

# Leeleva Online Map

## **Karlswald** **(Karolswalde, Karolswald, KarlsWaljd; Carlswalde)**

Russian: Карсвальд; Karlswald  
German: Karolswald

Also known as Holendry or Golendry  
Ukrainian: Голендри; Holendry  
Russian: Голендры; Golendry

Also known as Holendry Slobidzkie; Slobodskie Gollendry; Slobodarskie  
Holendry; Sloboda Galendry; Holendry Slobodzkie; Sslobodskie Olendry  
Ukrainian: Слободарські Голендры; Слобідські-Галендри  
Russian: Слободские-Галендры

Also known as Prykordonne  
Ukrainian: Прикордóнне; Prykordonne  
Russian: Прикордонное; Prikordonnoe

Karlswald is depicted on Jake Unruh's map just north of Leeleva, south of the Town of Ostrog and the Ostrog Forest.<sup>1</sup> In reality, the Village of Karlswald is indeed almost due north of Leeleva (Lesna) about 4 or 5 miles, although the way by road would be several miles farther. The village sits right on the western edges of the Ostrog forest, about 2.5 miles south of the Ostrog Castle.

First of all, a couple words about the various names of the village. German sources indicate the village was founded by the name Karolswald by Germans in the very early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>2</sup> In 1886, authorities of the Russian Empire required that German colonies be called by Russian names so the village officially reverted to its Slavic name; Sloboda Golendry (or a derivation of such). Sloboda is a common village name in Ukraine and Poland.

The etymology of the name infers that the area was free from taxes for a period of time, based upon exemptions made by the landowner.<sup>3</sup> After the tax exempt period expired, the village would just keep the name. In the case of Sloboda Golendry, it probably meant something like the Hollander (Golendry) tax exempt settlement (Hollander tacked on perhaps to differentiate it from the other village named Sloboda (or Slobodka) less than a mile to the north. Locals may have simply referred to the village as Golendry and the Germans in the area may have simply called it Holland.<sup>4</sup> There are many villages by the name Sloboda all across Russia and Ukraine, as well as others named Golendry.

After the Polish-Soviet War of 1921, Poland took control of land to the north and west of the Vilna River, including the town of Ostrog, and lands to the south and east of the river remained under Soviet control. Sloboda Golendry, laying only a stone's throw east of the river, on the Soviet side, became known as Prikordonnoe, after a Ukrainian term for border. The village retained this name for the duration of Soviet control and is called the Ukrainian equivalent, Prykordonne, today. So that's why this village is alternately known as Karlswald, Sloboda Golendry, and Prykordonne.

### **Mennonites Come to Karlswald**

The German Mennonites who founded Karlswald arrived in Volhynia from West Prussia, which was a region of the First Republic of Poland. They came as a result of several events which dovetailed together propitiously, providing these Mennonites with a new home.

German Mennonites had long inhabited the banks of the Vistula River, from the river's mouth at Danzig (Gdansk) throughout the delta regions (werder was a word used to describe the delta areas) and upriver even as far as Schwetz (Swiecie) and Culm and beyond. These pacifist Anabaptists lived among the Catholics and Lutherans in the relatively progressive First Republic of Poland (also known as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), draining swamps and maintaining productive farmland. The majority of these Mennonites lived in West Prussia which was a fiefdom of the Polish king.<sup>5</sup> West Prussia was also known as Royal Prussia, not to be confused with East Prussia, also known as Ducal Prussia, which lay east of the Vistula centered around the town of Königsberg (today known as Kaliningrad).

As the Prussian Dukes became more and more powerful over the course of 18<sup>th</sup> Century, their landholdings began expanding in Europe and they developed a large, powerful army. The pacifist Mennonites did not fit well into this militaristic society and the Prussian government pressed them harder and harder regarding military service and taxation, and made much more difficult their ability to acquire and own land.<sup>6</sup>

As the Prussians were gaining in power, so too were the overlords of the Habsburg Monarchy (Austria, officially vassals of the Holy Roman Empire) and the Romanov Tsars of the Russian Empire. The Polish king, along with his cumbersome, quarrelsome nobility, was unable to retain authority over his realm. In 1772 Prussia, Russia and Austria began dividing Polish territory among themselves.<sup>7</sup> This was known as the Partitions of Poland.

The three Partitions of Poland, occurring in 1772, 1793 and 1795, witnessed the entire territory of the First Republic of Poland divided between Prussia, Russia and Austria, and Poland officially existed no more. The Mennonites of the Vistula valley at that point found themselves living no longer in the Polish kingdom, with its religiously tolerant policies, but in militaristic Prussia.

This map, from the year 1800, shows the results of the Partitions of Poland. The entire map shows the borders of the First Republic of Poland. Outlined to the right in yellow are the lands taken by Russia; in red toward the bottom center are lands taken by Austria; in green towards the left are lands taken by Prussia. Note Ostrog, circled just right-of-center towards the bottom, formerly part of Poland, part of Russia after the Partitions.<sup>8</sup>



**The Partitions of Poland; 1772, 1793 and 1795**

Meanwhile, Empress (or Tsaritsa) Catherine II (the Great), herself a native Prussian (her name was actually Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg) found herself at the head of the quickly expanding Russian Empire. In the south, Russia emerged victorious after a series of conflicts with the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) in the 1760s and 1770s after which Russia gained control of right-bank Ukraine (lands east of the Dnieper River) and the Crimean Peninsula, an area that came to be known as New Russia. And in the west, as a result of the Partitions of Poland, Russia gained control over large portions of Lithuania, Belorussia, Volhynia and Moldavia.

In an effort to colonize these new Russian territories and transform them into productive countryside, Catherine turned to her native Prussia, intent on colonizing her new territories with productive German farmers. The cornerstone of the new Russian colonization policy was the famous manifesto of Catherine the Great, issued on July 22, 1763. This manifesto stipulated the conditions regarding settlement of foreign colonists in Russia, their rights and responsibilities as well as a number of significant benefits relating to taxation, allocation of land, ability to self-govern, and military service.<sup>9</sup>

Catherine sent recruiters abroad and many German Mennonites, crowded out of land along the Vistula and in order to avoid military conscription throughout Prussia, jumped at this chance.

The first Mennonite settlement in the Russian Empire was the Chortitza Colony, the earliest villages of which were settled by Prussian Mennonites in 1789.<sup>10</sup> The Chortitza Colony was located south of the City of Ekaterinoslav<sup>11</sup>, along the western banks of the Dnieper River in Ekaterinoslav Gubernia.

Very soon after this, another congregation was formed in the village of Michalin.<sup>12</sup> The Village of Michalin was located about 10 miles south of the Town of Machnowka (now known as Komsomolske); slightly more than 20 miles south of Berdychiv in Kiev Gubernia. The Molotschna Mennonite Colony was founded several years later, in 1804. This later colony was located just northeast of the Russian Town of Melitopol in southern Tauride Gubernia.<sup>13</sup>

In traveling to South Russia, the Prussian Mennonites loaded their wagons and headed south along the Vistula to Warsaw. From there they struck eastward along the ancient road through Volhynia. The road passed through Vladimir, Lutsk, Dubno, and Ostrog, and then on to Korets, Novograd Volyn, and Zhytomyr.

According to a map drawn in 1951 by Hermann Epp, Mennonites on their way to the Molotchna Colony took the road southeast from Ostrog to Zaslav, and then on to Berdichev.<sup>14</sup> The entire distance from the Prussian Werders to the sunny skies of southern Tauride, was more than 1,000 miles. And it was traveled all by foot or wagon.

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This map from the early 1800s, shows the Kiev-Brest road as it ran through Volhynia (marked in red). Mennonites on their way to South Russia passed through Ostrog, then southeast via Zaslav and Berdichev or Machnovka (marked in blue).<sup>15</sup>



### Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Volhynia

Michalin, the earliest Mennonite Colony close to Volhynia, was settled by Mennonites from the Vistula valley as well as from Brenkenhoffswalde, near Driesen. The Michaliners leased land from the Polish noble family, Potocki, which owned large tracts of land in western Kiev Gubernia.<sup>16</sup> These Michaliners would later be served by the Mennonite bishop from Karlswald and most would leave Russia in 1874.<sup>17</sup>

