Prussia, South Russia, and Manitoba settled near the town of Rosthern in 1891–1894, followed by conservative Fürstenlander, Reinlander, Bergthaler/Chortitzer, Sommerfelder, and KleineGemeinde immediately from Manitoba (however earlier from the Chortitza and Bergthalcolonies in Ukraine) in 1895–1905; and lastly Mennonite Brethren, Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, and Evangelical Mennonite Brethren primarily from the American Midwestern states (and before that Ukraine and Russia) after 1898.²⁴ Small numbers of Lutherans also settled amidst these Mennonites, such as two congregations at Rosthern founded in 1899 and 1911 by pastors from Neudorf and Lemberg, and a congregation at Hague founded by Volhynian Germans.

A second large Mennonite settlement around the town of Swift Current in the south similarly developed in stages: Sommerfelder from Manitoba

²³ For details on early Mennonite settlement in western Canada, see: Epp, F.H. *Mennonites in Canada, 1786–1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974).

²⁴ Detailed maps of Mennonite settlements in Ukraine and Russia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan are provided in W. Schroeder and H.T. Huebert, *Mennonite Historical Atlas* (Winnipeg: Springfield Publishers, 1990). Mennonite sectarian distinctions are explained in J.J. Friesen, *Building Communities: The Changing Face of Manitoba Mennonites* (Winnipeg: CMU Press, 2007).

by 1903, followed by conservative Old Colony/Reinlander Mennonites from Manitoba in 1904, and Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites from «Russian-German» settlements in the United States in 1904–05. Especially within the conservative areas of these largest Mennonite settlements, numerous community names found in the Mennonite colonies in Ukraine were given to recreated *strassendorf* villages²⁵.

A second St. Peter's colony, another large planned German Catholic settlement developed around the town of Humboldt after 1902; within just five years there were over 6,000 German Catholics in the colony [2, p. 86]. Settlers were recruited by the Benedictine Order in the United States; they included many of Ukrainian and Russian-German descent and some from Banat. And a second St. Joseph's Colony soon became the most extensive planned German Catholic settlement in Saskatchewan. Most of the settlers were *Schwartzmeerdeutsche*, many of whom arrived in 1905-08 after first settling in the neighbouring American states, whereas later arrivals in 1908-10 tended to come directly from Ukraine. For example, Grosswerder was named after a community in the Don colonies, Leipzig after a community in the Bessarabian colonies, and Schuck after a village in Crimea.

A series of German settlements (predominantly Catholic but with Lutheran minorities) developed in the southwestern region of the province and across into Alberta after 1908. Settled primarily by Ukrainian-Germans, many arriving from earlier «Russian-German» settlements established in the United States, their origins in Ukraine are obvious. For example, Catholic parishes included Krassna in 1911 (named after Krasna in the southern Bessarabian colonies), Liebenthal in 1914 (after the Liebental colony), Josephstal in 1915 (in the Liebental colony), Rastadt in 1922 (in the Beresaner colony). Crimean Germans established a Lutheran congregation in the Krimmerfeld district, and NeuKronsfeld was a base for the *Kanader Krina Sozialisten*, formed in 1922 to assist Crimean immigrants. The largest town on the Saskatchewan side is Leader (formerly Berlin).

Meanwhile, in addition to all these very extensive settlements established by Germans of Ukrainian and Russian origin, many other smaller concentrations developed. Galician and Volhynian Germans settled the Josephsburg settlement north of Grenfell in 1888 (named after their original community in Ukraine) and Oakshela. Volhynian Germans (mostly Lutherans but including some Catholics) settled around Yellow Grass

²⁵ For example: Chortitza, Schonweise, Osterwick, Neuhorst, etc. from the Chortitza colony and Halbstadt, Altonau, Rosenort, Blumenort, Rudnerweide, Waldheim, Hamburg, Hochstadt, Grunthal, Heidelberg, Blumental etc. from the Molotschna and Prischib colonies.

