The First Hungarian Settlements in Western Canada: Hun’s Valley, Esterhaz-Kaposvar, Otthon, and Bekevar

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Approximately a dozen Hungarian farming settlements were established on the Canadian Prairies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hungarian settlement was initiated through the activities of one “Count” Paul O. Esterhazy whose relatively brief activities as a special government agent for the promotion of Hungarian immigration to Canada (1885-1887) contributed to a sizeable migration of Hungarians from the United States and Hungary to the then sparsely populated Prairies. Hungarian settlements emerged in all three of Canada’s Prairie Provinces, but were mainly concentrated in what is now southeastern Saskatchewan and, initially at least, in southwestern Manitoba. This paper provides historical overviews on the first four of these colonies: Hun’s Valley, Esterhaz-Kaposvar, Otthon, and Bekevar.

The paper begins with a short survey of the first settlement, Hun’s Valley (1885), Manitoba; an ethnically mixed colony of Hungarians, Slovaks, Poles, and others, established under the leadership of agricultural expert, Géza de Döry under the auspices of Esterhazy’s Hungarian immigration and colonization initiative. The paper then addresses what is now commonly regarded as the first Hungarian prairie settlement, Esterház-Kaposvár (1886); a settlement that comprised what Esterhazy noted in his letters to Canadian government officials as two distinct Hungarian colonies, “Esterház” (1886) and the adjacent “Kaposvár” (1891), but which for various reasons are now usually referred to using the latter place name or in the hyphenated form. The paper then addresses the less well known history of the small hamlet of Otthon (1894), Saskatchewan, before concluding with an entry on what was once arguably the most cultural-
ly vibrant Hungarian settlement outside of Europe: Békevár (1900), Saskatchewan.

Hun’s Valley (1885), Manitoba


Hun’s Valley was the first, at least partly Hungarian settlement established as a part of Paul O. Esterhazy’s attempt to create a “New Hungary” on the Canadian Prairies. While Hun’s Valley did not become a lasting centre of Hungarian influence, the settlement paved the way for the establishment of the Esterházy colony and other Magyar settlements in the Prairie West. In early August 1885, Count Géza S. de Döry (1837-1895), an agricultural expert, Hungarian nobleman and principal assistant to Paul Esterhazy, settled over a dozen Magyar and Slavic families (mainly Slovaks) there from Pennsylvania.

The group of settlers that de Döry led to Manitoba in 1885 comprised 38 families recruited by Esterhazy in the eastern mining region of Pennsylvania. The land they were assigned was spread out. The Manitoba and North-Western Railway gave up three of its odd-numbered sections (17, 21, 33) in the valley of Stony Creek so de Döry’s settlers could build their houses more closely together. The railway company also provided a $4000 loan for the purchase of agricultural implements and farm animals. During the first winter the settlers gained supplementary income cutting cordwood and burning charcoal for the railway company. In subsequent years, they traded loads of poplar cordwood cleared from their land for supplies in Neepawa. Rather than enter for homestead lands, more than half of the original group sought work opportunities elsewhere. However, the population of the “New Hungary Colony” was augmented shortly after its establishment with the arrival of a second smaller group of families from Pennsylvania. By the end of 1885, 17 colonists (43 individuals) had filed homestead entries and had begun working their land.

Within a year of its establishment the future of Hun’s Valley looked promising. A number of log houses and stables had been
erected, a petition for a post office had been approved, preparations for
the construction of a schoolhouse were under way, and a village site
was being surveyed. Eight additional homestead entries had been filed
by 1889 at which time the settlement encompassed about 2,000 acres,
only a fraction of which had actually been cleared. A land inspector
noted in his report that considerable clearing of underbrush and cutting
of trees still remained to be done before a substantial amount of grain
and crops could be cultivated. De Döry argued in an initial report that
his settlers had the hardest part of the country to cultivate but gave a
promising account of the agricultural potential of the area based on his
own preliminary farming achievements. In 1893, his colony consisted
of 29 families, 122 people in all. Collectively, the land under cultiva-
tion grew from just over 112 acres in 1889 to 300 acres four years
later. The settlement also had 60 horses and 200 head of cattle.

