

# The Kylemore Doukhobor Colony

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The Kylemore Colony was a Doukhobor (Dukhobortsy or “Spirit Wrestler”) communal settlement established by the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood in the Kylemore district of Saskatchewan between 1918 and 1938. Numbering 300 people at its peak, the self-sufficient agricultural colony was organized on the principles of common ownership and the Doukhobor faith. While its existence is generally known, remarkably little has been documented about its history.<sup>1</sup> The following article examines the Kylemore Colony from its early settlement and development, communal life and organization, to the eventual break-up of the Community and demise of the colony.



*Group of CCUB Doukhobors at Verigin, c.1918. Courtesy National Doukhobor Heritage Village.*

## INTRODUCTION

In the early 1900s, the main body of Doukhobors in Canada, under the charismatic leadership of Peter Vasil'evich Verigin (1859-1924), known as Gospodnyi (the “Lordly”) among his followers, formed themselves into the spiritual, social and economic organization known as the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (CCUB). It was organized on a communal basis, according to the precepts of the Doukhobor faith, under the close supervision and direction of Verigin.

By 1918, the CCUB was at the height of material achievement as an industrial, agricultural, forestry and trading enterprise in Western Canada.<sup>2</sup> It was incorporated under a Dominion charter with a capitalized value of over \$1,000,000.00, although its total assets were estimated at several times that figure.<sup>3</sup> It had landholdings in British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan totaling over 50,000 acres on which were built numerous communal villages, sawmills, brickworks, jam factories, canning and fruit-packing plants, trading stores, flour mills, grain elevators, irrigation systems, reservoirs, roads and bridges, along with extensive cultivated crops, orchards and gardens. Underpinning the success of the organization was a membership of 6,000 adult Doukhobors who provided a large, readily mobilized pool of free and willing labour, guided by the slogan “Toil and Peaceful Life.”<sup>4</sup>

Verigin's overall strategy at this time was to ensure that the CCUB became self-sufficient in agricultural production, while at the same time developing a variety of means to earn cash to fund its operations.<sup>5</sup> Under this plan, grain grown by Doukhobors on the Prairies would be exchanged for fruit and timber produced by Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia.<sup>6</sup> The surplus would be sold to the outside world, where wartime shortages and high prices provided profitable markets for the wheat, lumber, bricks, fruit and other outputs of the communal enterprise.<sup>7</sup> In order to carry out this strategy, however, it was necessary for the CCUB to acquire additional wheat-growing land on the Prairies.<sup>8</sup>

## THE KYLEMORE PURCHASE

To this end, the CCUB acquired a block of eighteen square miles of land, or the equivalent of half a township, in the Kylemore district of Saskatchewan in 1918.<sup>9</sup> The land was acquired in three transactions. First, the CCUB leased 640 acres of Hudson's Bay Company land on April 1, 1918.<sup>10</sup> The CCUB then leased an additional 109 acres of land from the Department of the Interior.<sup>11</sup> Finally, on May 7, 1918, the CCUB purchased 10,613 acres of land from the Chicago-based Fishing Lake Land and Farm Co. Ltd. under an agreement for sale for \$265,343.00.<sup>12</sup>

Taken together, these acquisitions provided the CCUB with a total landholding of 11,362 acres in the Kylemore district. Only 607 acres of the land was broken at the time – the rest was covered in

dense trees and scrub.<sup>13</sup> For this reason, the CCUB acquired the land for substantially less than developed agricultural land in other areas.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time, the land lay adjacent to the Canadian National Railway, which provided essential transportation access. This was a key component of Verigin's strategy to ship agricultural and industrial goods between Doukhobor settlements and to market.

Perhaps most importantly, the 'Kylemore Colony' formed a large, contiguous block of land that was semi-isolated and largely self-contained, where the Doukhobors could speak their own language, practice their religion and culture, and follow their distinctive form of communal organization, separate and apart from the larger Canadian society.

### EARLY DEVELOPMENT AND SETTLEMENT

From the outset, the colony at Kylemore was established according to the carefully laid out plans of the CCUB leadership. On June 14, 1918, just weeks after the land acquisition, CCUB General Manager Michael W. Cazakoff outlined these plans in an interview with the *Manitoba Free Press* while in

Winnipeg, Manitoba to purchase equipment for the new colony. He declared that the majority of the lands would be dedicated to grain growing, being ideally suited for that purpose, while the lighter, south-easterly lands adjacent to Fishing Lake would be reserved for livestock-raising.<sup>15</sup> There would be a settlement of families on each section.<sup>16</sup> There would also be a store, in which fruit shipped from the Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia would be distributed within the colony and sold publicly.<sup>17</sup> Finally, an elevator would be built through which the Doukhobors in Kylemore would ship wheat to the British Columbia settlements and market their surplus and that of their neighbours.<sup>18</sup>

The development of the colony occurred over a period of several years. Beginning in 1918, and for each summer thereafter until 1924, work crews of 65 or more Doukhobor men from British Columbia and elsewhere in Saskatchewan arrived in Kylemore to clear the land and erect buildings.<sup>19</sup> Temporary tent camps were set up on Section 10 for their accommodation.<sup>20</sup> To carry out this work, the main CCUB settlement at Veregin, 70 miles to the east,

supplied them with six steam engines and sixty teams of horses.<sup>21</sup>

Land-clearing and breaking began at the northern end of the colony along the Canadian National Railway and slowly advanced to the southern end.<sup>22</sup> This backbreaking work began at sunup and ended after sundown. First, the trees were cut, then the workers used pick axes to grub the stumps.<sup>23</sup> After, workers came with teams of horses and steam engines to pull out the roots and break the land with the plough.<sup>24</sup> The broken land was then sown into crop the following spring. Over 1,600 acres of land were developed in this manner in 1918 alone.<sup>25</sup> Thereafter, Doukhobor work crews cleared and broke an additional five hundred acres of land each year.

The first permanent village in the colony was established in 1918 on Section 9 at the former residence

of W.H. McKinnon, one of the prior landowners.<sup>26</sup> This ornate, eight-room, two-story wood frame structure with lumber siding was the only dwelling on the land when the CCUB purchased it. There, between 1918 and 1921, the CCUB also constructed a large central meeting house for colony members



and a gornitsa (special guest quarters) where Peter V. Verigin could stay when he visited the area.<sup>27</sup>

Doukhobor work crews constructed eight additional villages on Sections 6, 7, 9, 10, 31 and 33, approximately two per year, from 1919 to 1924.<sup>28</sup> These were a variation of the village design used by the Doukhobors in British Columbia and consisted of a single 26' x 26' two-storey dwelling of wood frame construction on a concrete foundation.<sup>29</sup> The exceptions were two villages on Sections 9 and 31 that had twin structures.<sup>30</sup> These multi-family communal doms (dwellings) were constructed using timber shipped from the CCUB sawmills in the Kootenays.<sup>31</sup> Six were clad in brick supplied from the CCUB brickworks at Veregin.<sup>32</sup> The remainder had cedar shake siding shipped from the Kootenay settlements.<sup>33</sup> Each had a hip roof and verandah clad with cedar shakes.<sup>34</sup> All had large cellars for the storage of foodstuffs.

Each village had a large barn for housing draft horses and milking cows along with numerous outbuildings including stables, sheds, granaries, chicken coops, a kuznitsa (blacksmith shop), banya

(bath-house) and peche (clay oven).<sup>35</sup> At least two villages had large ledniks (ice cellars) dug for cold storage.<sup>36</sup> Each had a large garden plot for growing vegetables and fruit.