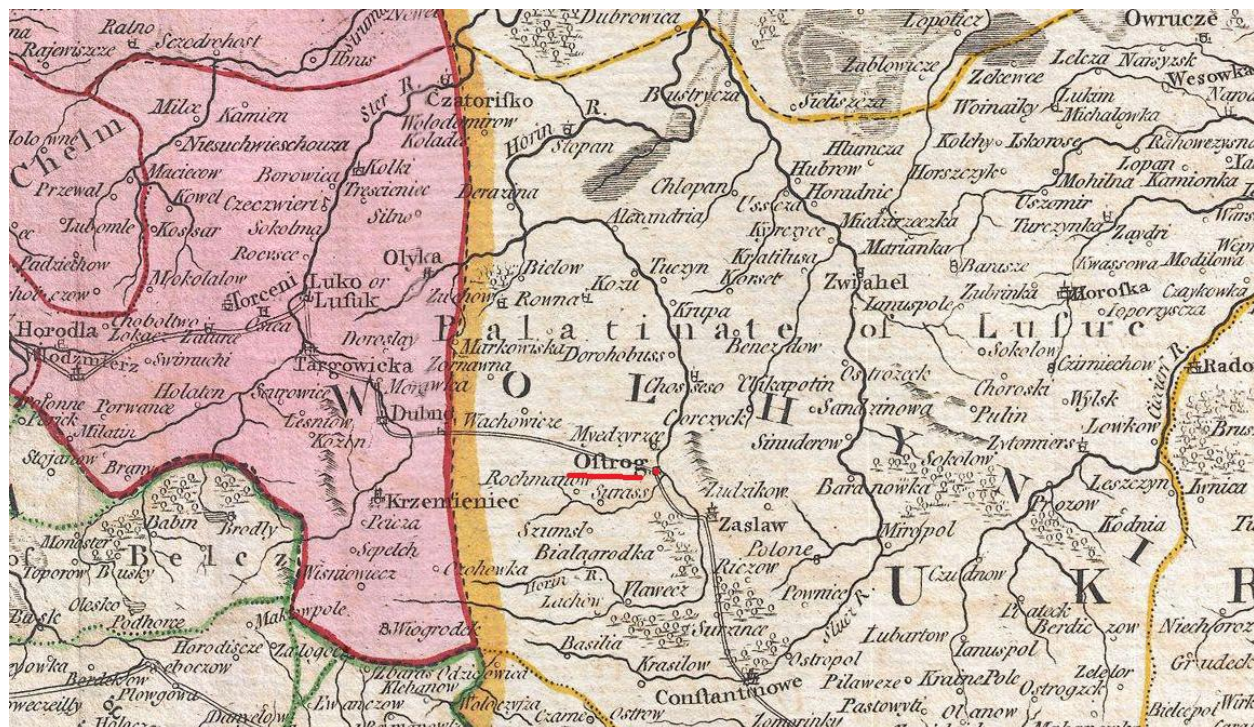
As Mennonite caravans began to travel to South Russia they crossed Volhynia and many would have stopped along the way at Ostrog. Ostrog was the home town of the powerful Polish Noble Family, the Ostrogski, one of the most prestigious families in Volhynia. Ostrog was also home to one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in Eastern Europe, the Ostrog Academy. One such group of travelers en route to South Russia from the Vistula valley was the Karl Dirks Family.

The Karl Dirks Family was traveling to South Russia along with a Mennonite caravan. The date must have been sometime between the second and third Partitions of Poland (2<sup>nd</sup> Partition: 1793; 3<sup>rd</sup> Partition: 1795). The Dirks Family included two teenage boys; 16 year old Jacob and 15 year old Benjamin.



About the time the caravan crossed the Polish-Russian border, Jacob became seriously ill. Polish guards at the border-crossing volunteered to watch after the boy since he might be ill for several weeks. The Dirks Family would continue on their journey and the guards promised to send the boy along with other Mennonite caravans after he recovered.<sup>18</sup>

This map shows the Polish-Russian border after the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. The pink area to the left is Poland; the yellow-outlined white portion to the right is Russia. Note the proximity of the border to the towns of Dubno and Ostrog. The border was about 10 miles east of Dubno; about 20 miles west of Ostrog.<sup>19</sup> It was near this crossing where Jacob Dirks fell ill.



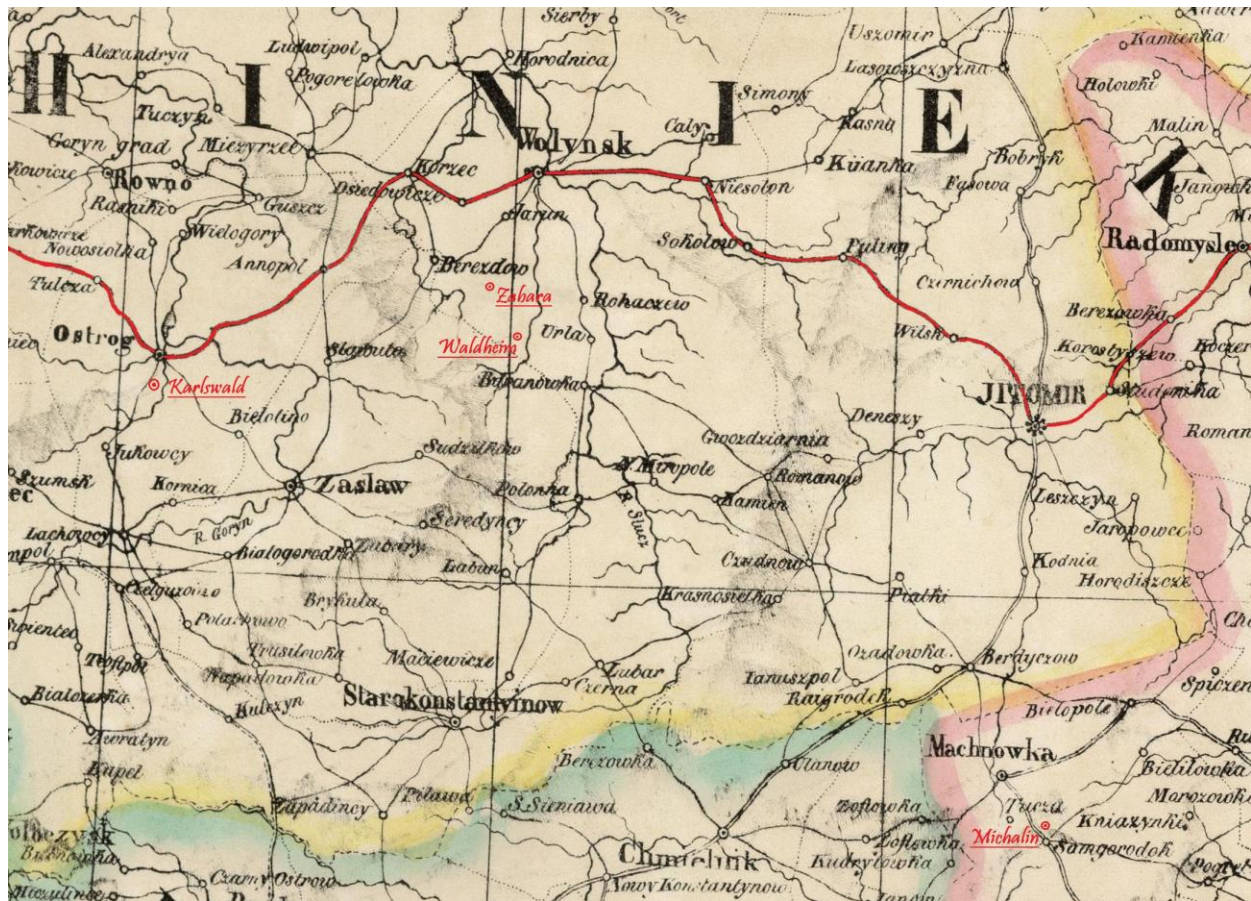
**Polish-Russian Border after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Partition of Poland; 1793**

The Dirks Family continued with the caravan several more miles to the Town of Ostrog where they paused on their journey. They could bear to travel no farther leaving their son behind, but the rest of the travelers were not of a mind to stop. The Dirks Family abandoned the journey and returned to care for their son.