in 1892. St. Aloysius German Catholic colony was founded around Allan in 1903–1905 (it was originally called the Seltz colony after a community in the Kutchurgan colony; one extended family lineage originated in the Kronau colony). Close to Saskatoon, «Russian-German» Lutherans established the Haultain congregation in 1905 and Bergheim the following year (Bergheim was noted for its retention of unique Volhynian customs). Windthorst was settled in 1907 by Volhynian immigrants from the Vladimir-Volynskiy area and other German communities in Volhynia and Galicia. Volga German Lutheran congregations developed in Jansen and Dafoe by 1907. Many of the Germans who settled around Hodgeville in 1907–1914 were ultimately of Russian-German origin, arriving in Saskatchewan from Russian-German settlements in the neighbouring United States; they included Catholics, Lutherans, Adventists, Mennonites. Sommerfelder and Berthaler settled in the relatively remote Carrot River area in 1908. Settlers from Crimea founded Billimun colony near Mankota in 1909–1910. The districts of Crimea, Dankin and Ebenau around Glidden and Eatonia were settled by German Lutherans. Ukrainian Mennonites from Kansas and South Dakota settled the Reimche district near Woodrow by 1910. Near Spring Valley the Hapsburg district was settled by an immigrant from Czernowitz (Chernivtsy) in Bukovina in 1910. Another Lutheran congregation was Eigenheim near Lanigan, formed by 1920.

Many of the more than 20,000 Mennonites who emigrated from the remaining Mennonite colonies in Ukraine and Russia during the 1920-s resettled in Saskatchewan. Called *Russlander*, they were distinguished from the *Kanadier*, earlier Mennonite immigrants who had settled in western Canada half a century earlier²⁶. While many settled in the larger existing Mennonite settlements, in view of the scarcity of remaining farmland by the 1920-s many were settled in smaller new settlements, including: the extensive *Nordheimer Mennoniten Gemeinde* in the Hanley and Dundurn area and Ebenfeld congregation in the Herschel area.

The Hutterites, who had left Ukraine *en masse* in 1874, initially settled in South Dakota; however the First World War hastened the departure of many Hutterites to Alberta and Manitoba. They did not begin to move into Saskatchewan until 1949. Since then they have established more than sixty self-contained colonies, each averaging approximately 100 residents.

²⁶ Russlander settlement in western Canada has been documented in F.H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1962); and F.H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920–1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982).

In addition to all these German settlements established in whole or part by Ukrainian and Russian-Germans, other settlements were developed by *Völkdeutsche* from other eastern European countries as well as *Reichsdeutsche* – immigrants directly from Germany and their descendants, for example: Many *Donauschwaben* (Danube Swabian) or *Banatdeutsche* (Banat Germans) and Hungarian-German communities were established in Saskatchewan (such as Zichydorf in 1897, followed by Torondal, Sudom, and Maryland colony near Lampman in 1905). Hungarian-German immigrants founded St. Elizabeth colony near Glenbain in 1908–1909, and both Germans and Magyars from Herzogendorf/Hercegfalva settled around Wakaw. Most of the settlers of St. Peter's colony around Humboldt after 1902 were second or third generation German-Americans whose predecessors had immigrated from the *Reich* and some from Banat. Many of the original German colonists in Ukraine came from previous German settlements in Poland; German Lutherans from the Wilhelmswalde settlement near Lodz, Poland settled near Radisson in 1907, and Polish-Germans from the Tomaszow-Mazowiecki and Wengrow areas settled around Wapella in 1928. St. Walburg was initially settled by Catholics from the *Reich*, Bavaria, Austria, and Luxemburg in 1901–1912 and in 1929, then later by *Sudetenlander* in 1938–1939 [22]. The Arcola area was settled by *Wolgadeutsche* by 1905. Lutheran Baltic Germans established a congregation in Melville in 1907.

Changing German Identity in Saskatchewan

To an appreciable extent Ukrainian-German settlers in Saskatchewan encountered increasing difficulty in preserving German language with each new generation, for several reasons. The original settlers in widely scattered settlements spoke different dialects, just as they had done back in eastern Europe. Two world wars had a pronounced effect on retention of German language in German settlements when Canada was at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The public and separate schools of the province outlawed use of the German language in schools; this was a major contribution to the departure of many conservative Mennonites to new colonies in Central and South America during the 1920-s²⁷. Among Mennonites the most use of the distinctive *Plautdietsche* dialect (their own variety of *Plattdeutsch*, Low German) was – as they put it – «*biemaunsiedle*» («when the settlers came»), among the first generation, especially conservative Old Colony Mennonites who enjoyed retelling «*jeschichteennresseut'evengangenheit*» («stories and humour from the past») [2, p. 134]. Mennonites (especially conservative) have traditionally used

²⁷ This has been extensively discussed in Anderson (2013). – P. 140–146.