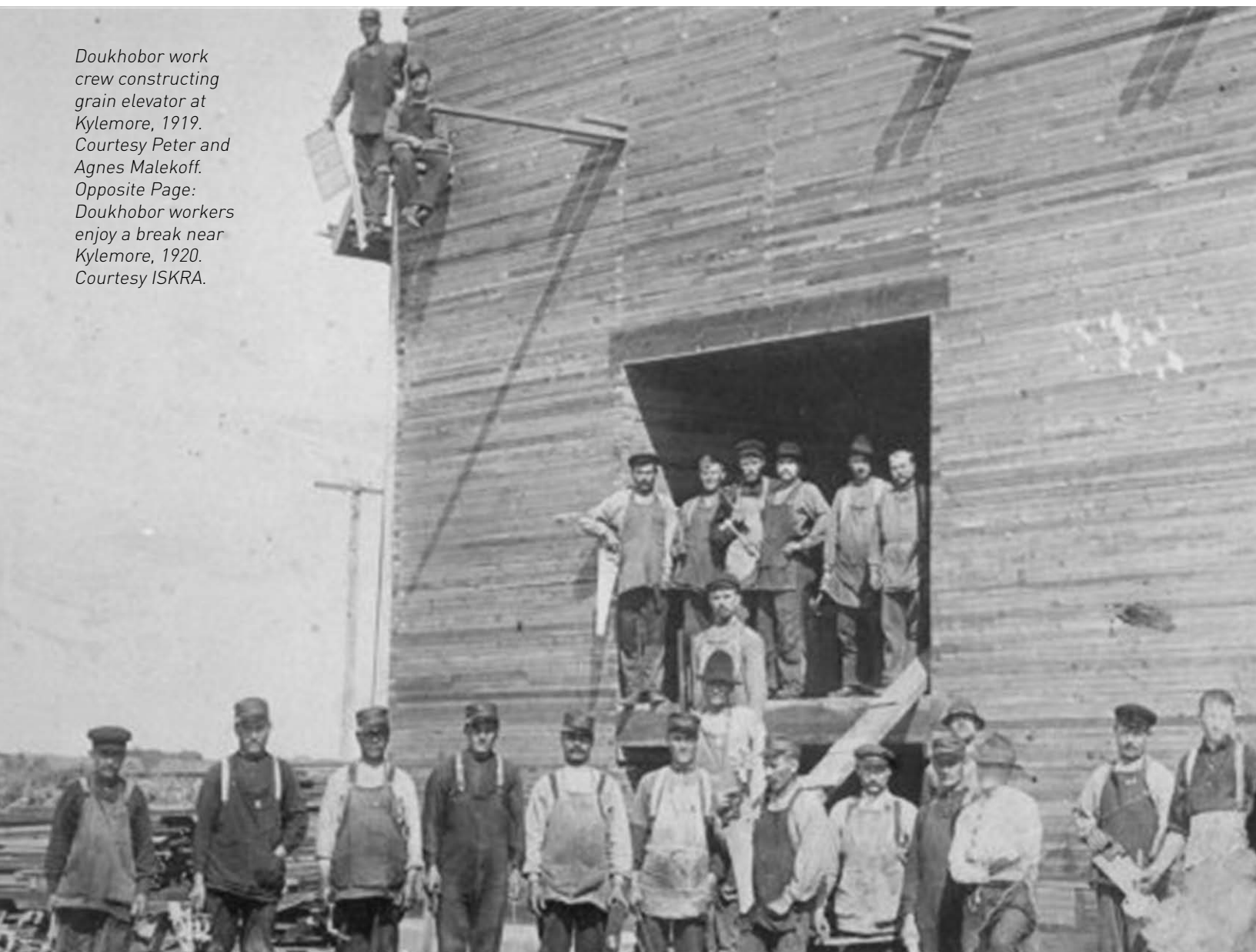
As work crews completed each village, CCUB families began arriving in Kylemore to take up permanent residence in them. The first families to arrive were those of Peter S. Chernoff from Veregin, Saskatchewan and Vasily V. Solovaeff from Prekrasnoye, British Columbia in 1918.<sup>37</sup> They were followed by a number of families from the Kootenays each year between 1919 and 1924. These included the families of Ivan and Michael S. Arishenkoff, Ignat A. Arishenkoff, Nikolai D. Bedinoff, Ivan V. Chernoff, Ivan I. Fofonoff, Ivan P. Hoolaeff, Ivan F. Hoodikoff, Ivan V. and Vasily I. Kazakoff, Vasily V. and Nikolai N. Konkin, Grigory N. Kanigan, Peter and Ivan S. Malikoff, Kuzma V. Kolesnikoff, Alex I. and Vasily V. Makortoff, Dmitry I., Nikolai N. and Ivan A. Malakoff, Andrew P. and Trofim W. Markin, Vasily A. Morozoff, Nikolai N. Ogloff, Peter A. Osachoff, Kuzma S. and Alex I. Pereverseff, Ivan V. and Peter, Semyon and

Grigory S. Popoff, Ivan A. Postnikoff, Fyodor K. and Ivan I. Samsonoff, Ivan F. Sysoev, Ivan and Nikolai P. Sheloff and Evdokim A. Sherbinin.<sup>38</sup> According to oral tradition, each family was hand-picked by Peter V. Verigin to help develop the colony.<sup>39</sup>

As the colony took shape, the CCUB undertook the task of constructing a large grain elevator on Section 9 along the Canadian National Railway. Beginning in 1918, work crews constructed a 120,000 bushel capacity elevator of wood crib construction on a concrete foundation.<sup>40</sup> It was approximately 45' x 60' wide and 75' high with a pyramidal roof and a centrally located pyramidal-roofed cupola. At the time it was completed in 1920, it was the largest elevator in Saskatchewan.<sup>41</sup> Thereafter, the Kylemore Colony began receiving, storing and shipping grain in bulk quantities to the Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia and to markets elsewhere.

The CCUB also began construction of a large trading store and warehouse on Section 9 along the rail line in 1918.<sup>42</sup> The three-storey structure was built of wood frame construction with a full concrete

*Doukhobor work crew constructing grain elevator at Kylemore, 1919. Courtesy Peter and Agnes Malekoff. Opposite Page: Doukhobor workers enjoy a break near Kylemore, 1920. Courtesy ISKRA.*



basement and cedar shake siding. It was 60' x 36' with a gambrel roof and two 20' lean-tos. It was completed in 1922.<sup>43</sup> The storefront was located at the north end of the main floor, where fruit, produce and other merchandise from the Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia were distributed to the colony families as required and the surplus sold to the public, while the south end of the main floor and the basement were utilized as a warehouse.<sup>44</sup>

By 1924, the Kylemore Colony was thriving and prosperous, with approximately 250 Doukhobor men, women and children. It had a herd of 500 cattle, 1000 sheep and 30 horses.<sup>45</sup> Over 4,000 acres of land was now under cultivation, producing substantial quantities of grain. A sizeable acreage was also devoted to pasture. The community elevator and store were now in full operation. Peter V. Verigin's plans for the colony had begun to bear fruit.

#### THE KELVINGTON ANNEX

Even as the development of the Kylemore Colony was underway, Peter V. Verigin had planned its expansion in the outlying area. In August of 1921, the CCUB purchased an additional 8,000 acres of land in the Kelvington district, twenty miles to the north. It was acquired from the Winnipeg-based Canada West Security Corporation under an agreement for sale.<sup>46</sup>

The 'Kelvington Annex' was unbroken at the time of purchase and was covered in trees and scrub, making it cheaper and more affordable than developed land in other districts. Unlike the Kylemore Colony, it did not form a contiguous block, but was segregated into separate section parcels interspersed among non-Doukhobor landholdings. However, it lay adjacent to the Canadian National Railway's proposed Thunderhill Branch

Line extension from Kelvington to Prince Albert which, once built, would enhance its property value and provide strategic rail access.<sup>47</sup>

The Kelvington Annex was administered as an offshoot of the Kylemore Colony. It was primarily used for summer pasturage for the colony's horse herd, although some land-clearing and grain-growing did occur.<sup>48</sup> No villages were constructed there; however, single-family dwellings were built on Sections 18 and 27 to house four families permanently stationed there.<sup>49</sup> Other families were rotated from Kylemore to Kelvington on a temporary basis over summer to tend horses, during which time they lived in tents.<sup>50</sup>

#### COMMUNITY LIFE AND ORGANIZATION UNDER PETER V. VERIGIN: 1918-1924

During the era of Peter V. Verigin, the Kylemore Colony was comprised of nine villages containing family groupings of four to six extended families per village.<sup>51</sup> All the villages in the colony were organized as one commune.<sup>52</sup>

The CCUB central office coordinated the agricultural and commercial operations of the colony, carried out all transactions on its behalf, managed its finances through a common treasury and provided for the daily needs of its members.<sup>53</sup> This was managed out of the CCUB headquarters in Verigin, Saskatchewan. A manager elected by the members administered the day-to-day affairs of the colony.<sup>54</sup> Major decisions affecting the colony were introduced at a sobraniye (general meeting) of all members where everyone could have a voice.<sup>55</sup>

The CCUB owned all of the colony's land, buildings, machinery, tools and livestock. These were distributed among the villages of the colony, so that each village possessed its own teams of horses, wagons, implements and other

resources necessary to farm the acreage allocated to it.<sup>56</sup> All the grain was delivered to the CCUB elevator and traded under its name, as was all stock and merchandise shipped to the CCUB store.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, all proceeds from the output of the colony went to the central office.