Exact details are unclear, but at nearly the same point in time, colonists from the Village of Michalin had abandoned their village and were searching for a new home. Furthermore, Mennonites from Zabara<sup>20</sup>, also known as Dossidorf, were also seeking a new village. These two groups, the Michaliners and Zabarans, together with the Dirks Family, apparently settled on the southern outskirts of the Town of Ostrog and named their new village Karlswald, after Karl Dirks.<sup>21</sup>



This map shows the early Mennonite settlements of Karlswalde, Zabara and Waldheim, as well as Michalin, in Volhynia in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The distance from Karlswald to Michalin given the 19<sup>th</sup> Century route would have been in the neighborhood of 150 miles.<sup>22</sup>



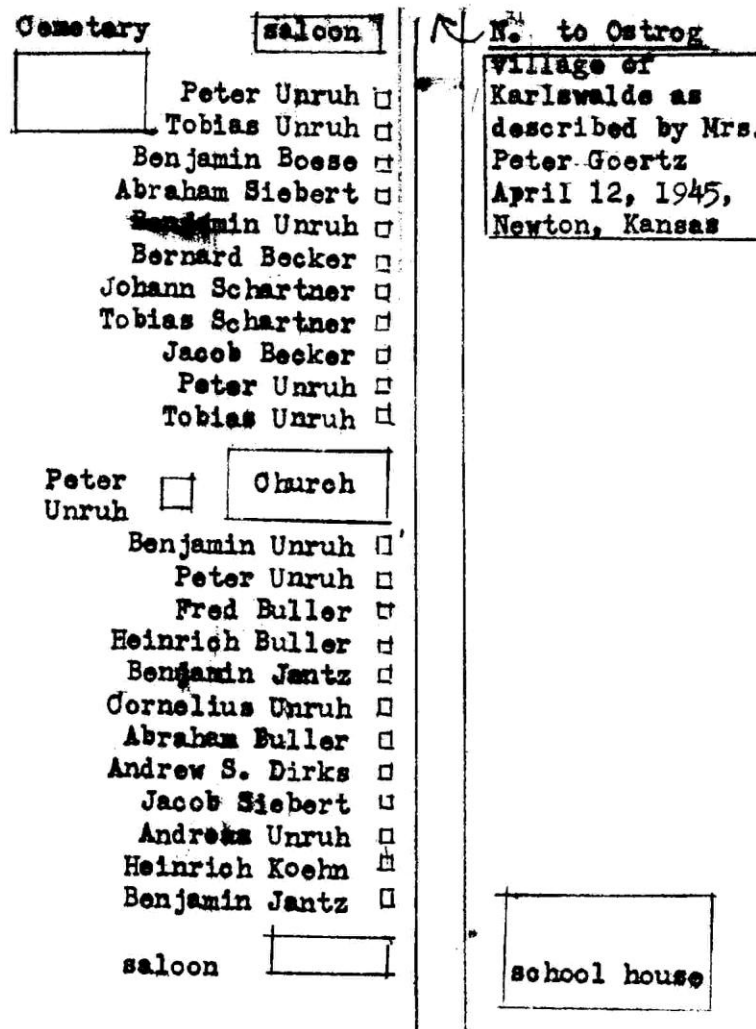
### Early Prussian-Mennonite Settlements in Volhynia

In 1801 the Karlswalde villagers settled a lease with the landowner Charles Jabłonowski.<sup>23</sup> The original lease called for the village, collectively, to receive 34 uvoloki<sup>24</sup> of hayfield and undeveloped land, building material for the construction of houses, and cash loans in the amount of 200 zloty<sup>25</sup> per family, re-payable after 3 years. Rent payment for each family was 60 kopecks annually per morg (Mopr) of land.<sup>26</sup> These terms were provided for 19 Prussian Mennonite families.<sup>27</sup> This lease was executed in either 1801<sup>28</sup> or 1802<sup>29</sup>. The Karlswald Churchbook, compiled in the 1830s, contained the following inscription regarding this lease:

Mennonites who previously lived in the Kingdom of Prussia, near Driesen and Swetz, who migrated and settled in the Wolhynien government, near the city of Ostrog, in the year 1802 and later, with the permission and a written agreement of his sovereign Majesty, the Russian Crown Prince, Karl Jablonovsky.<sup>30</sup>

The houses in Karlswalde were all built on the west side of the road. The Mennonites, in typical Hollander fashion, laid Karlswalde out with the houses between the main road and the stream. Houses were spaced along the road and fields were marked off as long strips between each house and the stream. This gave each farmer access to water. This stream was a small tributary of the Vilna River. Houses were also typical German-Mennonite combination style houses with an attached barn. A large Russian oven was usually built into the kitchen.<sup>31</sup>

Below is a map of Karlswald drawn to specifications given by Mrs. Peter Goertz of Newton, KS, in 1845. This map probably represents a time period slightly before 1874. Note the presence of the cemetery and church on the west side of the road, as well as the school-house on the east.<sup>32</sup> It is not known whether or not the plot near the church marked Tobias Unruh indicates the Mennonite Bishop, Tobias Unruh, or not. Johann Schartner, 5<sup>th</sup> plot north from the church, is probably the Mennonite preacher who moved to the Molotschna Colony after 1874. Schartner periodically returned to Volhynia to provide religious guidance.<sup>33</sup>



Goertz Map: Karlswalde prior to the year 1874



The village may have looked something like the picture below. The Germans liked to have a wide main road running through the village. This is a photo of the German village of Welnianke in Volhynia in the late 1930s.<sup>34</sup> Welnianke was a German village about 65 miles northwest of Ostrog, north of the Town of Lutsk.



Karlswald was the primary Mennonite village of the cluster of Mennonite villages near Ostrog, collectively known as the Karlswald Circuit. Karlswald and Antonovka were the two Mennonite parishes in the area.<sup>35</sup> As time wore on and the number of Mennonites in the two parishes grew, more villages were added<sup>36</sup>:

Karlsberg founded 1828<sup>37</sup>

Jadwinin founded 1828-1857

Fuerstendorf founded between 1857 and 1874

Fuerstenthal founded before 1874

Gruenthal founded between 1857 and 1874 (a.k.a. Gnadenthal)

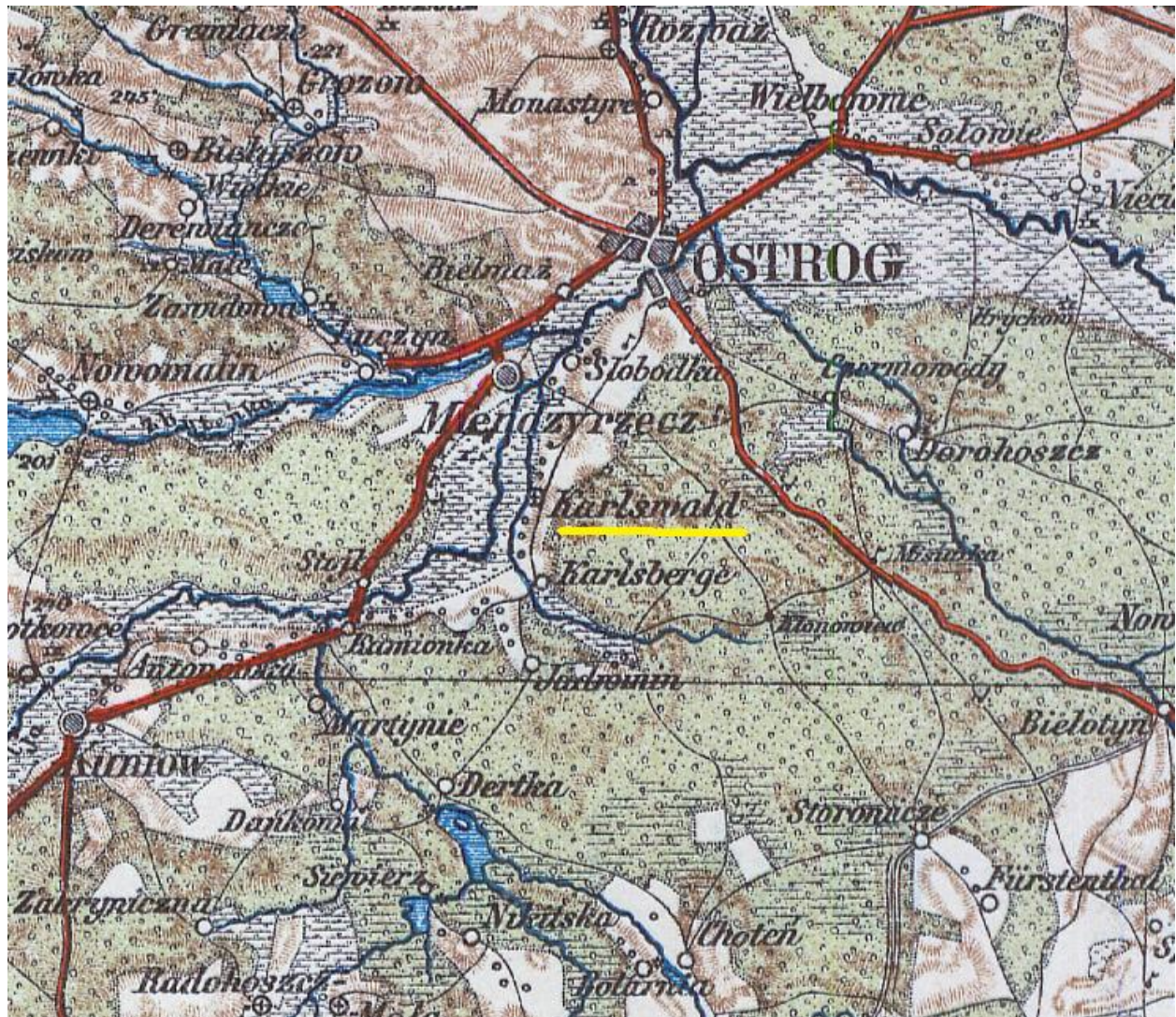
Manziliska founded prior to 1871<sup>38</sup> or 1874<sup>39</sup>

Michailivka founded late 1870s-early 1880s<sup>40</sup>

Stanislivka founded: unknown. Doesn't appear on maps until 1921<sup>41</sup>

Benjamin Dirks<sup>42</sup> was ordained elder of the Karlswald villages in 1817. This is the same Dirks whose brother had fallen ill and whose father served as the namesake for the village. Tobias Unruh succeeded him in 1853.<sup>43</sup> Between the years 1854 and 1874 Unruh baptized no fewer than 256 youths from the Village of Karlswald and 723 youths from all the above villages.<sup>44</sup> This is how the Karlswald Villages looked in the late 1800s.