To meet their spiritual needs, the first settlers constructed a
small Catholic church in 1887-88. Missionary priests visited inter-
mittently. To cope with a growing congregation, the larger St. Eliza-
beth of Hungary Church was built and a year later, in 1903, Hun’s
Valley received its first resident priest, Fr. Ernest Kistorz. However,
by then a number of Magyar as well as Slovak settlers had already left
the colony for better lands further west. In fact, most of the original
families gradually left after the death in 1895 of the colony’s leader,
Géza de Döry. Polish settlers arrived to take their place beginning in
the late 1890s. As a reflection of the changes in the ethnic composition
of the farming district, the name of the settlement and its post office
were officially changed in 1921 to Polonia.1

**Esterház-Kaposvár (1886), Saskatchewan**

Location: immediately north of the Qu’Appelle Valley in southeast
Saskatchewan, 5 1/2 km south of present-day Esterhazy.
Rural Municipality of Fertile Belt No. 183. Township 19, Ranges 1 &
2, W2 (50.605002 N, -102.085467 W)

Esterház became the second colony after Hun’s Valley MB to be
established under the direction of Paul O. Esterhazy, a.k.a. Count
Esterhazy (1831-1912) during his employment as special agent for
Hungarian immigration to Canada (1885-1887). Esterház (later known
as Kaposvár) served as an important transitional shelter for subsequent
groups of Hungarian immigrants who arrived in the Canadian Prairies up to the 1920s. Its success helped pave the way for further Eastern and Central European settlement in the Prairies, and the foundation of Esterházmá-Kaposvár is now recognized by Parks Canada as a national historic event. However, little remains of the colony other than an impressive stone church which continues to serve as an important spiritual site for descendants of the pioneer settlers.

Named after a historical seat of the Esterházy family, Esterház was founded by some 35 families of predominantly Magyar ethnicity. The colonists had been provided with free transportation from Toronto to Winnipeg, and Esterházy secured a loan of $25,000 on their behalf to build houses and purchase farming equipment and cattle. In addition, Esterházy negotiated to have both even-numbered and certain odd-numbered adjacent sections of land available for his settlers. Ordinarily, those odd-numbered sections would have been reserved for the future use of railways. However, if they were available to settlers, then a more compact settlement pattern resembling the villages they were used to was possible. Early colonists initially situated their frame houses close to their neighbours’ homes in clusters of four at the centre of each section.

While the almost immediate establishment of a post office indicated a promising future for the settlement, problems soon emerged. Another group of about 60 settlers recruited by Esterházy left Pennsylvania for the North-West without his instruction. Meanwhile, a prairie fire destroyed much of the colony’s supplies making the absorption of the approaching group impossible. Esterházy stopped them from going to the colony during the winter months and instead found them temporary employment at a mine near Medicine Hat. However, the Hungarians felt that they were being taken advantage of by the contractors at the mine so they left for the immigrant shed at Medicine Hat. At about the same time, a number of Hungarian families destined for the west arrived in Montreal penniless, having been swindled of their money by a steamship agent in Hamburg. To make matters even worse, the exceptionally cold winter of 1886-87 proved too much for the majority of the Esterházy colony’s settlers who lacked adequate shelter, food, winter clothing, timber and hay. They left for the immigrant sheds of Brandon and Winnipeg, and later returned to the United States. Even though these events were largely beyond Esterházy’s control, his employment with the Department of Agriculture was terminated. Nonetheless, Esterházy continued to
The First Hungarian Settlements in Western Canada

encourage Hungarian settlement in Canada from his residence in New York.

The Esterház colony was saved from total collapse with the arrival in the spring of 1888 of more than twenty families from Hungary. By the end of 1891 all debts had been paid off and the Hungarians, numbering around 350, were portrayed as model settlers in a government report. Correspondence between settlers and their relatives and friends in Pennsylvania and abroad encouraged the growth of the farming settlement. By 1904 at least 125 homesteads had been taken up in the Esterház district and the population of the colony reached 900. Hungarians formed the majority of the population, though there was also a large Czech and significant Slovak presence. In fact, the establishment of a second post office in 1891 (Sec.4, Twp 19, R1, W2) pointed to solidifying ethnic boundaries within the district. The new post office named “Kaposvar,” after a city in Hungary with large Esterhazy estates, was situated in the predominantly Hungarian populated eastern section of the settlement with the original post office named “Esterhaz” (Sec.2, Twp.19, R2, W2) becoming increasingly seen as an integral part of the growing Czech colony (the Esterhaz post office was renamed with a Czech place name in 1903). Kaposvár quickly became associated as the first Hungarian colony, and the Esterház place name faded in importance after a new railway station (1902) and village (1903) to the north of the colony were named “Esterhazy” in honour of the “Count’s” colonization work.