Individual members were expected to contribute their labour to the operation of the colony and pay an annual levy to the central office.<sup>58</sup> They received no income for communal work, and when they found it necessary to work outside the colony, their earnings were deposited directly with the central office or collected by the Manager of the colony.<sup>59</sup> Hence, few members of the colony actually handled money. Within this moneyless system, the colony provided for all the essential needs of its members, such as food, shelter, clothing and other supplies.<sup>60</sup>

Daily life in the Kylemore Colony revolved around the cycles of the farming year. In spring, the women and men worked together in the fields sowing crops.<sup>61</sup> Afterwards, in summer, they laboured to clear and break additional land. The women also dug seneca root, the sale of which was an important source of revenue for the colony.<sup>62</sup> Later in summer, haying and stooking was performed by both men and women.<sup>63</sup> At harvest time, the men threshed while the women prepared meals and did chores. In late fall, the men got up before sunrise, took packed lunches and traveled south toward Fishing Lake to cut wood.<sup>64</sup> They would cut enough to last the colony for the whole winter and the surplus was sold locally. The days that followed were spent sawing and splitting the wood into "stove-sized" pieces. During winter, the men worked in the villages or sought outside employment. The women, elderly



*Doukhobor shepherds tend communal sheep flock at Kylemore, c.1924. Courtesy National Doukhobor Heritage Village.*

men and children maintained the household and performed yard chores.

The colony was almost entirely self-sufficient in food production.<sup>65</sup> Colony members grew potatoes, cabbages, tomatoes and other vegetables in their large gardens. These were supplemented by fruit, jams and preserves supplied from the Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia. Wild berries, nuts and mushrooms were also picked locally. Milk, cream, cheese and butter were obtained from the community cattle herd. As they kept chickens they also had a fresh supply of eggs. Meat was unnecessary as colony members were strict vegetarians. Flour was produced from the wheat they grew, which was hauled by horse and wagon 18 miles south to Foam Lake to be ground and milled.<sup>66</sup> Only sugar, salt, raisins, rice and a few other staples were purchased outside the colony by the men.

The colonists also manufactured most of their own cloths, tools and furniture.<sup>67</sup> The women sheared wool from the communal sheep herd which they then washed, carded, spun and wove to make cloth and yarn. They were expert in sewing, knitting, crocheting, weaving, quilt and mattress making and other handicrafts. The men produced furniture, tools and equipment and

performed shoe repair, harness-making, blacksmithing, horse-shoeing and other skilled tasks.

While there were few opportunities for leisure, colony members still found time to enjoy the natural beauty and recreation opportunities at Fishing Lake during the hot summer months. There, at a scenic lug (meadow) on the north shore of the lake, Doukhobors throughout the colony gathered to celebrate Petrov Den' (Peters Day) each year, hold outdoor meetings and enjoy picnics, swimming and rafting.<sup>68</sup>

A mainstay of spiritual life in the colony was the moleniye (prayer meeting) held each Sunday. According to oral tradition, each village initially conducted its own moleniye; however, over time, a number of villages joined together for this occasion.<sup>69</sup> This was a time when the members of the colony abandoned their work and gathered for hours to pray, discuss spiritual matters and sing psalms. There were reputedly many exceptional singers in the colony, and the psalm singing inspired the people and reinforced their religious faith and values for the ensuing week.<sup>70</sup>

A special highlight was when Peter V. Verigin visited the Kylemore Colony to meet with the members, hear their concerns and inspect their progress. This was a

joyous occasion accompanied by special celebrations, meetings and meals.<sup>71</sup> It is known that Verigin made at least two such trips to Kylemore in the summer of 1921 and the fall of 1924, and probably several more.<sup>72</sup>

On the whole, life in the colony at this time was characterized, not only by hard work and sacrifice, but by simple, peaceful living in an atmosphere of happiness, comfort and harmony. This way of life is poignantly described in the historical novel *Tanya*, by Doukhobor writer Eli A. Popoff, which is based on the remarkable true story of Tanya Arishenkoff, the central character, who lived in the colony from 1919 until its demise.

#### **DEATH OF PETER V. VERIGIN AND AFTERMATH**

Disaster struck the Kylemore Colony in May of 1924 when one of the villages on Section 9 was destroyed by fire. This included the village dom, central meeting house, the gornitsa where Peter V. Verigin stayed and other outbuildings.<sup>73</sup> During this same period, the dom at another village on Section 9 also burned to the ground.<sup>74</sup>

However, these events paled in comparison to the sudden death of Verigin in October of 1924 in a mysterious train explosion at Farron, British Columbia.<sup>75</sup> His

passing was a devastating blow to the membership of the CCUB, who revered him as their guide, counselor and protector. The entire Doukhobor Community was thrown into shock and mourning, and the Kylemore Colony was no exception.

Leaderless and directionless, the Doukhobors at Kylemore carried on essential tasks, such as grain growing and store and elevator operations, but postponed decisions on most important issues until a replacement leader could be appointed who would help them decide.<sup>76</sup> For example, the construction of village buildings to replace those that had burnt on Section 9 was suspended.<sup>77</sup> The CCUB organization went into a period of slow stagnation and decline.

With financial difficulties mounting, the Directors of the CCUB decided to consolidate their debts with one creditor. The Community negotiated a loan for \$350,000.00 with the National Trust Company, representing the Canadian Bank of Commerce, in December of 1925.<sup>78</sup> To secure this loan, the National Trust Company obtained a blanket mortgage on all of the land and buildings on which no other creditors held liens.<sup>79</sup> This meant that everything owned by the CCUB would now be encumbered with debt, including the lands of the Kylemore Colony.<sup>80</sup>

#### ARRIVAL OF PETER P. VERIGIN AND REORGANIZATION

It was several years before Soviet authorities permitted Verigin's son, Peter Petrovich Verigin, known as Chistiakov (the "Cleanser" or "Purger") to come to Canada and assume the leadership of the CCUB. His arrival in September of 1927 was greeted by his followers with tremendous enthusiasm, who hoped for a rejuvenation of the ailing CCUB communal structure.<sup>81</sup>

On his first of many visits to the Kylemore colony, Peter P. Verigin impressed his followers as a forceful, eloquent orator and a persuasive, dynamic and brilliant organizer.<sup>82</sup> He declared his immediate goals to be to free the CCUB from its burden of debt and to unite the various factions of Doukhobors in Canada. Seeing and hearing him speak, the Kylemore Doukhobors firmly believed that his objectives would be achieved.<sup>83</sup>

Almost immediately, Peter P. Verigin reorganized the CCUB on a new basis to encourage greater self-reliance, industry and diligence among its members and to foster a renewed interest in the soil and in the welfare of the commune. To this end, he decentralized the CCUB, made life less rigidly communal, and reduced the size of each commune to a new unit known as the 'Family'.<sup>84</sup>

*Doukhobor maidens at Kylemore, 1927 (l-r) Milly W. Konkin, Polly W. Konkin and Mary Makortoff. Courtesy William W. Kanigan.*



Land, buildings, machinery, tools and livestock were redistributed to each Family to farm communally.<sup>85</sup> Each Family was granted broad autonomy over its agricultural operations and business transactions. An annual assessment was still paid to the CCUB central office.<sup>86</sup> However, any excess revenue from the land or from outside earnings, over and above the annual assessment, was retained by the Family.<sup>87</sup> A Starshina (elder), elected by its members, managed the day-to-day affairs of each Family.<sup>88</sup>

The system of buying and selling was introduced into all aspects of relations between the CCUB central office and the Families or branch communes, as well as between individual members.<sup>89</sup> Individual Doukhobors were now permitted to handle money. Thus, money transactions replaced the unwieldy barter system of earlier years.