Note the fact that Leeleva is named Nikitska on this map.<sup>45</sup>

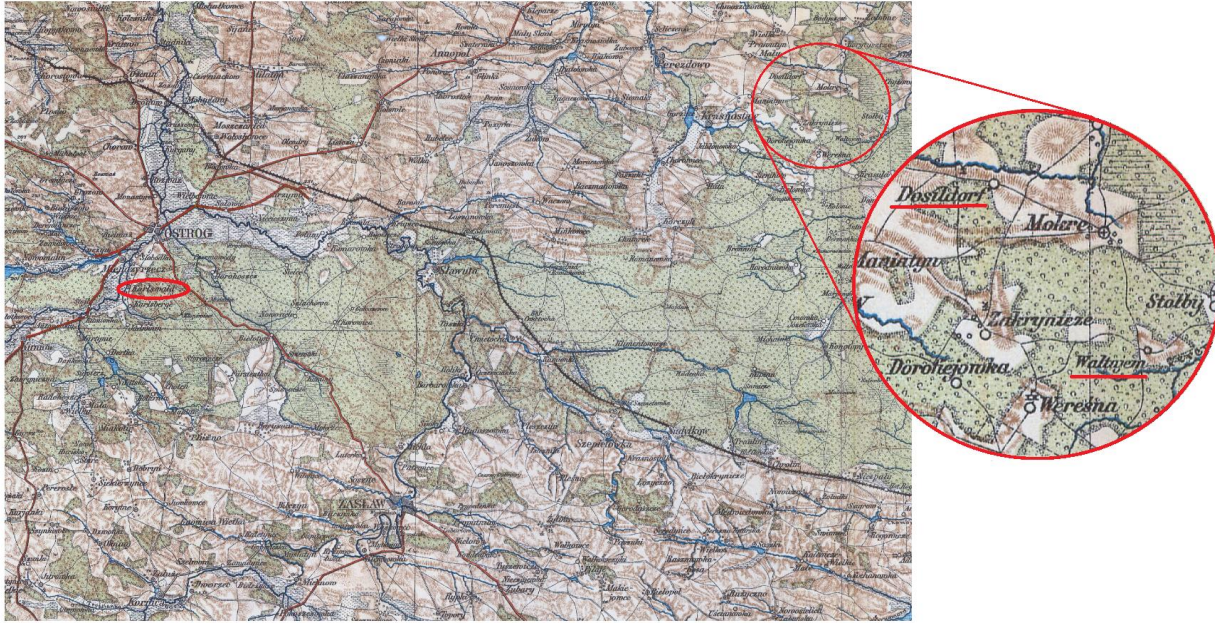


### Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ostrog Area

The bishop of Karlswald, Tobias Unruh served several other villages not in the immediate Ostrog area.<sup>46</sup> As previously mentioned, at times Prussian Mennonites inhabited the villages of Zabara and Waldheim to the northeast of Ostrog. Villagers were known to move back and forth from these villages to the more immediate Karlswald area.<sup>47</sup>



This map shows the location of Zabara and Waldheim in relation to Karlswald.



### Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Karlswald and Zabara (Dosildorf)

Finally, Tobias Unruh served German colonists still living in Michalin, as well as the Village of Heinrichsdorf, which was settled in 1848.<sup>48</sup> Both these villages were located near the Town of Berdichev.

### The Heinrichsdorf Colony

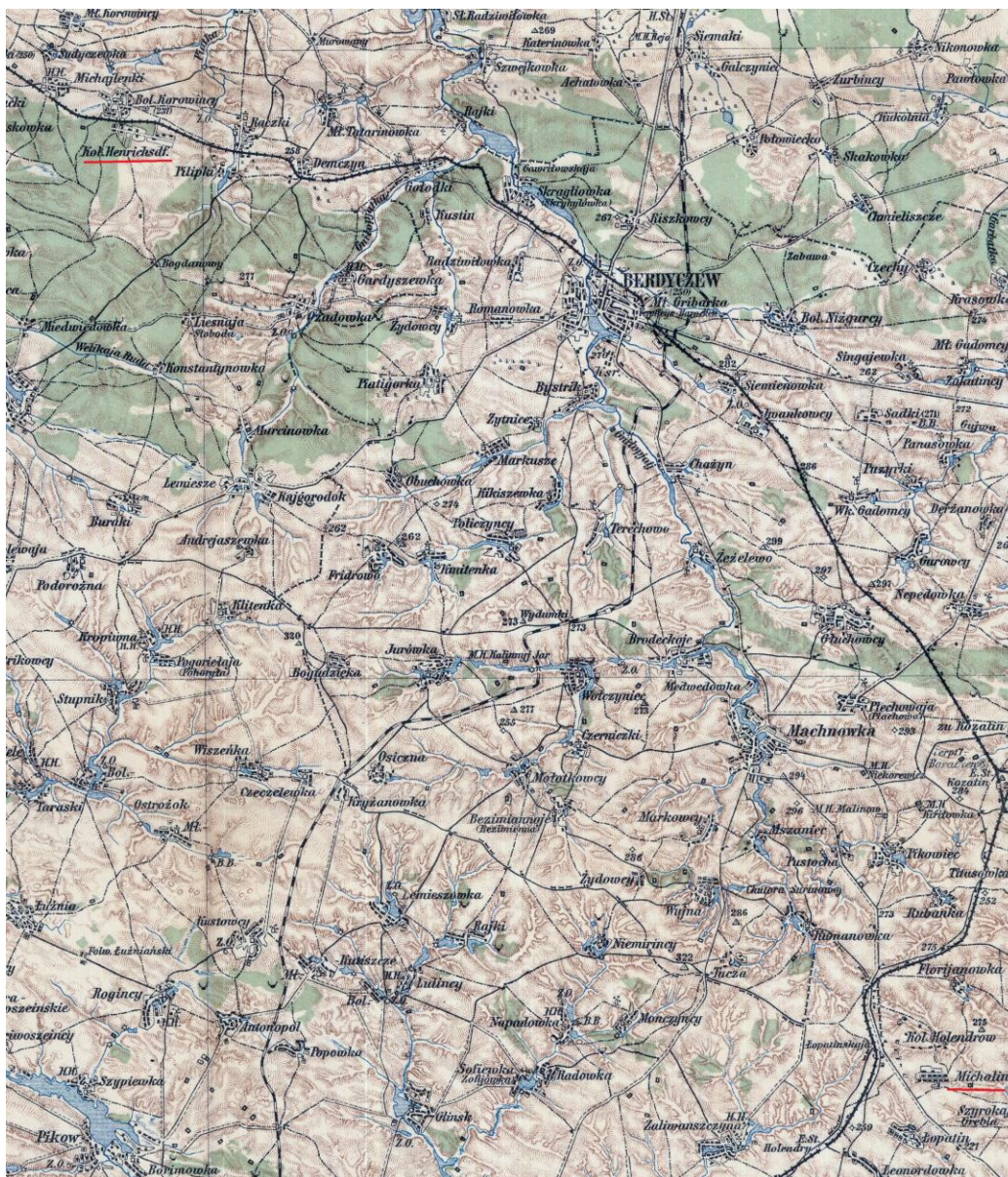
The story of Michalin was told earlier. The Heinrichsdorf Colony, however, was younger than Karlswald. In 1836 or 1838, about 40 families of Volhynian Mennonites from several villages, including Zabara and Waldheim, left Volhynia for the Molotschna Colony. In the Molotschna, they expected to reunite with their brethren from the Driesen area, who were living in the Village of Gnadenfeld. Moving to the Motoschna and founding there the Village of Waldheim, these Volhynian Mennonites found themselves disenchanted. Neither societal nor economic expectations were met for these Volhynians, so they prepared to move back to Volhynia.