In 1902 Paul Esterhazy was once again employed temporarily by the Canadian government to develop a promotional pamphlet showcasing the prosperity of the pioneers of Esterház-Kaposvár. Personal accounts and photographs highlighted their material success. The inclusion of a supporting letter written by the colony’s German-born parish priest, Reverend Francis Woodcutter, signalled the important spiritual dimension of the then thriving farming colony. Unlike most Catholic Hungarian parishes in Saskatchewan, Kaposvár had its own priest, one who tried to advance the development of the colony. Woodcutter was responsible for establishing a stone rectory (1900) in the colony. His successor, the Belgian priest Father Jules Pirot, undertook an even more ambitious project: to replace the colony’s wooden church with a stone church, Our Lady of Assumption (1907). In 1915, the congregation received the first of a number of Hungarian priests and Kaposvár became regarded as a centre of Hungarian Catholic influence in Canada.
The farming settlement remained a strong cultural island throughout the interwar period as evidenced by the colony’s grand golden jubilee celebration. However, outmigration, especially following the Second World War, coupled with the lack of cultural institutions and an increasing rate of inter-ethnic marriage contributed to the erosion of what remained of the ethnic district. Owing to continued population loss and the growth of the nearby village-turned-town of Esterhazy, the church was closed for regular service in 1961 and with that the Kaposvár settlement in many ways ceased to exist.

Otthon (1894), Saskatchewan

Location: 14 km southwest of Yorkton, Saskatchewan. Rural Municipality of Cana No. 214. Township 24, Ranges 4, 5 & 6, W2 (51.096466 N, -102.597936 W)

Otthon was founded by Reverend János Kovács, also the founder of the First Hungarian Reformed Church of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It was the second oldest Magyar settlement in Canada after Esterház-Kaposvár, if the ethnically mixed Hun’s Valley settlement is omitted from consideration. Otthon means “home” in Hungarian. A small hamlet remains at the heart of the old Hungarian colony.

In January 1894 Rev. Kovács wrote a letter that was published in the most popular Hungarian language newspaper in the United States at the time, Amerikai Nemzetőr (American Home Guard). It claimed that some of his congregation had wrongly accused him of misappropriating funds for the construction of his church. Accordingly, he declared his intention to leave Pittsburgh and organize a group of Hungarians with the purpose of establishing a farming settlement in the Canadian prairies at a suitable location suggested by Canadian authorities. His plan was undoubtedly influenced by Paul O. Esterhazy’s earlier work in settling the Esterház colony, as well as by his own back-to-nature philosophy. In particular, the reverend believed that farming was a far better option than the constant danger and “moral corruption” that the Hungarian immigrant faced working in the small mining towns of Pennsylvania.

A follow-up letter in March written by the editor of the Amerikai Nemzetőr warned readers that while 150 people had already expressed interest in leaving Pennsylvania, they and others
needed to be fully aware that they could in no way expect to “find manna in readiness and milk, honey and beer flowing in the river beds.” He further warned that “shirkers should not join” Rev. Kovács’ co-operative land settling enterprise and potentially repeat what had occurred eight years earlier when many of the first Hungarian settlers destined for the colonization initiative at Esterház returned weeping from the hardships they endured during their first winter in Canada. It seems the warning was effective because only about four or five families moved to the Yorkton area that April of 1894.

Rev. Kovács rented a small house for the settlers until they could complete the task they undertook cooperatively of building temporary sod hut dwellings in the forested area that was to be theirs. In the winter of 1895, Rev. Kovács wrote a number of letters that were widely circulated, including in the press, giving details about how to acquire free homestead land, the cost of livestock, the superior quality of the new land in Canada, and life in general by contrast to what was offered in the United States. Not only were these letters read by Hungarian immigrants in the United States, but also by many of their relatives and friends in Hungary. As a result, Rev. Kovács and his initial followers were soon joined by a dozen or so families from the U.S. as well as eight families directly from Hungary.

The chief Canadian supporter of Rev. Kovács’ plan to settle some fifty Hungarian families of the Reform (Calvinist) faith was Rev. Theodore Teitelbaum of Saltcoats (near Yorkton, Saskatchewan), a Church of England clergyman and son of a refugee of the failed 1848-49 Hungarian War of Independence. The initiative gained the additional support of Dr. James Robertson, Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Western Canada.