In total, 13 Families of 25 persons (comprising one to two extended families) were set up in the Kylemore Colony in 1928.<sup>90</sup> Each Family was allocated a section of land in the colony on which to live and farm. Where a village already existed on a section, it was given to the Family assigned to that section; where there was none, a new village was built for the Family placed on that section.

Accordingly, six existing villages on Sections 7, 9, 4 and 10 were reassigned to Families.<sup>91</sup> Three existing villages on Sections 6, 9 and 31 were either moved to new locations or dismantled and the materials used to build new villages elsewhere.<sup>92</sup> Seven new villages were built for Families on Sections 2, 3, 5, 32-35.<sup>93</sup> These new villages differed from the earlier villages in that they were comprised of small, single-family residences built of wood frame construction with cedar shake siding.

This reorganization resulted in changes to nearly every household in the Kylemore Colony. Consequently, throughout the summer of 1928, there was much moving to and fro, and wagons piled high with goods and chattels were continually driving in one direction or another as families relocated to their new villages. It was at this time also that the CCUB families stationed at the Kelvington Annex relocated to the Kylemore Colony, where they were incorporated into Family branch communes.

In addition to the Families, which maintained a direct connection with the CCUB central office, a provincial branch of the CCUB was set up in Saskatchewan to operate business enterprises in the various areas, including the grain elevator and trading store at Kylemore.<sup>94</sup> These were now run on a wholly cash basis. The CCUB trading store now purchased the fruit it received from British Columbia and sold it to colony members, although it no longer enjoyed a trade monopoly among them. The CCUB elevator maintained a buying monopoly over all the surplus grain grown in the colony; however, it was now purchased from each Family and sold to British Columbia.

#### **COMMUNITY LIFE UNDER PETER P. VERIGIN: 1927-1931**

The reorganization of the Kylemore Colony was accompanied by three main developments during the early years of Peter P. Verigin's leadership. First, there was an expansion and consolidation of the capital assets of the colony to increase earning potential and reduce the CCUB's massive debt. Second, colonists joined a new umbrella organization, the Society of Named Doukhobors, aimed at the unification of the main Doukhobor factions in Canada. Third, new emphasis was placed on education

as the Doukhobor youth of the colony were enrolled in local schools. These developments are discussed below in greater detail.

#### **CAPITAL EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION**

The years 1928 to 1931 saw a noteworthy expansion, improvement and consolidation of CCUB capital assets in the Kylemore Colony. Buildings were erected for new villages to the value of \$13,000.00.<sup>95</sup> As well, leased lands (640 acres from the Hudson's Bay Company and 109 acres from the Department of Indian Affairs) were purchased outright for \$16,264.60.<sup>96</sup> Also, the balance owing on the 10,613 acres purchased from the Fishing Lake Land and Farm Co. Ltd. was paid in full.<sup>97</sup> Finally, land-clearing activity was redoubled in order to increase agricultural production and earnings.

At the same time, the CCUB raised money by allowing some of its Prairie members to opt out of the communal system and buy or lease its land. To this end, 3,000 acres of hitherto-undeveloped land in the Kelvington Annex was leased or sold under agreements for sale to CCUB members.<sup>98</sup> These included the families of Peter J. Goolaeff, Peter A. Morozoff, John J. and Peter J. Kanigan, Simeon A. Horkoff, Harry N. and Trofim N. Kanigan, Fred W. Antifaef, Mike W. and Wasyl W. Bloodoff, George F. and John F. Kazakoff, Nick W. Pepin, Wasyl L. Shukin and Wasyl A. Juravloff.<sup>99</sup>

Statistical data from 1931 illustrates the extent of CCUB property in the Kylemore Colony at this time.<sup>100</sup> The landholdings totalled 11,774.60 acres, valued at \$316,724.85. Another 4,945.23 acres of land was held in the Kelvington Annex, assessed at \$87,174.62. The investment in buildings on the farm land, including houses, barns and other structures, was valued at \$47,900.00. The store



*Doukhobors at Kanigan Village near Kylemore winnow grain to remove chaff. Courtesy William W. Kanigan.*

and warehouse along with the grain elevator were appraised at an additional \$29,000.00. The investment in livestock – which included 240 working horses and 130 milking cows – was valued at \$42,500.00. Finally, the investment in farm machinery was assessed at \$18,500.00. Thus, the total valuation of the Kylemore Colony's capital assets in 1931 was \$541,799.47 – over half a million dollars – two years into the Great Depression.

### UNITY

Upon his arrival in Canada, all of the main Doukhobor factions – the CCUB, the Independents and the Sons of Freedom – acknowledged Peter P. Verigin as their spiritual leader.<sup>101</sup> He made it his avowed purpose to heal the divisions between the groups and reestablish unity among all Doukhobors living in Canada.

To this end, in June of 1928, Verigin formed a new, all-embracing organization, the Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada, for the purpose of uniting his followers.<sup>102</sup> Through a series of conferences attended by delegates from the CCUB and Independent Doukhobor settlements, the Society, under Verigin's

leadership and direction, promoted a policy of non-violence, the teachings of Christ, marriage based on love, acceptance of public education, the accurate registration of births, deaths and marriages, the peaceful resolution of disputes among members by the Society's executive, the automatic expulsion of members who committed crimes, and more.<sup>103</sup>

For their part, the Kylemore colonists readily participated in the new organization, joining en masse, paying regular membership dues, sending delegates to its conferences and implementing its resolutions.<sup>104</sup> By December of 1930, there were 150 male and 148 female members of the Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada from Kylemore.<sup>105</sup>

### EDUCATION

From the outset of his leadership, Peter P. Verigin emphasized the importance of public education among his followers. The education of their children in English schools, and the establishment of their own Russian schools and libraries, he declared, would begin a new era for Doukhobors in Canada.<sup>106</sup> His views towards education were actively promoted through the Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada.

As members of the Society, the Kylemore colonists were now committed to accept education, and from 1928 onward, began enrolling their children in Kylemore School in the hamlet of Kylemore. In 1929, the school was destroyed in a mysterious fire and classes were held in the CCUB trading store until a new school was built the same year.<sup>107</sup> By 1936, Doukhobor student enrollment increased to such an extent that a second school was opened at the south end of the colony.<sup>108</sup> Colony youth also attended Russian language classes in the evenings.

### DEMISE OF THE CCUB

The twelve years of Peter P. Verigin's leadership from 1927 to 1939 saw a number of remarkable accomplishments. However, despite his concerted efforts, the Doukhobor leader was unable to eliminate the massive CCUB debt, nor bring about the desired unity with other Doukhobor groups.<sup>109</sup> At the same time, his irregular character and actions eroded the enthusiasm and confidence of the CCUB membership, whose zeal for utopian communal living was already in decline.<sup>110</sup>

When the Great Depression struck in the Thirties, the financial situation of the CCUB deteriorated rapidly because all the communal property was mortgaged and no further loans could be negotiated due to lack of collateral. With no credit, and with membership and cash income falling rapidly, Verigin attempted to sell off CCUB assets to raise the necessary capital to enable the corporation to continue to operate, and at the same time, to stave off the ever-increasing demands of its creditors.

To this end, in October of 1934, Peter P. Verigin publicly announced that the CCUB would be selling its entire holdings – land, stock, equipment and elevators – in the districts of Kylemore, Kelvington and Verigin, Saskatchewan.<sup>111</sup> A similar announcement was made in April of 1935.<sup>112</sup> Later that month, some Saskatchewan members of the CCUB were served with notices to vacate their villages and lands.<sup>113</sup> These events were met with shock and disbelief by the Saskatchewan members, who had



*Peter Chernoff and John Soloveoff mounted on horseback on the prairie near Kylemore, c.1920. Courtesy ISKRA.*

not been consulted.<sup>114</sup>

Reputedly several offers to purchase the Kylemore lands were made to the CCUB central office in Brilliant, British Columbia;<sup>115</sup> however, no sale ever materialized. Nevertheless, in April of 1936, the Saskatchewan branch of the CCUB sold the elevator at Kylemore to James Richardson.<sup>116</sup> The CCUB trading store in Kylemore was closed later that year.<sup>117</sup> In light of these events, all the Kylemore

colonists could do was wait in anticipation of a better tomorrow. But for the CCUB, prosperity never returned.

