

Volume 63 • Number 1 • Spring/Summer 2011

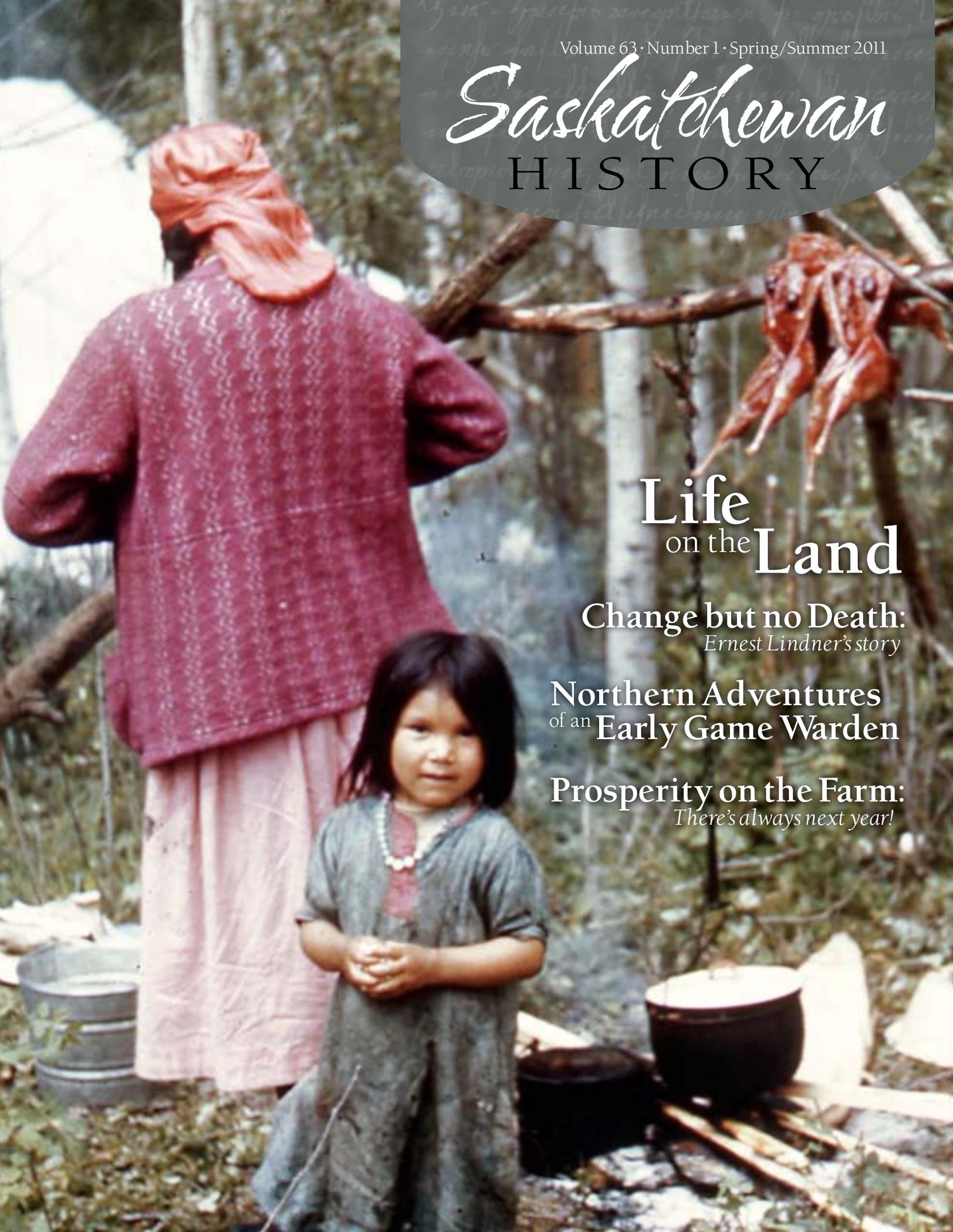
Saskatchewan HISTORY

Life on the Land

Change but no Death:
Ernest Lindner's story

Northern Adventures
of an Early Game Warden

Prosperity on the Farm:
There's always next year!





Reference archivist Paula Rein and researcher Ross Herrington study a township register in the reading room of the Regina office. Courtesy Don Hall, University of Regina, Photography Department.

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Saskatchewan HISTORY

Volume 63 • Number 1 • Spring/Summer 2011

The Saskatchewan Archives Board
University of Saskatchewan, 3 Campus Drive,
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5A4
publishes *Saskatchewan History* twice a year.

Canadian subscription rates are \$15.75 (CDN) per
year, GST included. Subscriptions outside Canada
are \$17.50 (CDN) per year.

Subscribe online using the Government of
Saskatchewan's Publication Centre, via <http://www.saskarchives.com/web/history-subscriptions.html>

The editor of *Saskatchewan History* welcomes
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Manuscripts can be submitted via regular mail or
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ISSN 0036-4908

PUBLICATIONS MAIL AGREEMENT NO. 1252690

RETURN UNDELIVERABLE CANADIAN ADDRESSES TO

Saskatchewan Archives Board
3 Campus Drive, University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A4
info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca

COVER PHOTO:
Everett Baker photographed "the Stonehakers"
preparing rabbits for supper at Greig Lake,
northwest of Meadow Lake, in 1941.
SAB 2009-702-278.