Although the first group of settlers were of the Reformed faith, subsequent groups also included Catholics and Baptists. For most of the first decade of its existence no permanent congregation of any denomination could be organized in the colony. Before their church was built in 1905, services for Reformed-Presbyterians were conducted in Reverend Kovács’ house, and later in the homes of two settlers. Otthon’s Catholic church was built in East Otthon where most of the Catholic Hungarians had settled. It was consecrated in 1903.

The first institution in Otthon was the post office (Sec. 36, Twp. 24, R. 5, W2) and Rev. Kovács served as the colony’s first postmaster from 1896 to 1898. Upon the Reverend’s resignation, the post office was briefly closed, reopening in 1899 at a new location
Six postmasters served there until its closure in 1968. Rev. Kovács’ letter of resignation as postmaster in late 1897 may have been linked to the growing alienation that he was facing in his new home and adopted country, particularly following a conflict he had with the Presbyterian Church of Canada. The conflict led not only to a reprimand and loss of an annual subsidy, but also to the departure of several members of his flock. The founder of Otthon left his colony and Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Reformed congregation of Otthon received a promising replacement with a theological student from Hungary, but he left after no more than two years service. Then Lajos Kovácsi, a former teacher in Hungary who had become a missionary for the Canadian Presbyterian Church, arrived in about 1905 and provided the colony with strong leadership in both the religious and ethno-cultural sense for two years. He and his older brother, Rev. Kálmán Kovácsi, were responsible for establishing the Canadai Magyar Testvéri Szövetség (Canadian Hungarian Fraternal Association) in 1910, a supracommunal organization jointly based out of Winnipeg, Manitoba and Békevár, Saskatchewan. It served Hungarian interests such as the promotion of bilingual (English Hungarian) schooling. A branch of the short-lived organization was established in Otthon that same year.

Despite the relatively short time spent in the colony, Lajos Kovácsi seemed to have helped awaken the Otthonians from their apparent indifference to cultural activities. In particular, like his older brother in Békevár, Lajos actively promoted the cult of Lajos Kossuth, leader of the 1848-49 Hungarian War of Independence. He delivered patriotic speeches on Hungarian national memorial days, March 15 and October 6. Following his departure, a number of other ministers served Otthon’s Reformed congregation before Lajos’ older brother Kálmán – a capable orator, leader and poet – arrived in 1911 to act as minister. Kálmán Kovácsi, too, was succeeded by other Reformed Hungarian ministers. Unlike the Calvinists, the Hungarian Catholics of Otthon were not as fortunate in the matter of obtaining their own clergy. Their church was often served by visiting priests from the Esterház-Kaposvár settlement.

The Otthon colony had two schools, the first of which was established in 1899. It also had the Rákóczi Orchestra, formed in 1905 and named after the leader of an earlier Hungarian War of Independence in 1703-1711. An important social event in Otthon was the mid-summer picnic. The first of many picnics was arranged by the
Reformed congregation in 1912. It was geared to all members of the community, irrespective of religious and ethnic background. Many other important occasions for communal eating, dancing, music-making and singing existed, usually tied to religious dates and events such as Christmas, Pentecost and Easter, particular saints’ days, baptisms and weddings.\textsuperscript{2}

**Békevár (1900), Saskatchewan**

Associated name: New Botrágy

Location: 9 km southeast of Kipling, Saskatchewan. Rural Municipalitly of Hazelwood No. 94. Township 12, Ranges 4 and 5, W2 (50.023633 N, -102.599095 W)

Békevár means “fortress of peace” or alternatively “peace awaits you.” It was the largest and one of the most prosperous Hungarian farming settlements in the Prairie West. It was populated primarily by members of the Reformed (Calvinist) Church and, to a lesser extent, by Baptists. Similar to the symbolic role played by its Catholic counterpart, Esterház-Kaposvár, the Békevár settlement was regarded by generations of Hungarian Calvinists in Western Canada as their spiritual centre. The settlement was also a strong and, in many ways, unique, centre of Hungarian culture in Canada. In particular, Békevár resembled a traditional Hungarian peasant community in that a rich array of traditions and folk customs were cultivated and maintained in the new setting for several decades.