By 1937, a combination of complex factors, including the Great Depression, financial mismanagement, diminishing revenues, a declining membership base, mounting debt, depredations against communal property, and government assimilation efforts, all exacerbated by Verigin's increasingly erratic leadership style, led to the eventual (arguably, inevitable) bankruptcy of the CCUB.<sup>118</sup> The following year, in 1938, the National Trust Company foreclosed on its mortgage over the CCUB lands and chattels in Kylemore, Kelvington and elsewhere.<sup>119</sup> Thereafter, the CCUB ceased to exist as a corporate entity.

### BREAK-UP OF THE COLONY

Following the bankruptcy and foreclosure of the CCUB, the Doukhobors living in Kylemore were faced with a difficult dilemma: either join the majority of their brethren in British Columbia or else remain in Saskatchewan as independent farmers. Many of them were already middle-aged, and to begin a new life with nothing, dependent only on themselves, with no Community to fall back on, must have been daunting prospect.

About a third of the Kylemore Doukhobors immediately moved to British Columbia in 1938 to be part of the larger group living there.<sup>120</sup> Numerous others followed the move to British Columbia during the War Years (1939-1945) to avoid the military call-up.<sup>121</sup> Still others decided to abandon their old way of life altogether, take their few possessions and depart into the world unknown.<sup>122</sup>

Approximately a third of the Kylemore Doukhobors chose to repurchase their lands from the National Trust Company in 1938 under agreements for sale.<sup>123</sup> Payment was made on a one-third crop share basis, as the Doukhobors had little or no cash.<sup>124</sup> They took possession of their land, moved in village structures (dwellings, barns, stables, etc.) or utilized the existing ones on the land, and purchased on credit the necessary horses, implements and equipment to set up their own farming practices.<sup>125</sup>

Fortunately, there were prosperous years in the Forties, and within ten years of independent farming, all of the Kylemore Doukhobors obtained clear title to their land and many acquired additional land, modern vehicles and machinery for their farms.<sup>126</sup>

While most Doukhobors remained as farmers, several established stores and business in Kylemore. In the Thirties, William M. Fudikuf owned a general store in Kylemore, selling everything from groceries and furniture, to cream separators and machinery. In the late Forties, Peter G. Kanigan ran a blacksmith shop, general store and gas pumps. Finally, in the Fifties, Louis L. Osachoff operated a general store in the hamlet.

Those families who remained in Kylemore continued to uphold their Doukhobor faith and culture. In the Forties, they formed the Kylemore Doukhobor Society, which became their main religious and social organization. Moleniye (prayer meetings) and children's Sunday school classes were held weekly at the Sunderland School. Petrov Den' (Peters Day) was commemorated annually with picnics at Fishing Lake. A local choir was organized, and visiting choirs from British Columbia and elsewhere in Saskatchewan were always welcomed. In 1954, the Society purchased the former South

Kylemore School and moved it into Kylemore for use as a 'prayer home' or meeting house. The Society remained active until the Nineties, when, due to an aging and dwindling congregation, it was dissolved. About six Doukhobor families remain in the Kylemore district today.

## CONCLUSION

Today, there are few physical reminders of the CCUB colony at Kylemore. An abandoned two-story village dom stands on the north side of the No. 5 Highway, a silent sentinel of the communal past<sup>127</sup> while at least two smaller village dwellings can be found nearby.<sup>128</sup> The concrete foundations of other village doms, barns and reservoirs dot the surrounding countryside.<sup>129</sup> Many of the original Doukhobor colonists lay at rest in God's Blessing Cemetery, still in active use. Recently, a stream running through the former colony was christened Blahoslovenie (Blessing) Creek in their memory.<sup>130</sup>

A more enduring legacy of the Kylemore Colony is its living one. For today, the descendants of the original 300 colonists, who surely number in the hundreds if not thousands, can be found throughout Saskatchewan, British Columbia and the rest of Canada. They continue to preserve the memory of these pioneering Spirit Wrestlers.

*Endnotes on page 45.*

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*The family of Peter P. Verigin seen here at the Chernoff Village near Kylemore in 1928 (l-r) John J. Verigin (his grandson), Anna F. Verigin (his wife) and Evdokia G. Verigin (his mother). Courtesy ISKRA.*



There is no end . . . but only change: the life, art and philosophy of Ernest Lindner - Endnotes

1 Terrence Heath, *Uprooted: The Life and Art of Ernest Lindner* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1983), 3. 2 Heath, *Uprooted*, 6. 3 Heath, *Uprooted*, 6. 4 Heath, *Uprooted*, 3-4. 5 Heath, *Uprooted*, 9. 6 Heath, *Uprooted*, 13. 7 Heath, *Uprooted*, 12. 8 SAB, S-A, Ernest Lindner fonds, File VIII.A. Reminiscences of Ernest Lindner, 1971-1972. 9 Heath, *Uprooted*, 18. 10 Heath, *Uprooted*, 30, 35. 11 Heath, *Uprooted*, p.37. 12 Heath, *Uprooted*, 34-45. 13 Heath, *Uprooted*, 47. 14 SAB, S-A 2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File V.74, CBC Interview by Idabelle Melville of Ernest Lindner, c. 1965. 15 Heath, *Uprooted*, 51. 16 Heath, *Uprooted*, 52. 17 Heath, *Uprooted*, 59. 18 SAB, S-A 2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File V.74, CBC Interview by Idabelle Melville of Ernest Lindner, c. 1965. 19 Heath, *Uprooted*, 62. 20 Heath, *Uprooted*, 63. 21 Heath, *Uprooted*, 66. 22 Later, the island home was sold and replaced with a cabin built near the Emma Lake Art School. 23 Heath, *Uprooted*, 105. 24 Heath, *Uprooted*, 106. 25 Heath, *Uprooted*, 103-110. 26 SAB, S-A2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File V.66, General Correspondence: Lawren Harris, Ernest Lindner to Lawren Harris, Sept. 22, 1946; Heath, *Uprooted*, 87. 27 Heath, *Uprooted*, 93. 28 Heath, *Uprooted*, 96. 29 Heath, *Uprooted*, 96. 30 SAB, S-A, Ernest Lindner fonds, File VIII.A. Reminiscences of Ernest Lindner, 1971-1972. 31 Heath, *Uprooted*, 97-99. 32 Heath, *Uprooted*, 73. 33 Heath, *Uprooted*, 77-78. 34 SAB, S-A 2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File V.74, CBC Interview by Idabelle Melville of Ernest Lindner, c. 1965. 35 Ibid. 36 Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), S-G 573.33, Terrence Heath, "Lindner's Forest," exhibition brochure for Ernest Lindner exhibit with that title at Mendel Art Gallery, Saskatoon, 1983, 5. 37 Ibid. 38 Ibid. 39 Heath, *Uprooted*, 102. 40 SAB, S-A2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File IV.26. 1958 Chronological Correspondence, Ernest Lindner to Ron Bloore, Sept. 2, 1958. 41 Terrence Heath, Review of exhibit "The Drawings of Ernest Lindner (1972), Mendel Art Gallery and Civic Conservatory, Saskatoon, Winter 1972," at <http://www.ccca.ca/c/writing/h/heath/hea022.html> 42 Ibid. 43 Ibid. 44 SAB, S-A 2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File V.74, CBC Interview by Idabelle Melville of Ernest Lindner, c. 1965. 45 Ibid. 46 Ibid.