In 1848 they secured permission from the Russian Government to return to Volhynia and they founded the Village of Heinrichsdorf, a dozen miles or so northwest of the Town of Berdichev.<sup>49</sup> In 1874, these Heinrichsdorf villagers emigrated to the U.S.A. aboard the S.S. Colina. Common names in this village were similar to names in the Karlswald villages: Ratzlaff, Unruh, Boese, Nachtigal, Schmidt, etc.<sup>50</sup>

In 1906, Heinrichsdorf was home to only 50 people living in 10 households.<sup>51</sup>



This map shows the villages of Heinrichsdorf and Michalin, near the Town of Berdichev (Berdyczew), in the late 1800s.<sup>52</sup>



### Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Berdichev Area

As the 19<sup>th</sup> Century wore on, more and more Germans moved into Volhynia. The bulk of these coming after the mid-century point were Lutherans. These Germans wanted to settle and live with similar benefits to those which were given to settlers coming into Russia earlier in the century. The government, however, began to see that these German settlers unintentionally undermined Russian authority throughout the countryside. The 1763 manifesto allowed the Germans to set up their own schools and administer their own villages. It exempted them from military service. Additionally, the Germans continued to speak their own language and bought up so much land that little was left for the native Ukrainians.<sup>53</sup>

Anti-German legislation started to be passed by the government in an attempt to stem the tide of German colonization. In the 1860s new laws made it much more difficult for Germans to acquire land. Tax benefits for the German colonists were also scaled back.<sup>54</sup> In 1870 legislation instituted universal military service for all young men, Germans included.<sup>55</sup> Also, landowners were obliged by the government to introduce leases which were not so beneficial to German farmers.

### **Mennonites begin to leave Russia**

With the introduction of these new anti-German policies, the Mennonites of the Karlswald villages began to make preparations to leave Russia. Villagers began to sell their belongings and raise the amount of money the voyage to America would take. At that time, the price of transport from Hamburg to Kansas or the Dakotas ranged between the equivalents of \$35 - \$42. This included 20 cubic feet of freight for each adult. Most of the Mennonites did not have the money required for the voyage but loans were made through the Mennonite Board of Guardians in the USA.<sup>56</sup>

The majority left, under the leadership of Tobias Unruh, in 1874. Most of the residents of Karlswald traveled aboard the S.S. Kenilworth, the S.S. City of London, or the S.S. City of Montreal, which all departed from Hamburg, Germany, in the second half of 1874. The Kenilworth was a ship of the America Line and steamed to Philadelphia via Liverpool, England. The City of London and the City of Montreal were ships of the Inman Line. These ships also departed via Liverpool, England, but docked in New York City.<sup>57</sup> The German Mennonites who stayed in Volhynia largely moved to Leeleva after this time.<sup>58</sup>

In 1906, Karlswald, listed as Sloboda Galendry, appeared in a Volhynian census as having 70 households with a total population of 521 persons. The village was included in the Kunev (Kunoff) Township or Parish (Volost), also known as Kunevskoy.<sup>59</sup>

### **German Lutherans Come to Inhabit Karlswald**

The Village of Karlswald probably had very few Mennonite residents after 1874. Most of the Mennonites sold their homes to Lutherans before immigrating to America. The following history of Karlswald during its German Lutheran period was written by Claire Schachinger Krause for The Lebanon Historical Society in 1977:

#### **III. The Village**

The Karlswalde village had about 42 German families. In the center of the village (were) the church, school, and store. The village also had a blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, oil press, and a mill. The cemetery was located near the site of the old church. A small creek, or "Ritschke"<sup>60</sup> ran through the village and to the west was the Wilna River (Vilna). Beautiful wooded area of tall pine trees covered the village for 5 to 6 miles. The brush underneath was kept clean by a government forester.

The meadows and hay lots were together where the rivers ran through and were bordered with trimmed willow trees. The land was flat. The houses were fenced off with picket fences and the pasture with board fences.

One main road went through the center of town and was lined with trees. Secondary roads went into the woods and to Jadwonin (Jadwanin). Ostrog was within walking distance of the village, and many young people walked there, while the older people rode.

#### IV. Homes

The homes were one-story with attic, and the barns were attached to the houses because of the snow during the winter. There was a large walk-in chimney area that had a cooking kettle. The oven and cooking stove were in the kitchen and were fired separately in closed fire boxes to preserve heat. A large, brick, warming wall in the center of the house was used for heat and was fired separately also.

The only entrance to the house was through the large hall or "Hausgang" that went between the house and barn and along one side of the building. There was a pantry off the kitchen, a large kitchen and dining room area, a living room or "Grosse Stube", and 2 bedrooms. The floors were wooden, and the outside of the house was made of wood covered with plaster, with a thatched roof.

#### V. The Farm

Each farm contained about 30 acres (pasture, crops, orchards). The major crops raised were barley, rye, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. Livestock consisted of cows, pigs, horses, and fowl. Garden vegetables raised were beets, beans, peas, onions, turnips, carrots, lettuce, potatoes, cabbage, and turnips. Every house had a flower garden around it made into beds. Gooseberries and currants grew along the picket fences. Herbs grown were dill, parsley, chamomile, fennel, and peppermint. Hops were also grown. Food was preserved by smoking, drying, and pickling.

The barn attached to the house had a horse stall, a cow stall, and a large storage area. A trough ran from the well to the barn. Water was dumped into the trough for the animals. The horses were given water from a pail. The pig barn was located in the barnyard. Pig food was cooked in the large kettle in the chimney fireplace in the house (beets, potatoes, grain mixed together). Most farms had an upper pasture near the woods, and a lower pasture near the creek.

#### VI. The Church

The Karlswalde congregation (was) Evangelical Lutheran and services were conducted in German. The older Mennonite church in the village was beginning to deteriorate so the people wanted to build a new church. Some of the people wanted the church to be more central, while others wanted the location to be the same. Mr. Jakob Schairer donated land for the church to be built across from the schoolhouse, so that became the site of the new church.



Entire families came to church, even the Petrofsky family, a Polish family who lived in the Karlswalde woods. Each family also held morning and evening prayers as well as daily bible readings. The church played an important role in the life of the community.

## VII. The School

The school was a newly-built brick building that replaced the old schoolhouse. The teacher, Albert Benke, lived at the end of the building. There were 4 grades in school that were equivalent to 8 years of school. The schoolmaster earned extra compensation by how many children passed the examination which was administered annually by an official examiner. At first the school was taught in German, but when Mr. Benke came, Russian became the official language of the school.<sup>61</sup> Children were taught the 3 R's. They worked on slates and recopied their work in notebooks. The school was one-room and had a heating wall similar to the ones used in the homes. Children went to school 5 days a week from September to May. Most children finished school at 14 years of age. Anyone desiring higher education would have to go to school in one of the nearby cities. Children learned farming and household arts at home. Anyone desiring to learn a trade worked 4-year apprenticeships as bakers, butchers, builders, tailors, cabinet makers, or musicians.

## VIII. The Russians

Although the German population kept mostly to themselves, contacts were made at various times with the Russians.<sup>62</sup> Many German men had to serve a period of time in the Russian army. During the various military affairs during World War I and the Russian Revolution, the Russians became more active in the affairs of Karlswalde. In 1915, Cossack soldiers were quartered for about 6 months in Karlswalde homes. Later, when the German men were off in the army, the remaining families were sent out to Veronyish<sup>63</sup>, in deeper Russia, to prevent their consorting with the German army now entering Russia.

The Germans were treated well in Veronyish, housed in Russian homes, and given a daily living allotment of 15¢ per person. Merchandise was cheap, and the Germans managed to save money for the 2 years they stayed there. The women crocheted lace for the Russian style shirts and skirts and traded these for food. The German people also wrote letters for the Russians to their men in the Russian army. A very good relationship existed between the Russians and the Germans, and they were sorry to see the Germans leave their village.

In 1917, when the German army was in control of Russia, the Karlswalde Germans returned to their village. People from Austria called Galizans had been living in Karlswalde but were put out when the Germans returned. The German government helped support Karlswalde until the Germans left Russia at the end of World War I.

## IX. Aftermath

By the end of the 1920's Karlswalde became a commune. Church services were no longer held.<sup>64</sup> The Germans were persuaded to leave Karlswalde to another village in deeper Russia that was supposed to be prosperous.<sup>65</sup> Karlswalde became the official border between Russia and Poland, and most of the village was destroyed except for three homes in the woods.

Some of the German men were sent into concentration camps. During World War II when the Germans were in Russia some families went back to Germany with the German army, but many remained in Russia. Some of the Karlswalde people migrated to Poland, Germany, Canada, and the United States. The more fortunate came to America.