János (John) Szabó (1853-1925), who founded Békevár, had been employed in the mid-1890s as a coal miner in Pennsylvania. Like many other Hungarian immigrants, Szabó viewed the backbreaking and dangerous work in the mine as a short-term measure to build up enough capital to purchase land in the old country. While in Pennsylvania, however, Szabó read a series of published letters written by the Rev. János Kovács of Otthon touting the great farming opportunities in the Canadian Prairies. Upon learning of his wife’s death back in his native village of Botrágy (in Bereg County, northeastern Hungary, now Berehove Raion, Ukraine), Szabó quit his job and returned home in 1897. He subsequently sold all his belongings and left for Canada in the spring of 1898 with his two sons and daughter, a new wife and one of her children.
He went first to Esterház-Kaposvár but because there was no land available there he rented land near Whitewood until he could find a suitable location to establish his own colony. Szabó’s settlement plan was utopian in the sense that he intended to recreate Botrágy on the Canadian prairies by transferring a large part of his native village there. He wanted to improve the lives of his co-villagers, and a great many planned to join him. A letter dated 15 August 1899 sent to the Department of the Interior indicated the intention of 55 or more families to emigrate to Canada once Szabó had secured a suitable area for mixed farming.

In the summer of 1900, with the aid of Hungarian agronomist János Faragó, Szabó located southwest of Whitewood what he thought would be an ideal place to establish his “New Botrágy.” They marked out the boundaries of the first house of the colony on July 20, a foundational date that was to be commemorated annually by the descendants of the pioneer settlers. Szabó subsequently sent letters back to his village informing his relatives and friends about everything from the size of acquirable lands for cultivation and grazing to the costs of houses and stables. Over the course of the next three years several small waves of settlers brought 38 families to the colony. While a large proportion of these and later settlers came from Szabó’s native village, others soon arrived from other villages in the northeast as well as elsewhere in the Hungarian Kingdom especially the Kunság and Trans-Danubia. Szabó’s farming settlement had a population of 1,578 by 1916, and new settlers continued to arrive as late as 1930. Its name, Békevár, was adopted in 1902. In 1904 the “Bekevar” post office was established.

Szabó acted as both leader and unofficial settling agent. The “Moses of Békevár” as he was to be later remembered, advised and helped secure and locate quarter sections for newcomers and offered much of his time, in spite of his own work, aiding those who could not take care of themselves. He also helped secure the colony’s first minister, Rev. Kálmán Kovácsi (1873-1931) in 1901 with the help of Dr. James Robertson, superintendent of Presbyterian missions.

Rev. Kovácsi’s sermons were initially held in the homes of settlers, later in school buildings, until in 1912 the Békevár Reformed Church was opened. The architectural design for the twin-spired wooden structure was likely inspired by either the Reformed Great Church of Debrecen, in the so-called Calvinist Rome of Hungary, or possibly the Romanesque parish church of Ják in western Hungary.
Rev. Kovácsi was credited with introducing two controversial movements during his nearly decade-long stay in Békevár. One was a prairie-wide initiative to promote bilingual English-Hungarian schooling. He worked on this with his younger brother, Lajos, a missionary in Winnipeg. Their cause resulted in the Winnipeg-based Canadai Magyar Szövetség (Canadian Hungarian Association), established in 1908, with its first branch in Békevár; and a similarly short-lived organization, the Canadai Magyar Testvéri Szövetség (Canadian Hungarian Fraternal Association), established in 1910.

The second controversial initiative was a quasi-cultic movement called spiritism. Rev. Kovácsi returned to Canada after a visit to Hungary in 1907 as a convert to spiritism, a movement that promoted faith healing and belief in the possibility of communicating with the spirits of the dead. With the support of Szabó, he established a thriving but short-lived spiritist movement in the Békevár colony. In particular, under his guidance, adherents of spiritism formed the lay fraternity, Keresztyén Spiritisták Egylete (Christian Spiritists’ Society). The spiritist organization was highly controversial as its presence suggested that the church could not cater fully to the spiritual needs of the Calvinist congregation. In fact, the spiritist movement left the community in strife and divided. The pro-spiritist faction in Békevár began to use the Kossuth School for its meetings while the anti-spiritist faction used the Rakoczi School in the adjacent township. Rev. Kovácsi was eventually pressured by the anti-spiritist opposition to leave the settlement in 1910. Although the Christian Spiritists’ Society was dissolved the following year, the spiritist group continued to function for some time. The spiritist movement, though organizationally short-lived, was eventually incorporated into local traditional legends and it became a popular topic of conversation well into the latter half of the century. It also had an influence on the settlement’s small but very active Baptist congregation.