#### The Kylemore Doukhobor Colony - Endnotes

1 The Kylemore Doukhobor Colony receives only passing mention in the two best-known Doukhobor histories. See: Woodcock, George & Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977, p. 228); and Tarasoff, Koozma, J., *Plakun Trava* (Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, 1982, pp. 113, 143). 2 Woodcock, supra, note 1, pp. 229-232; Tarasoff, supra, note 1, pp. 112-116. 3 Library and Archives Canada, RG95, Corporations Branch, Series 1, Volume 1297, The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Limited. 4 Approximately 5,000 CCUB members were residing in British Columbia in 1918 with an additional 1,000 members residing in Alberta and Saskatchewan at this time. Supra, note 2. 5 British Columbia. Report of Royal Commission on matters relating to the sect of Doukhobors in the province of British Columbia, 1912 (Victoria, King's Printer: 1913, p. 58); Woodcock, supra, note 1, pp. 229-232. 6 Ibid. 7 Hawthorn, Harry (ed.), *The Doukhobors of British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1955) p. 51. 8 Between 1907 and 1918, the CCUB forfeited approximately 400,000 acres of free homestead land reserved for its members in Saskatchewan due to conflicts with the Dominion Government over individual ownership and the swearing of the oath of allegiance. The CCUB offset these losses by purchasing 10,000 acres of land in the Veregin district in 1903 and another 13,500 acres of land in the Cowley and Lundbreck districts of Alberta in 1915-1916. The purchase of additional lands in the Kylemore district was necessitated by the closure of the Doukhobor homestead reserves in 1918. 9 Library and Archives Canada, RG10, Indian Affairs, Volume 6707, Reel C-8077. See also: *Manitoba Free Press*, "Land for New Doukhobor Settlement" (June 1, 1918); and *The Wadena Herald*, "Doukhobors to Stay: Veregin Closes Deal for 10,000 Acres of Prairie Land" (June 27, 1918). 10 Ibid. The land was located in Section 8 of Township 33, Range 12, West of the Second Meridian. It was originally reserved to the Hudson's Bay Company; however, the company withdrew its interest in the land in favour of the CCUB. The CCUB leased it directly from the Department of the Interior. See also Hudson's Bay Archives, File No. RG1/21/7. 11 Ibid. The land was located in Legal Subdivision 8 of SE of Section 9 and Legal Subdivision 5 and 12 of the W of Section 10 in Township 33, Range 12, West of the Second Meridian. 12 Ibid. The land was located in Sections 1-5, 7, 9-12, the N of Section 6 and the S of Sections 13-18 in Township 33, and Sections 32-36 in Township 34, in Range 12, West of the Second Meridian. The land was surrendered by the Fishing Lake First Nation in 1907. It was purchased by Dunbar H. Hudson of Winnipeg from the Department of the Interior under a June 8, 1910 agreement for sale. The agreement was then assigned to George Hathaway and Myron McKinnon of Chicago and W.H. McKinnon of Winnipeg on July 3, 1911, and from the latter to the Fishing Lake Farm and Land Co. Ltd. on October 6, 1911. Due to lack of funds, the company fell into arrears on its land payments to the Department of the Interior. It sold its interest in the land at a heavy loss to the CCUB under a collateral agreement for sale dated May 7, 1918. 13 Supra, note 9. 14 Dawson, Carl A., *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1936) p. 40. 15 *Manitoba Free Press*, "Doukhobor Head Here: Tells of Work New Community Hopes to Enter Into" (June 14, 1918). 16 Ibid. 17 Ibid. 18 Ibid. 19 *Seems Like Only Yesterday, 1892-1980: The History of Kuroki and District* (Kuroki: Kuroki History Book Committee, 1980) pp. 126-130; supra, note 15. 20 Ibid. The first temporary tent camp was established by Doukhobor work crews on 10-34-12-W2 in the summer of 1918. There, they dug a community well which provided the colony with an excellent, dependable water supply for decades thereafter. 21 Supra, note 15. 22 This is corroborated by the fact that the oldest villages were built at the northern end of the colony. As well, the Canadian National Railway ran through the northern portion of the colony, and it would have made practical sense to clear the lands closest to the railway first. 23 Supra, note 19. 24 Ibid. 25 Supra, note 9. 26 Supra, note 19. 27 Malekoff, Peter P. Personal interviews with Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, July 31, 2003 and June 21, 2008. 28 Snesarev, Vladimir N. (Harry W. Trevor), *The Doukhobors in British Columbia* (University of British Columbia Publication, Department of Agriculture, 1931), List of Property Owned by the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Limited as at January 1, 1931 - District of Kylemore, Saskatchewan. 29 Supra, note 27. 30 Ibid. The Section 9 village was situated on SE9-34-12-W2. The site of the Section 31 village is unknown. 31 Ibid. 32 Ibid. 33 Ibid. Presumably, all the domes were intended to be clad in brick; however, this never materialized. 34 Ibid. 35 Ibid. 36 Ibid. 37 Supra, note 19. 38 Kalmakoff, Jonathan J., Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada, 1930 Saskatchewan Membership List (Regina: 2002) pp. 46-47. Note this is the only extant listing of CCUB members in the Kylemore Colony. 39 Popoff, Eli A. *Tanya* (Grand Forks: Mir Publication Society, 1975) pp. 173-174. See also supra, note 19. 40 *Remembering Times: Wadena and Area Dating Back to 1882* (2 vols.) (Wadena: Wadena History Book Committee, 1992) pp. 28-29. 41 Gooliaff, Cecil, Lawrence Kalmakoff, Randy Konkin, Jennifer Osachoff, Wally Vanin, *Doukhobors of Saskatchewan: Past, Present and Future* (November 1972), p. 44. See also supra, note 40, pp. 25, 28-42. Supra, note 27. 43 Supra, note 41, pp. 44-45. Note it was originally intended that the basement be utilized for storage, the main floor be made into a store and a community office, and the top floor used for living quarters for the people who operated the store. However, only the basement was completed. 44 Veregin, Nora. Personal interview with Jonathan J. Kalmakoff, August 1, 2008; Ibid. It is known that Paul W. Planidin managed the store from 1922 to 1925 and Nikolai N. Ogloff from 1928 to 1935. 45 Supra, note 41, pp. 44. 46 The land was located in Sections 3, 7, 9, 15, 17-19, 21, 27, 31 and 33, W and SE of Section 5, E of Section 25, all in Township 27, Range 12, West of the Second Meridian. The CCUB acquired the interest of the Canada West Security Corporation in these lands under an agreement for sale dated August 8, 1921. Title to the land transferred to the CCUB on March 2, 1945 under Certificate of Title No. MS 159. 47 *Tears Toil and Triumph, Story of Kelvington and District* (Kelvington: Kelvington Historical Society, 1980) p. 47. The Canadian National Railway Company completed a 40 mile extension of the Thunderhill Branch Line from Preeceville to Kelvington in 1921. Thereafter, the rail company proposed a further expansion from Kelvington, through the CCUB lands west of the village, to Prince Albert. 48 Supra, note 19. 49 Supra, note 41 and note 47, pp. 65-70. The Nikolai N. Konkin and Ivan A. Malakoff families were stationed on Section 27 and