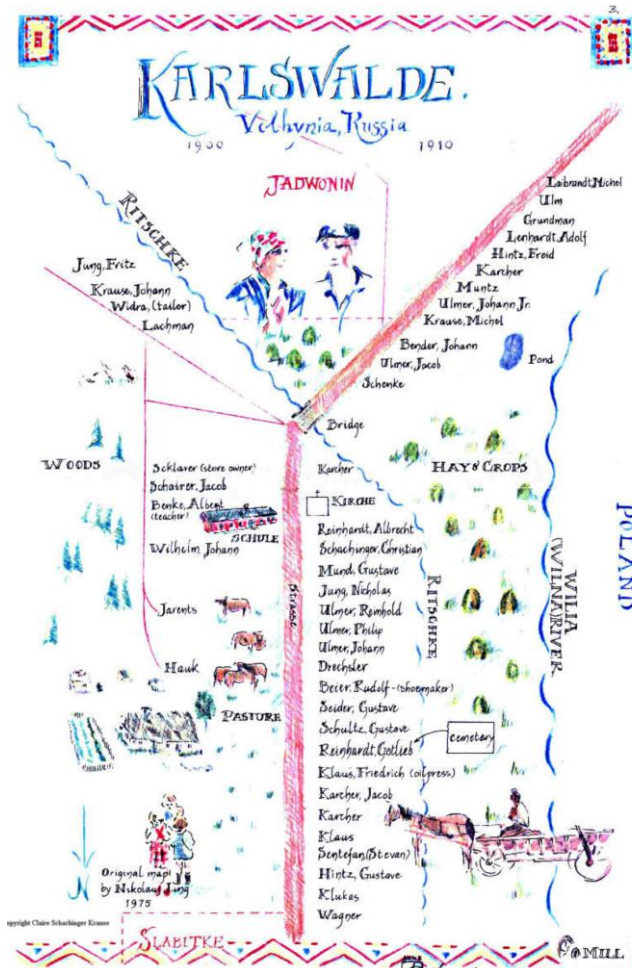
## X. Exodus to America

Germans left Russia for America for the same reasons they left Germany in the first place - a better life. Young people left mostly because the family farms in Karlswalde could no longer support them. Some left to join relatives already in America. The more adventurous left to find a new way of life. Some left Russia easily, while others had to escape by one means or another.

The people left for America intermittently during the years 1902-1920. They landed in the ports of New York and Boston and were helped by their German relatives already in America. They became bakers, butchers, gardeners, railroad workers, carpenters, builders, tailors, musicians, and farmers. They all found jobs, learned to speak English, and became part of the mainstream of America.<sup>66</sup>

*Continues . . .*

This map shows Karlswald in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, dominated by Lutheran Germans. There don't appear to be any typical low-German Mennonite names listed.<sup>67</sup>



**Jung-Krause Map: Karlswald; Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Note that south is up on this map. Note also that Poland is to the west of the Vilna (Wilna). This indicates a time period of 1921-1938 for this map.

After the Polish-Soviet War of 1921, Poland took control of areas west of the Vilna, including the Town of Ostrog. The Vilna being the border between Poland (The Second Polish Republic) and the Soviet Union, Karlswald ended up right on the border of the two countries.

It was at this time that the village was given the Ukrainian name Prykordonne.




This map shows the area mapped at about the same time (early 1920s) by the Polish military. Note Karlswald marked here as Holendry Słobodzkie.<sup>68</sup>



### Karlswalde (Holendry Słobodzkie) Area Early 1920s

Note that the two above maps, as well as the earlier Goertz map (p. 9) do have some similarities. All show houses on the west side of the road. The Goertz Map and the Jung-Krause Map both show a cemetery at the far north end of the village, the church (kirche) about in the middle, with the school across the street. The Goertz Map indicates saloons at the north and south edges of the village.

The Polish map above does indeed indicate an inn (marked Kr, with the symbol: ) toward the southern edge of the village.

The Church played a key role in the life of the Lutheran village just as it had under the Mennonites. The Lutheran church in Karlswald fell into the Lutheran Parish based in nearby Rovno (Rivne).<sup>69</sup>

This photo shows a Lutheran German church in the Volhynian village of Dubniki.<sup>70</sup> The church in Karlswald may have looked similar before the re-building described above by Krause. Note that this church looks almost the same as a house, the only exception being the cross on top of the roof at the right side.



**German Church at Dubniki, Volhynia**

*Continues . . .*



Lutheran records from 1909 show the following for villages in the Rovno and Novograd-Volynsk Parishes which had previously been inhabited by Mennonites of the Karlswald Circuit:

Parish	Name	Type	Protestant Inhabitants	Church	School	# of Students	Annual Pastor Visits
Rowno	Fürstendorf / Lessnaja	Lease Colony	279	Church held in school building	1	49	2x
	Fürstental / Kustarnaja	Lease Colony	30 Farmers	Church held in school building	1	40	2x
	Grüntal / Moisanowka	Owner	65 Farmers	Prayer-house	1	45	3x
	Karlswalde / Slobodskie Gollendry	Owner	75 Farmers	Church	1	45	2x
Novograd-Volynsk	Waldheim / Soljanka	German Colony	69	Church held in school building	1	12	1-2x

Note that by this time, 1909, the villagers in Karlswald were listed as owners of their own property. At this point too, Karlswald may have been a smaller village, population-wise, than Leeleva (Fürstendorf/Lessnaja).<sup>71</sup>

### German Colonists in Volhynia and the Local Population

By 1861 German colonists had lived in Volhynia for 60-odd years and the prevailing attitude towards the Germans was still a positive one. However, after 1861, this positive attitude started to change. In 1861 the Russian and Ukrainian serfs were emancipated by the Tsar. These serfs then became free men and they looked to buy land for themselves. However, in Volhynia, the large German population was also looking to buy land and could afford to pay higher prices than could these emancipated free-men. As a result, many Russian and Ukrainian peasants adopted a negative and sometimes even hostile attitude toward the Germans. Conflicts between peasants and colonists did occur. In some cases, government policies required that German leaseholders to move off rented land to make way for local Russian and Ukrainian land purchasers. Sometimes these types of situations developed into sharp conflicts.

The Germans, for their part, kept to themselves and might only deal with local peasants in local courts if complaints reached that level. The Germans were generally less lazy and less inclined to strong drink than were the local peasantry. Germans had a longer, more efficient relationship with developing effective agricultural systems and were generally much more successful farmers. The local peasantry might have learned from the Germans, but in general they instead resented the colonists, seeing their wealth as something they themselves could never achieve. In fact, the presence of the German colonists may have been a contributing factor to the hindrance of the development of the typical local peasant. The Germans were seen as arrogant since they were more affluent and refused to assimilate to local customs. As such, the natives refused to adopt the Germans' practices.<sup>72</sup>



By the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, governmental Russification policies began to forcibly assimilate the German population and local peasants began to warm towards the colonists to a degree.<sup>73</sup> By the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, with the Russian Civil War and the rise of the Soviet Government, many Germans were deported to Siberia. Their farms in Volhynia were given to Russian farmers. This was an attempt by the Soviets to Russify Ukraine and move the Germans deep into Russian territory, far away from any national borders.

Jake Unruh seems to indicate poor relations between the German Mennonites and the local Polish population.<sup>74</sup> This friction may have been a result of similar tensions as the Germans were also more skilled agriculturalists than were the Poles.

However, on a general level tension existed between all these ethnic groups. Volhynia was quite a melting pot for ethnic diversity in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Czechs, Germans, Jews and Muslims all tried to co-exist. Historically, the Ukrainian people had been dominated by either the Poles or the Russians. The Poles and the Russians, who have always seen themselves as the standard-bearers for the Slavic nations, have always been at odds with one another for dominance of north-eastern Europe. The Czechs, arriving from Austro-Hungary were fleeing the dominance of the Germanic Austrians.

From a religious standpoint, Russians and Ukrainians would have typically been eastern orthodox while Poles would have been Roman Catholic.<sup>75</sup> Jewish and Muslim populations existed from early times, and with the addition of the German Protestants, the religions of the area were quite diverse. There was even a small number of Gypsies in Volhynia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

Vocationally, the Germans were largely farmers. Not all were lucky enough to have land, though, so these had to follow other employment. Of the vocations with which they were engaged, Germans represented the largest proportions of Stockbreeding, Forestry, and Processing of animal and plant materials for the production of food. This chart derived from the 1897 Russian census shows German vocations throughout Volhynia, not just Ostrog County:<sup>76</sup>

Type of Employment	Germans	% of Germans	% of Total Population
Civic Administration; Magistrates, Police	22	0.05%	0.60%
Armed Forces	521	1.30%	1.00%
Public Service; Other	8	0.02%	0.60%
Private Legal Activity	1	0.00%	0.30%
Commercial Mediation	3	0.01%	0.30%
Real Estate	320	0.80%	2.90%
Credit and Commercial Public Establishments	0	0.00%	0.00%
Hospital and Healthcare Vocations	35	0.09%	1.80%
Service to Charitable Institutions	0	0.00%	0

Restaurants; Hospitality	27	0.07%	2.00%
Training and Educational Activities	317	0.79%	5.10%
Science, Literature, Art	14	0.03%	5.50%
Mail, Telephone, Telegraph	11	0.03%	1.50%

Christian Worship	2	0.00%	0.30%
Worship Christian-Orthodox	17	0.04%	7.10%
People in Churches, Cemeteries, and Related vocations	1	0.00%	0.10%