Plautdietsche as their home language but tended toward more standardized Low German and increasingly English as their language outside the home, as well as what they have called *Schriftsprache* (literary German), *Bibeldeutsch* (Bible German), and *Hochdeutsch* (High German) in their churches and schools. Canadian Mennonites have increasingly tended to emphasize Mennonites as a religious rather than ethnic group, representing a marked departure from their historic emphasis of being a unique people apart even from other Germans in Ukraine and Russia²⁸. Mennonite historians have speculated that Mennonites shifted readily from speaking Frisian and Dutch to Low German, as German was regarded as a superior language and as adopting German was at the time politically expedient; whereas later in the Russian Empire Russian and even more so Ukrainian were regarded as inferior languages; then finally in Canada speaking German was less advantageous, even a political liability during the wars (even though Mennonites were pacifists). But for many years (even in certain cases right up to the present) particularly conservative Mennonites and some Lutheran and other churches retained use of German in their services. In Hutterite colonies, where everyone is by definition bilingual in German and English, *Hochdeutsch* is still taught in «German school», whereas the everyday language of the colony is their own unique dialect of German. Old Colony Mennonites, like Hutterites, emphasized a traditional saying: «*yiyilchda, yivekehda*» («the more learned you are, the more abnormal you become»); education was discouraged beyond the minimum required by the provincial government.

So today there are hundreds of thousands of people in Saskatchewan and the other two prairie provinces who may claim to be of Ukrainian or Russian-German descent; yet with each new generation fewer of the descendants of original settlers still speak German, with the exception of many (particularly conservative) Mennonites and all Hutterites²⁹. However the «third wave» of postwar and more recent immigration from Ukraine and Russia – and from Germany of descendants of eastern Euro-

²⁸ Contemporary Mennonite identity has been discussed, for example, by A.B. Anderson, «The Sociology of Mennonite Identity: A Critical Review», in C. Redekop and S.J. Steiner (eds.), *Mennonite Identity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (University Press of America, 1988); L. Driedger, *Mennonite Identity in Conflict* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1988); and T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939–1970: A People Transformed* (University of Toronto Press, 1996).

²⁹ Although there were more than 286,000 people in Saskatchewan in 2006 claiming (in whole or part) German ethnic origin, in 2001 only 32,515 reported that German was their “mother tongue”, according to Canadian census data.

pean *Völkssdeutsche* – to Canada has brought more German-speaking immigrants who have tended to settle in the larger cities, where they have played a significant role in recreating and maintaining German culture and organizations. But for their part, earlier settlers who formed so many distinct settlements have long preserved unique customs and traditional recipes inherited from Ukraine and Russia. However, by the third or fourth generation, relatively few can still speak German and have limited awareness of the Ukrainian and Russian origins of their predecessors. It seems ironic, perhaps, that just as *Völkssdeutsche* in Ukraine had limited contact or social interaction with their Ukrainian neighbours, the descendants of ethnic Germans from Ukraine have had little contact with their even more numerous Ukrainian neighbours in Saskatchewan, when both virtually recreated settlement patterns and duplicated innumerable place names from Ukraine. In a sense, to a very considerable extent, all these thousands of early settlers, including not only ethnic Germans from Ukraine but also Ukrainians, simply transferred much of the historic socio-cultural geography of Ukraine to Saskatchewan and the prairie provinces of western Canada.

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ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕ И ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ НЕМЦЕВ В УКРАИНЕ И ИХ ПОТОМКОВ В КАНАДЕ

В рамках исторического контекста рассмотрен процесс заселения этническими немцами Восточных земель, в том числе территории, занимаемой современной Украиной, создание и упадок их колоний. Определены регионы происхождения переселенцев в Украине, особенности трансформации их немецкой идентичности в Канаде.

Ключевые слова: этнические немцы, миграция, Российская империя, меннониты.