the Andrew P. and Trofim W. Markin families were stationed on Section 18 of the Kelvington Annex from 1921-1928. Note Snesev does not list their dwellings in Kelvington in 1931; presumably they were relocated to Kylemore in 1928 when the families moved there: *supra*, note 28.50 *Supra*, note 19. The families would live in tents with cots made from young poplar trees and mattresses of hay, with food cooked on a portable pot-bellied stove. After the horses and fences were checked, the families would busy themselves with berry-picking. These were made into jam and brought back to the colony in the fall.<sup>51</sup> Note neither the colony nor the individual villages had official Russian names during the era of Peter V. Verigin; or if they did, they have long since passed out of memory. <sup>52</sup> *Supra*, note 28. A settlement comprised of multiple villages was the basic unit of the CCUB organization at this time. Each settlement was organized as one commune. On a much larger scale, all the settlements were considered as one unit, and an internal barter system existed between them. It was on this basis that wheat grown in Saskatchewan was distributed in British Columbia, fruits and timber from British Columbia was shipped to Saskatchewan, etc. <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* The Manager of the colony acted as an intermediary authority between the central office and colony members. This individual had very little authority and generally speaking was of limited importance. It is known that in 1925, the Manager of the Kylemore Colony was Dmitry I. Malakoff. From 1926 to 1928 the position was assumed by Nikolai I. Cazakoff. See also: *supra*, note 41.<sup>55</sup> Friesen, John W. and Michael M. Verigin, *The Community Doukhobors: A People in Transition* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1996) p. 88.<sup>56</sup> *Supra*, note 27.<sup>57</sup> *Manitoba Free Press*, "Views of Wadena, Saskatchewan" (May 24, 1926); *Supra*, note 28. <sup>58</sup> *Supra*, note 28. Each adult was obliged to contribute a levy to the CCUB which was assessed annually and which differed from year to year. This was mainly paid in-kind through labour rather than cash. <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* Individual members of the colony were thus directly dependent on the CCUB central organization. <sup>61</sup> *Supra*, note 19, pp. 126-130 and note 39, pp. 174-182.<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*; *Supra*, note 40, p. 812.<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>68</sup> *Supra*, note 27 and note 19, pp. 130.69 *Supra*, note 39, p. 177.70 *Ibid.*<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>73</sup> *Supra*, note 19, p. 126 and note 41, p. 45. This was the village on NE9-34-12-W2. The fire was due to accidental causes; it started in the chimney of the dom and quickly spread to surrounding structures.<sup>74</sup> *Supra*, note 27. This was the unnamed village with twin doms on SE9-34-12-W2. It is unknown whether this fire was due to accidental or suspicious causes.<sup>75</sup> Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, p. 257; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, p. 139.<sup>76</sup> *Supra*, note 19, p. 126 and note 39, p. 184. CCUB capital projects (building construction, land improvement, etc.) were suspended upon Verigin's death in 1924.<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* Construction of a new two-story wooden dom to replace the burnt McKinnon residence on NE9-34-12-W2 was commenced in 1924 and then suspended for three years until the arrival of Peter P. Verigin in 1927. It was completed in 1928. <sup>78</sup> Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, p. 285; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, p. 142.<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>80</sup> The National Trust Company mortgage was registered against the Kylemore Colony lands later, in October of 1933, after they had been paid for in full under the agreement for sale and title passed to the CCUB. See for example, *supra*, note 11. <sup>81</sup> *Supra*, note 39, pp. 184-196.<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>84</sup> *Supra*, note 14. In recognition of the fundamental difference between grain growing on the Prairies and the fruit industry of British Columbia, each Prairie Family was comprised of 25 persons, while the British Columbia Family began with 100 people each. <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* Land allocation was based on acreage with reference to fertility and improvements. <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* In 1928, each Family at Kylemore was assessed an annual levy of \$40.00 per head. From 1930 onwards, the assessment was based on acreage. See also: Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, p. 290; *The Lethbridge Herald*, "Doukhobors Reorganize Community Life" (April 4, 1928).<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* The main objective of each Family became, first of all, to take care of the operation of their agricultural operations on the land allocated to them, and secondly, to place the surplus of their working force in remunerative jobs away from the village. For example, in 1927-1929, colony members were contracted to construct 22 miles of grade for the No. 5 Highway from the town of Wadena, east past Kylemore, to the village of Kuroki.<sup>88</sup> Note in 1928, the Starshina of the colony Families were: (i) Ivan N. Konkinn; (ii) Nikolai P. Popoff; (iii) Ivan I. Samsonoff; (iv) Vasily V. Solovaeff; (v) Ivan V. Chernenkoff; (vi) Alexei I. Pereverseff; (vii) Ivan V. Popoff; (viii) Vasily A. Morozoff; (ix) Semyon S. Popoff; (x) Ivan A. Posnikoff; (xi) Peter S. Chernoff; (xii) Grigory N. Kanigan; and (xiii) Ivan P. Sheloff. <sup>89</sup> *Supra*, note 14.<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* Note Dawson errs in noting 12 Families in the Kylemore Colony; official CCUB records show 13.<sup>91</sup> *Supra*, note 27. From 1928 on, these villages became known as the Popoff Village, Malakoff Village, Chernenoff Village, Sheloff Village, Kazakoff Village and Kanigan Village, respectively, after the predominant family groupings that inhabited them. Note in 1928, single-family residences were built in addition to the existing doms in these villages, as required. <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* In 1928, the village located on SE9-34-12-W2 (the remaining dom of the former twin dom village) was relocated to NE33-34-12-W2. Also, two villages on Sections 6 (single dom) and 31 (twin doms) were dismantled and the materials used to build new villages elsewhere. Note Snesev shows these latter two villages still existing in 1931; presumably they were dismantled soon thereafter: *supra*, note 28. <sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* These new villages were thereafter known as the Chernenkoff Village, Pereverseff Village, Hoodekoff Village, Konkinn Village, Makortoff Village, Samsonoff Village and Arishenkoff Village. <sup>94</sup> Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, p. 290; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, p. 146.<sup>95</sup> *Supra*, note 28. This figure is based on Snesev's list of buildings in the post-1928 villages on Sections 2, 3, 5, 32-35. New buildings were also erected in the pre-1928 villages; however, it is not possible to determine which buildings were erected after 1928 in these villages from Snesev's list. <sup>96</sup> *Supra*, note 9. The 640 acres of Hudson's Bay Company land was purchased by the CCUB for \$13,866.60 on September 18, 1929. The 109 acres of land of the Department of Indian Affairs (successor agency of the Department of the Interior) was purchased on December 5, 1929 for \$2,398.00.<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* On June 19, 1928, the Fishing Lake Farm and Land Co. Ltd. paid the balance owing on the land (under their original agreement for sale) to the Department of Indian Affairs. The land was then granted to the principals of the company, Hathaway and the McKinnon (the company had since been struck off the corporate register and could not hold title to land in its name) under Certificate of Title No. GO144 dated January 2, 1930. They, in turn, transferred title to the land to the CCUB (under their collateral agreement for sale) by Transfer of Title No. AK60 dated January 27, 1930.<sup>98</sup> R.M. of Kelvington No. 366, Tax Rolls (1921-1939). Presumably, the Kelvington Annex was originally intended to be developed and settled like the Kylemore Colony; however, this never materialized. There may be several reasons for this. First, CCUB capital projects were curtailed after the death of Peter V. Verigin in 1924; see *supra*, note 76. Second, the segregated nature of the Kelvington Annex lands may have been a deterrent to Doukhobor bloc settlement. Third, despite local protest, the proposed extension of the Thunderhill Branch Line through the CCUB lands never arrived, leaving the Kelvington Annex 5-10 miles away from the nearest rail point at Kelvington; see *supra*, note 48.<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* See also Lapshinoff, Steve, *Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada, 1937 Membership List* (Crescent Valley: self published, 2001) pp. 66-68.<sup>100</sup> *Supra*, note 28.<sup>101</sup> Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, pp. 288; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, pp. 142-144. In 1927, the CCUB comprised about 5,500 adults; the Independents numbered somewhere over 2,000; and the Sons of Freedom were still a small group of zealots to be numbered in the scores rather than in the hundreds.<sup>102</sup> Two groups stood aloof of the Society of Named Doukhobors: the Lordly Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood led by Anastasia Golubova, and the Sons of Freedom. <sup>103</sup> Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, pp. 288-292; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, pp. 147-152. Many resolutions of the Society of Named Doukhobors were passed to please the Independent Doukhobors, who were willing to make compromises with the state.<sup>104</sup> Note in 1934, the Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada delegate from Kylemore was Alexei I. Hoodekoff. In 1937, it was Havrila N. Kanigan.<sup>105</sup> Kalmakoff, *supra*, note 38.<sup>106</sup> Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, pp. 284-287; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, p. 144. In support of his policy towards education, Peter P. Verigin coined the slogan, "Let Doukhobors become professors."<sup>107</sup> *Supra*, note 40, pp. 260-261 and note 41, p. 44. The day before the fire, a group of Sons of Freedom – who remained radically opposed to education – toured the Kylemore Colony. Colonists accused them of "preaching by day and burning at night." Whether it was a case of coincidence or arson, Kylemore School burned to the ground the following evening after their arrival. The case was never solved.<sup>108</sup> The two schools became known as the 'North Kylemore School' and the 'South Kylemore School.' The former operated until 1957 and the latter until 1952 when, due to declining enrollment, they were closed and children were transported to the