Construction and Repair	452	1.13%	4.30%
Metal Fabrication	473	1.18%	6.30%
Casting of Metals	0	0.00%	0.00%
Woodworking	539	1.35%	6.10%
Crews and Trees; Ships (wooden boatmaking?)	2	0.00%	2.80%
Manufacture of Chemicals	44	0.11%	3.50%
Manufacture of Clothing	421	1.05%	1.70%
Manufacture of Paper	7	0.02%	0.90%
Processing of Fibrous Materials	413	1.03%	9.30%
Processing of Minerals; Ceramics	116	0.29%	3.10%
Production of Ore	8	0.02%	4.70%
Manufacture of Jewelry, Paintings, Objects of Worship	7	0.02%	1.40%
Production of Physical,Optical and Surgical Instruments	2	0.00%	0.60%
Production of Personal Cleanliness and Hygiene Products	40	0.10%	1.60%

Forestry Industries (timber, charcoal, tar)	403	1.01%	<b>14.00%</b>
<b>Type of Employment</b>	<b>Germans</b>	<b>% of Germans</b>	<b>% of Total Population</b>
Commercial (Izvozny) Fishing	27	0.07%	0.60%
Fishing and Hunting	2	0.00%	0.60%

Stockbreeding	890	<b>2.22%</b>	<b>16.00%</b>
Agriculture	29,308	<b>73.15%</b>	7.20%
Cereal Production	2	0.00%	0.10%
Processing of Animal and Plant Material; Food Production	750	1.87%	<b>10.40%</b>
Processing of Animal Products; Other	57	0.14%	2.20%
Beekeeping; Sericulture	10	0.02%	3.80%
Tobacco and Related Products	0	0.00%	0.00%

Alcohol Distillation	11	0.03%	1.00%
Manufacture of (non-alcoholic) Beverages	0	0.00%	0.00%

Other Production	78	0.19%	8.90%
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Leather and Fur Trade	1	0.00%	0.10%
Trade in Other Agricultural and Household Products	38	0.09%	0.30%
Trade in Other Objects	1	0.00%	0.10%
Trade in Live Cattle	12	0.03%	0.40%
Trade in Textiles and Clothing	6	0.01%	0.30%
Trade in Pleasure Items; Science, Arts and Worship	2	0.00%	1.00%
Trade of Metal Products, Machinery, Weapons	3	0.01%	0.70%
Trade in Alcoholic Beverages	41	0.10%	2.30%
Trade of Raw Materials; Fuel	48	0.12%	1.90%
Trading Household Goods	0	0.00%	0
Trading Without a Precise Definition	26	0.06%	0.30%
Trade Raznosnoy and Rozvizna (mobile trade)	0	0.00%	0

Water Transport	0	0.00%	0.00%
Rail Transport	31	0.08%	0.80%
Other Means of Land Transport	0	0.00%	0

Maids, Day-Laborers	4,065	<b>10.15%</b>	6.40%
Prostitution	0	0.00%	0
Persons Sentenced or Imprisoned	62	0.15%	3.80%
Those funded by Treasury, Institutions or Private People	119	0.30%	2.00%
Those of Uncertain Employment	73	0.18%	1.50%
<b>Type of Employment</b>	<b>Germans</b>	<b>% of Germans</b>	<b>% of Total Population</b>
Persons not Specified	179	0.45%	4.00%

Economically active population	40,068	100.00%	5.70%
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### Vollhynian German Vocations; 1897



Many of the Germans in the Karlswald area immigrated around the time of World War I to Lebanon, Connecticut.<sup>77</sup>

This chart illustrates the growth of emigration from Russia during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Many Germans, along with those of other ethnicities, were very anxious to get out of the Russia and the Soviet Union at this time.<sup>78</sup>

Decade	Number of Emigrants
1820-1829	86
1830-1839	280
1840-1849	520
1850-1859	423
1860-1869	1,670
1870-1879	35,177
1880-1889	182,698
1890-1899	450,101
1900-1909	1,501,301
1910-1919	1,106,998
1920-1929	61,604
1930-1939	2,463

### **Russian Emigration; 1820-1940**

Those who stayed behind were subject to tremendous horrors; deportation at the hands of the Soviets, the Ukrainian Holodomor<sup>79</sup>, and the extermination of many native Germans at the hands of Poles, Ukrainians, and Soviets.<sup>80</sup>

*Continues . . .*

During the Soviet era, Karlswald, known as Prikordonne, found itself in a collective with several of the other nearby villages. The church the Lutherans built early in the century was destroyed along with the cemetery. Today, the population is fewer than 100 people.<sup>81</sup>

The cemetery at Karlswald has been destroyed, but a makeshift memorial, a cross supported by broken gravestones, has been erected. The stones supporting the cross bear the names of Lutheran villagers Johann Ulmer (settled in Karlswald in 1874), Michael Krause, Katharina Wilhelm (1870-1915) and Anna Hinz (1832-1889).<sup>82</sup>



**Memorial Near Karlswald Cemetery; 2008**

Karlswald on a Soviet map, labeled in the Russian language as Прикордонное (Priordonnoe) on this map from 1942.<sup>83</sup>



Soviet Karlswald (Priordonnoe)



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<sup>1</sup> Unruh, Jacob, “From Village Life to Kansas Plains”, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> “Volhynian Village Index” by Donald N. Miller; Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1959. Web. 15 Jan 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Zaleski, John, "Local Names Tarnopolszczyzny" Ossolineum; 1987.

<sup>4</sup> At least 2 Leeleva families, the Andreas Ratzlaffs and the Tobias Schmidts, have family traditions which indicate their fathers, Jacob and Abraham respectively, were born in Holland (History of Grandfather Jacob J Ratzlaff and Descendants, 1958.; “Memories of Years Gone By”, Adina Ratzloff, 1986 (Schmidt Family Recollections)). However, Mennonite Church records would indicate both Jacob and Abraham were born in Karlswald (GRANDMA database (Genealogical Registry and Database of Mennonite Ancestry)). This discrepancy would be eliminated assuming the Mennonites of late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Leeleva knew Karlswald as Golendry, or Holland.

<sup>5</sup> Klassen, James Peter, Mennonites in Early Modern Poland and Prussia, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Klassen, James Peter, Mennonites in Early Modern Poland and Prussia, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a progressive, liberal State offering religious freedom to its subjects. The king was weak, though, as the government was set up as a commonwealth and the nobility (called szlachta) actually elected him. No strong central power meant little ability to defend the Commonwealth against the aggression of the Prussians, Russians, and Austrians (Online Almanac de Saxe-Gotha (Official Website of the Almanach de Saxe Gotha Copyright Held © 1995-2013)).

<sup>8</sup> La Pologne; 19., C.F. Delamarche, Paris. 1800.

<sup>9</sup> “Manifesto” Catherine the Great of Russia.

<sup>10</sup> Bergmann, Cornelius and Cornelius Krahn. "Chortitza Mennonite Settlement (Zaporizhia Oblast, Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1955. Web. 14 Jan 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Today known as Zaporozhya.

<sup>12</sup> Schmidt, John F. "Michalin Mennonite Church (Volyn Oblast, Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1957. Web. 15 Jan 2014. The exact year the Michalin Colony was formed is unclear. Some claim Michalin, and not Chortitza, was the first Mennonite Colony in Russia. Gnadenberg Church records indicate Michalin was settled as early as 1783 (Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles). Gnadenberg was the successor church to Michalin, now named Grace Hill, in Whitewater, KS.

<sup>13</sup> Krahn, Cornelius. "Molotschna Mennonite Settlement (Zaporizhia Oblast, Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1957. Web. 14 Jan 2014. Melitopol was not an important town in early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Russia but can easily be found on today's maps.

<sup>14</sup> “From the Vistula Delta to the Molotschna”, From a map provided by Hermann Epp, Mennonite Life, October 1951.

<sup>15</sup> “Letts Russia”. No. 5. Letts's Popular Atlas. Letts, Son & Co. Limited, London. (1883).

<sup>16</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles. The Potocki Family was one of a handful of the very most important Polish noble families. The Family was active from the 16<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries (Online Almanac de Saxe Gotha).