DESIGN & LAYOUT:
Andrew Kaytor, Kaleidoscope Productions
www.k-scope.ca

PRINTED BY:
Kromar Printing Ltd.

@ SAB

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For the past six years the Saskatchewan Archives, in partnership with the Genealogical Society of Utah (GSU), has been digitizing a wide range of records that we, internally, call 'The Land Record.' This record series includes the pre-1930 Homestead Records, the Civil Court Records, the Cummins Maps, Pioneer Questionnaires and Townships Registers with their associated maps. Many of these are still in the process of being physically imaged and all still require associated digital descriptions but the Saskatchewan Archives hopes to have the beginnings of these rich digital collections available in early 2012 through their soon-to-be-redesigned website. Further growth and capacity will follow on a yearly basis.

To give a sense of scale, the entire project will encompass in excess of 5 million digital objects. We are nearing the halfway mark and it is estimated that at the current rate of work we have another two years ahead of us.

Popular land records at SAB

Land records are always popular with SAB researchers. Among the most-used records are the Homestead Records, which include Indian Reserve lands. If your grandfather homesteaded here, you can find valuable information about how the land was broken and "proved up" through these records - and a Homestead Record index is available online at www.saskhomesteads.com.

Also popular are the township registers, which show the first registered owners of land in our province. Not only do researchers refer to these huge books frequently, but SAB participates with Information Services Corporation of Saskatchewan to identify recipients of the Century Family Farm Award. Cummins maps were published by Cummins Map Company and show the landowners by quarter-section, including postal addresses. SAB has collected the Cummins maps for 1917, 1920, 1922, 1926 and 1930. Other land records at Saskatchewan Archives Board include:

- Fiats
- Grant files (research required)
- HOME Maps
- Dept of Agriculture, Lands Branch Records
- Brand Books - can be used to locate rancher whose land was acquired by grazing lease rather than by homestead patent
- Early survey maps, showing people settled on land before the original survey (Willow Bunch).

As a whole, these records are the 'holy grail' for any historian/genealogist who wishes to delve into the pioneer history of this province. It is very exciting since this project will ultimately remove the physical limitations of conducting research with these rich records. It is envisioned that at the end of this project the Saskatchewan Archives will be able to provide these records not only to anyone in Saskatchewan who has online access but to any researcher in the world.

Also, the digitization of these records fulfills a critical preservation role as well. For each item that is digitally imaged it means that the Archives will not have to physically interfere with the original (which causes undue wear and tear) since the digital copy will serve as the reference copy. In the future state the originals can remain undisturbed in deep archival storage.

New public research hours

Please note that effective June 13, 2011, we have new hours for public service in both the Regina and Saskatoon offices of SAB: 10 am to 4 pm, Monday to Friday.

Oops!

In our zeal to get our special Rider Centennial issue to our readers, we neglected to identify the collections and call numbers of several photos.

- Page 14: T.C. Douglas with football hero, Glenn Dobbs, 1952, is from SAB collection: R-B2874-1
- Page 15: image of Glenn Dobbs with son was courtesy of the author, Gregory Beatty
- Page 16: image of Glenn Dobbs is from SAB collection: R-B 2569
- Pages 20 - 21: 1955 Grey Cup float image belongs to SAB collection: RB-1277
- Pages 24 - 25: Team shot of 1934 Regina Roughriders is from City of Regina Archives: CORA-B-436; game action photos are from SAB collection, Dick and Ada Bird fonds: R-A27624
- Back cover image of parade float is from SAB collection: R-B1190

Readings and Reminiscences: Archives Week 2011

Saskatchewan Archives Board employees took part in events during Archives Week 2011, which was sponsored by the Saskatchewan Council for Archives and Archivists (SCAA) during the first week of February.

In Regina, the main event was an annual celebrity speaking forum at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum. Focused on the theme Arts in the Archives, the evening featured presentations from a variety of writers, film-makers and other artists who have all used archival collections in their art projects. Fifty-six people participated in an evening of readings, videos, reminiscences and stories, including Brian Stockton, Wes Pearce, Margaret Hryniuk, Trevor Herriot, Richard Diener and Steve Wolfson.

In Saskatoon, Archives Week 2011 was launched at the Saskatoon Heritage Festival with the Archives Pavilion where local archives' representatives were available to answer archival questions posed to them by visitors. The theme of the festival was Art and Culture in Saskatoon: the Saskatchewan Archives' exhibit highlighted the life of artist Ernest Lindner, whose records are housed in the Archives' Saskatoon office collection. Saskatoon celebrations included the annual Spotlight on the Past: Celebrity Readings from Archives in Saskatchewan, with celebrities including Guy Vanderhaeghe reading from archival holdings. Additionally, a number of Archives Board films were featured at the annual Night at the Roxy archival film night.