Town of Wadena. 109 Woodcock, *supra*, note 1; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, p. 152. Remarkably, between 1927 and 1939, Peter P. Verigin succeeded in reducing the CCUB's indebtedness by over half. However, this was not enough to stave off the organization's demise. With respect to unity, the Society of Named Doukhobors collapsed in 1937 following the withdrawal of the Independent Doukhobors from the organization. 110 *Supra*, note 41, p. 45. 111 *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Doukhobors Are Leaving Sask." (October 18, 1934). Prior to 1934, Peter P. Verigin sold several parcels of undeveloped CCUB land in Saskatchewan to raise capital. The 1934 announcement, by contrast, represented the wholesale liquidation of all CCUB capital assets in the province. 112 *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Doukhobors Will Sell Property in Saskatchewan" (April 8, 1935). The statement was made by CCUB Vice-President Joseph P. Shukin on behalf of the embattled leader. 113 *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Doukhobor Group Will Resist Any Attempt to Evict Them from Farms" (April 27, 1935). Presumably, Peter P. Verigin intended to incorporate the Saskatchewan members into the CCUB organization in British Columbia. 114 *Ibid.* 115 *Supra*, note 112. 116 *Supra*, note 41, p. 45. Later that year, Richardson resold the elevator to the Pioneer Grain Company Ltd. which continued to operate it until its demolition in 1990. 117 *Ibid.* 118 Woodcock, *supra*, note 1, p. 303; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, pp. 152-154; and *supra*, note 6, p. 53. 119 *Ibid.* 120 *Supra*, note 27. 121 *Ibid.* 122 *Supra*, note 41, pp. 45. 123 Woodcock, *supra*, note 1 p. 305; Tarasoff, *supra*, note 1, p. 152. In Saskatchewan, individual members of the Community were given the first opportunity to buy back the land from the creditors. In many cases, the member took possession of the land he was already residing on. At Kylemore, however, there was insufficient land for everyone and members drew straws to determine who would purchase each parcel; only married men aged eighteen years of age or older were permitted to draw for the land: *supra*, note 27. 124 *Supra*, note 27. The only cash the Kylemore Doukhobors had at the beginning of 1938, besides earnings from outside employment, was from the proceeds of their last crop, which they divided amongst themselves and used to acquire something: a horse, plow, mower, etc. 125 *Ibid.* 126 *Supra*, note 41, pp. 45. 127 The two-story dom from the Chernoff Village still exists on NE9-34-12-W2 at the time of writing. 128 At the time of writing, single-family dwellings from the Arishenkoff Village and Pereverseff Village still exist on SE35-34-12-W2 and NE6-34-12-W2. 129 The concrete foundations of the Popoff Village and Kazakoff Village doms can be found on 7-34-12-W2 and 4-34-12-W2, respectively, at the time of writing. As well, the concrete foundations of an ice reservoir still exist on 9-34-12-W2. 130 The name Blahoslovenie Creek was proposed by the writer and approved by the Saskatchewan Place Names Board on February 21, 2006. 131 Compiled by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff from personal interviews with Peter P. Malekoff on July 31, 2003 and June 21, 2008 and from correspondence with Theodore I. Sysoev dated November 8, 2008.

The Kylemore Doukhobor Colony - Appendix 1:

List of Kylemore Colony Villages and Families<sup>131</sup>

(A) Villages Established 1918-1924

Chernoff Village - Established: 1918. Structure: large two-story wooden dom. The original dom, central meeting house and gornitsa (special quarters for Peter V. Verigin) were destroyed by fire in 1924. A replacement dom was completed 1924-1928. Additional single family residences added after 1928. Families: (prior to 1928) Chernoff (Mike, Peter); (after 1928) Chernoff (Mike, Peter), Malekoff (Peter), Osachoff (Peter, Louis), Bedinoff (Nikolay). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NE9-34-12-W2.

Unnamed Village (Considered part of Kylemore hamlet)

Established: 1919-1924. Structure: Two large two-story brick doms. One burned c. 1925; the other was relocated to Section 33 in 1928. In addition there was one small single-family residence. CCUB grain elevator and trading store. Families: (prior to 1928) Osachoff (Peter, Louis), Bedinoff (Nikolai), Fofonoff (Ivan); Planidin (Paul). Disbanded: 1928. Location: SE9-34-12-W2.

Popoff Village - Established: 1919-1924. Structure: One large two-story brick dom. Additional single-family residences added after 1928. Large barn. Families: (prior to 1928) Sysoev (Ivan) and others; (after 1928) Popoff (Wasy, Sam, John, George, Nick), Konkin (Bill). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NE7-34-12-W2.

Kazakoff Village - Established: 1919-1924. Structure: One large two-story brick dom. Additional single-family residences added after 1928.

Large barn. Families: Kazakoff (Nick, Bill), Popoff (John and sons John and Alec). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NW4-34-12-W2.

Sheloff Village - Established: 1919-1924. Structure: One large two-story brick dom. Additional single-family residences added after 1928. Large barn. Ice reservoir. Families: (prior to 1928) Malekoff (Peter), Sheloff (Nikolay, John), Sherbinin (Alec, Pete), Kanigan (Hrisha), Malakoff (Larion, Mike, Vasya); (after 1928) Sysoev (Ivan), Sheloff (Nikolay, John), Popoff (Jacob). Disbanded: 1938. Location: SE9-34-12-W2.

Malakoff Village - Established: 1922. Structure: One large two-story brick dom. Additional single-family residences added after 1928. Families: (prior to 1928) Chernenkoff (Wasy) and others; (after 1928) Malakoff (Larion, Mike, Vasya), Posnikoff (John, Pete, Bill). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NW9-34-12-W2.

Kanigin Village - Established: 1919-1924. Structure: One large two-story wooden dom. Additional single-family residences added after 1928. Communal well. Families: (after 1928) Kanigan (Hrisha, Pete H., Bill H., John H.), Pereverseff (Fred, Alec). Disbanded: 1938. Location: SE10-34-12-W2.

Unnamed Village - Established: 1919-1924. Structure: Two large two-story doms. Two large barns and outbuildings. Dismantled: 1928-1931. Families: unknown. Location: 31-33-12-W2.

Unnamed Village - Established: 1919-1924. Structure: One large two-story dom. Large barn. Dismantled: 1928-1931. Families: unknown. Location: 6-34-12-W2.

(B) Villages Established in 1928

Hoodekoff Village - Established: 1928. Structure: Several wooden single-family residences. Families: Hoodekoff (Alexei, Larry, John, Wasy), Morozoff (Bill, John). Disbanded: 1938. Location: SW5-34-12-W2.

Konkin Village - Established: 1928. Structure: several wooden single-family residences. Families: Konkin (Mike, John, Alec, Bill), Malakoff (Mitya). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NW32-33-12-W2.

Makortoff Village - Established: 1928. Structure: One large two-story wooden dom with additional single-family residences. Families: Makortoff (Fred, Alec, Bill), Popoff (Nikolay), Sysoev (Ivan). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NE33-33-12-W2.

Samsonoff Village - Established: 1928. Structure: several wooden single-family residences. Families: Samsonoff (John, Bill), Hoolaeff (John). Disbanded: 1938. Location: NW34-33-12-W2.

Pereverseff Village - Established: 1928. Structure: several wooden single-family residences. Families: Pereverseff (John S., John J. and Alec J.), Arishenkoff (Vasil), Kalesnikoff (Kuzma, Feodor). Disbanded: 1938. Location: SW3-34-12-W2.

Chernenkoff Village - Established: 1928. Structure: several wooden single-family residences. Families: Chernenkoff (Eli, John, George, Nick), Sherbinin (Alec, Pete). Disbanded: 1938. Location: SE2-34-12-W2.

Arishenkoff Village - Established: 1928. Structure: several wooden single-family residences. Families: Arishenkoff (Fred, John, Mike, Vanya), Solovayoff (Vasya, Bill, John). Disbanded: 1938. Location: SE35-33-12-W2.