In 1911, four Baptist families in the colony constructed a small wooden church adjacent to where the Reformed Church was being built. A year later, the Baptists’ first minister, the Rev. János Mónus, arrived. A number of Calvinist adherents of spiritism subsequently joined Békevár’s new Baptist Church, which had already been infiltrated from the start by traditional folk beliefs. Conversions were undertaken in a large slough called Jordan-tó (Lake Jordan) and the 14’ x 20’ church structure had to be enlarged in 1915 and again in 1918. By the time Rev. Mónus left in 1925, the congregation had 65
baptized members and 109 children were attending Baptist Sunday school. The Church continued to grow with new memberships from both Békevár and the nearby village of Kipling.

Békevár was regarded as a leading centre of Hungarian Canadian culture. In fact, it has been argued that Békevár was culturally the richest Magyar settlement outside of Europe. Not only were folkloric rites and rituals preserved (e.g. baptismal, marriage and funeral customs), but the transplanted culture was further developed, with new songs and poetry produced to address new circumstances. The solid cultural foundation that included an array of folk traditions and values was largely tied to the fact that the core population of Békevár originated from the same village. Thus, systems of kinship and co-villager groupings, as well as the archaic yet vibrant folk belief system of turn-of-the-century Botrágy were transplanted, largely intact, to the Canadian Prairies.

Rev. Kovácsi, a poet of some repute in Hungary, greatly facilitated Békevár’s development as a creative centre of folk-poets, prose and drama writers, musicians and festivals. For example, the settlement had a brass band and a succession of at least three string brands, a choir, and at least two well-published writers. Committed to fostering the anti-Habsburg Kossuth cult, the reverend-poet wrote patriotic poems and speeches such as “A Szabadság Ünnepére” (On the festival of freedom) for important annual events such as the Hungarian National Day on March 15. He also oversaw the Önképzőkör (Self-Training Circle), a cultural organization that helped nurture the poetical and literary creativity of many of the pioneer settlers. Poetical texts, short stories and even long epic poems were produced by the early Békevárians, including works with such titles as the “Hymn of Bekevar” and “The Conquest of our New Home.” A Self-Training Circle for Youth (Ifjúsági Önképzőkör) was also established to encourage the Canadian-born children to learn Hungarian poetry, song and music. However, as with other Hungarian settlements in the Canadian Prairies, the active reinforcement of Hungarian culture at the heart of this settlement declined by the mid-twentieth century.
NOTES

The above entries on Hun’s Valley, Esterház-Kaposvár, Otthon, and Békevár were originally published on the website of the Canadian Utopias Project: Built Utopian Settlements to 1945 (canadianutopiasproject.ca). The author would like to thank Beth Milroy (Professor Emerita, Ryerson University) for her help in editing the original entries on these four settlements and for providing permission to have them re-published in this issue of the Hungarian Studies Review. The author would also like to thank Nandor Dreisziger for his help in reviewing the original entries that were submitted to the Canadian Utopias Project and for suggesting that they be re-published in this journal.

1 Prior to the death of de Döry, which likely contributed to the demise of Hungarian presence in the farming settlement with outmigration, there is evidence that some of the Hungarian settlers of the multi ethnic colony attempted to bequest their native language to their children. In particular, the first teacher of the the Hun’s Valley School District and first post master of the area, Michael Ruby, offered Hungarian language instruction to the children of the pioneer settlers. A century later, the author of the local history book Along the Hills to the Valley and descendant of one of the few Magyar pioneer settlers who remained in the colony ensured that Esterhazy’s and de Döry’s contributions to the establishment of the settlement be acknowledged on the centennial cairn of St. Elizabeth of Hungary church.

2 For more on Otthon, see M. Kovács (1980d), Dreisziger (1982), Paizs (1928), and Ruzsa (1940).

3 The main studies upon which this entry is based are M. Kovacs (1980a) and the edited collection of studies by R. Blumstock (1979). For spiritism, religious mysticism and sectarianism in Békevár see L. Dégh (1980) and her study in Blumstock’s edited volume. For examples of poetry from Békevár see Kovacs (1980b). Shorter overviews with additional information include Kovacs (1980c; 1982; 1985) and Dreisziger (2004; 2016).
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The First Hungarian Settlements in Western Canada

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