- <sup>17</sup> "Tobias Unruh Baptism Record, 1854-1874", compiled by Martha Becker, 2000.; Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles. The Tobias Unruh baptism record shows 2 catechumens, a Schmidt boy and an Ewert boy, both Michalin villagers, baptized by Unruh in 1862.
- <sup>18</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles, Pine Hill Press, Inc, 1973.
- <sup>19</sup> New Map of the Kingdom of Poland, Laurie & Whittle, London, 1794.
- <sup>20</sup> The exact year the Village of Zabara was established is unknown. According to the stories about the establishment of Karlswald, Zabara must have pre-dated Karlswald. Zabara was also known as Dossidorf or Dossildorf. Nearby to the southeast was the closely related Village of Waldheim, also known as Solianka ( Schrag, Martin H. "Waldheim (Zhytomyr Oblast, Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1959. Web. 15 Jan 2014; Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1959. Web. 15 Jan 2014). In 1906, Zabara had a population of only 19 people and Solianka was home to only 46. Both villages were included in the Zholobenskaya Volost centered at Zholobne (List of the Settlements in Volyn Gubernia).
- <sup>21</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles; Crous, Ernst. "Karolswalde (Rivne Oblast, Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1957. Web. 20 Jan 2014.
- <sup>22</sup> Zabara and Waldheim may have pre-dated Karlwalde but came to be largely inhabited by Swiss Mennonites by the mid-1800s (Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1959. Web. 15 Jan 2014). "Letts Russia". No. 5. Letts's Popular Atlas. Letts, Son & Co. Limited, London. (1883).
- <sup>23</sup> The Jablonowskis were a Polish noble family
- <sup>24</sup> Kostiuk, Michael, German Colonies in Volhynia (XIX - XX centuries), Ternopil, 2003. One Uvoloka was equivalent to 1,436 acres (about 2.25 square miles).
- <sup>25</sup> Zloty was a Polish monetary unit.
- <sup>26</sup> Kostiuk, Michael. Mopr was a unit of area equivalent to .57 hectares (1.4 acres). A kopeck was a Russian monetary unit, roughly equivalent to a penny. Thus this would be similar to 60 pennies per 1.4 acres.
- <sup>27</sup> Kostiuk, Michael. Leases like these were signed for extended periods of time, perhaps 30 or even 60 years.
- <sup>28</sup> Kostiuk, Michael
- <sup>29</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles, Pine Hill Press, Inc, 1973.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> "Russian Oven", English Wikipedia, 2014.
- <sup>32</sup> "Karlswald", Mrs. Peter Goertz, Newton, KS, 1945.
- <sup>33</sup> GAMEO; Schartner baptized Andrew Razlaff in 1889 History of Grandfather Jacob J Ratzlaff and Descendants, 1958.) as well as numerous members of the John David Nightengale Family ("John David Nightengale Family Record", Hattie Mae Nightengale, 1976.).
- <sup>34</sup> Kauder, Viktor, Das Deutschum in Ostpolen. S. Hirzel; Leipzig, 1939. The German Village of Welnianke located near Rozyszcze in Lutsk County.
- <sup>35</sup> Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1959. Web. 15 Jan 2014.
- <sup>36</sup> "Tobias Unruh Baptism Record, 1854-1874", compiled by Martha Becker, 2000. The earliest baptisms performed by Unruh in Fuerstendorf: 1871; Gruental: 1868; Jadwinin: 1854; Karolsberg: 1854; Manziliski: 1868 (Unruh became bishop in 1853 [Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)."]).
- <sup>37</sup> "Compilation of Mennonite Villages in Russia", Tim Janzen, 2004.; Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)".
- <sup>38</sup> History of Grandfather Jacob J Ratzlaff and Descendants, 1958.
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- <sup>42</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles, Pine Hill Press, Inc, 1973.
- <sup>43</sup> Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)".; Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles.
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- <sup>45</sup> U51 Ostrog., Übersichtskarte von Mitteleuropa, 1:300 000; Herausgegeben von der Kartgr. Abteilung der Kgl. Preuß. Landesaufnahme, 1897.
- <sup>46</sup> "Tobias Unruh Baptism Record, 1854-1874", compiled by Martha Becker, 2000.
- <sup>47</sup> History of Grandfather Jacob J Ratzlaff and Descendants, 1958; "John David Nightengale Family Record", Hattie Mae Nightengale, 1976.
- <sup>48</sup> Schrag, Martin H. "Volhynia (Ukraine)."
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid; Krahn, Cornelius. "Gnadenfeld (Molotschna Mennonite settlement, Zaporizhia Oblast, Ukraine)." Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. 1956. Web. 19 Jan 2014.
- <sup>50</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles.
- <sup>51</sup> List of the Settlements in Volyn Gubernia; In 1906, listed as Henryetovka (Генриетовка), Heinrichsdorf fell into the Ozadovskaya Volost centered at nearby Ozadowka Village
- <sup>52</sup> "Zytomir", A Monarchia III. Katonai Felmérése; Közép-Európa általános földrajzi térképének (1:200 000) szelvénybeosztása; 1889.; Berdichev was near the border of Volhynia Gubernia and Kiev Gubernia, From the Partitions to 1844, was part of Zhytomyr County, after 1844 became part of Machnowka County in Kiev Gubernia.
- <sup>53</sup> Kostiuk, Michael, German Colonies in Volhynia (XIX - XX centuries), Ternopil, 2003.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>55</sup> Smith, C. Henry, Smith's Story of the Mennonites. Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1981.
- <sup>56</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles.
- <sup>57</sup> America Line” & “Inman Line”, Copyright Norway Heritage 1997-2013.
- <sup>58</sup> Unruh, Abe J., The Helpless Poles.
- <sup>59</sup> List of the Settlements in Volyn Gubernia, Edition Volyn Gubernia Statistic Committee, Zhitomir: Volyn Provincial Tinografiya: 1906.
- <sup>60</sup> Ritschke or richka is Ukrainian for “river”. This was not the proper name of the waterway, but only as it was known to the Germans.
- <sup>61</sup> This would have been after 1887 (Kostiuk, Michael, German Colonies in Volhynia (XIX - XX centuries)).
- <sup>62</sup> This may also refer to Ukrainians since there were not many Russians in Ostrog County at this time (The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897; Breakdown of Population by Mother Tongue and Districts in 50 Governorates of European Russia; 1897.) The German colonists probably didn't draw much of a distinction between Russians and Ukrainians.
- <sup>63</sup> At this time, I have not been able to determine the location of Veronyish. Some Germans from the Karlsruwald villages were moved to Yuvkivsti in 1942 (8 km south of Pluzhne), but it's not likely that Veronyish is Yuvkivsti. Perhaps Veronyish was located somewhere in Siberia?
- <sup>64</sup> This would have been a result of Stalin's collectivization program (1928-1940).
- <sup>65</sup> Many German Lutherans, as well as German Mennonites were moved during this time period to Siberia to make way for native Russian or Ukrainian farmers. Many Germans were moved to Siberia, near Barnaul or Slavgorod, an area known as the Kulunda Steppe. This was a prosperous farming area, but “persuaded” is probably a very generous word choice here. The Germans likely didn't have much choice. A remnant of the German culture is still left in the area today; the Nemetsky National District of the Altai Krai, Russia (Nemetsky means German in the Russian language). Mennonites can still be found speaking the low-German language in the area today (Boerner, Agnes Unger, ed., Jacob Unger: Memories, CreateSpace, 2013.).
- <sup>66</sup> A Brief History of Karlsruwalde - A German Village in Russia Ancestral Home of the German Population of Village Hill, Lebanon; Prepared by Claire Schachinger Krause.
- <sup>67</sup> Krause, Claire Schachinger; “Karolswalde, Volhynia, Russia; 1900-1910”, after a map by Nikolaus Jung.
- <sup>68</sup> P47 S43 (alt. A47 B43) Ostróg (1:100 000 WIG - Mapa Taktyczna Polski), Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny, Warszawa, 1921.
- <sup>69</sup> “Kirchspiele in den Gouvernements Wolhynien, Podolien und Kiew 1909”, © 2006 by www.wolhynien.de.
- <sup>70</sup> Dubniki was a German Lutheran Village several miles due east of Kovel, in northwestern Volyn Gubernia.
- <sup>71</sup> “Kirchspiele in den Gouvernements Wolhynien, Podolien und Kiew 1909”, © 2006 by www.wolhynien.de.
- <sup>72</sup> Kostiuk, Michael, German Colonies in Volhynia (XIX - XX centuries), Ternopil, 2003.
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>74</sup> Unruh, Jacob, “From Village Life to Kansas Plains”, 1978.
- <sup>75</sup> The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897; Breakdown of Population by Mother Tongue and Districts in 50 Governorates of European Russia; 1897.
- <sup>76</sup> The First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897; Breakdown of Population by Mother Tongue and Districts in 50 Governorates of European Russia; 1897.
- <sup>77</sup> “Lebanon, Connecticut , Historical and Architectural Resources Inventory” Rachel Carley, Project Historian, 2013.
- <sup>78</sup> “Yearbook of Immigration Statistics”; Official Website of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security; 2009.
- <sup>79</sup> The “extermination by hunger” delivered upon Ukraine as a result of Soviet policies in the early 1930s.
- <sup>80</sup> Sonnenburg Memoirs; Leontina Sonnenburg 1999.
- <sup>81</sup> Prikordonne; Rivne Region, Ostrog District [Прикордонне; Рівненська область, Острозький район]; © Верховна Рада України, 1994-2013.
- <sup>82</sup> “Tracing Our Roots, Volhynian Village Tour May 12-26, 2008”; Adolph Sonnenburg; Don Miller. 2008.
- <sup>83</sup> М-35-15, Ровно, Soviet military topographic maps 1:200000 [Топографические карты 1:200000, Топографическая карта Украины, России, Беларуси], 1942.