The Provincial Archive

A Canadian bluegrass/folk/indie band known as The Provincial Archive partnered with Provincial Archives across the country to put on free shows in foyers, reading rooms, theatres, exhibit halls, and other local venues! Saskatchewan Archives Board sponsored two evening shows: one held May 13 at Louis' Pub at the University of Saskatchewan, and the other June 7 at The Exchange in Regina. Here, the band performs at its Saskatoon event.



The Provincial Archive performs in Saskatoon, May 2011. Photo taken by Don Charabin.



Left to right: Fred Clipsham, Wes Kopp, Bill Hutchinson and Linda McIntyre. Photo taken by Alvin Rein.

Remembrance Day 2010

The Saskatchewan Archives Board held a public Remembrance Day event at Government House in honour of Saskatchewan's veterans on Thursday, November 4, 2010. Special guest participants included Lieutenant Governor Gordon Barnhart, Minister Responsible for the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Bill Hutchinson, City Councilor Fred Clipsham and Wes Kopp, a veteran representing the Métis nation. The event included the reading of a 1916 letter to the editor of the *Saskatoon Phoenix* on why Métis were enlisting, an excerpt from an oral history relating WWI experiences, a video clip and photos from the Guinea Pig Club, as well as touching letters written by a soldier during WWII to his family in Earl Grey, Saskatchewan. Special thanks to Access Communications for filming and airing the celebration on Remembrance Day.

Offa the fatta the lan'

"Lennie watched him with wide eyes, andsaid softly, "We could live offa the fatta the lan." "Sure," said George. "All kin's a vegetables in the garden, and if we want a little whisky we can sell a few eggs or something, or some milk. We'd jus' live there. We'd belong there." John Steinbeck, *Of Mice and Men*.

The Lac du Brochet was a 45-foot motor schooner that was freighted up to Reindeer Lake in the winter of 1923-24 with twelve teams of horses. This photo is taken at some time after its 1937 renovation. Courtesy P.G. Downs Collection.



What did I know about Saskatchewan before I came here to live? I knew that Saskatchewan was the "bread basket of Canada," and had a flat landscape. The images the word "Saskatchewan" conjured in my head were of huge, golden wheat fields, and of grain elevators.

All these years later, I know that precious little of Saskatchewan is actually flat. I know that while agriculture continues as a prime industry, the land yields far more treasures than its wheat, both above and below its surface. I know that First Peoples lived off the land long before the Hudson Bay Company came here - and the profitable fur trade was perhaps the first development of creating an industry from the land here.

Eventually, a little social engineering on the part of the federal government led to a thriving period when people came here to settle - seeking to live off the land and to "belong."

In 1872, *The Dominion Lands Act* was passed to encourage settlement on Canada's prairies - at that time, Manitoba was the only prairie province; Saskatchewan and Alberta were still part of the Northwest Territories. The act provided 160 acres of "free" land (farmers paid a \$10 registration fee) to any male farmer who agreed to cultivate at least 40 acres and build a permanent dwelling within three years. Sod houses were common dwellings on the early settled prairie: life literally inside the land as well as on the land.

Starting in 1896, land settlement was advertised in the United States, eastern Canada, and overseas as "the Last Best West" (the American frontier had been declared closed in 1890) and proved so enticing that within nine years Alberta and Saskatchewan had enough population to be carved from the NWT into official provinces. All kinds of people settled here: overall about 478, 000 square kilometres of land were 'given away' by the government under *The Dominion Lands Act*.

These were the roots of Saskatchewan's agrarian society. Kathy Morrell writes in this issue about the experiences of a family of Scottish immigrants who traded one harsh environment for another. They came to homestead in 1882, and to this day the Orkney Road near Yorkton honours the Orkney Island background of its settlers. Also related to Kathy's work - in our Spring 2010 edition, we published her article on the Bronfman's activities in the Yorkton area; it was exciting to receive Cyril Leonoff's scholarly response that answered a mystery that was unexplained in Kathy's article.

By 1912, both Edward McDonald of Listowel, Ontario and Percy Gilbert, also originally from Ontario, had purchased farm land in the Fairmount, Saskatchewan area. Edward's grandson Graham MacDonald chronicles the fascinating details of their long-term (and long-distance) farming relationship. Graham's research

incorporates a cache of recently found correspondence between the men that he has graciously donated to the Saskatchewan Archives Board - the collection arrived recently to the Regina office, and will be available to the public once processed.

We are proud to publish Jon Kalmakoff's article on the Kylemore Doukhobor Colony: his highly detailed work forwards the scholarship on Doukhobor life in our province, and in Canada, and marks the first major study of this colony.

Of course, there's more to the land than agriculture - fish and furs have long been important facets of living off the land. In 1930, Canada passed *The Natural Resources Transfer Acts*, finally giving the prairie provinces jurisdiction over their crown lands and natural resources, a right they were not given when they entered Confederation earlier in the century. Once passed, these Acts rendered *The Dominion Lands Act* obsolete, since these same lands were no longer under federal jurisdiction.

Thus in Saskatchewan's north, the need for 'game guardians' to manage the rapidly growing fisheries and fur trade was recognized. Les Oustryck, himself a retired northern conservation officer, shares his incredibly detailed research - including some wonderful photos from private collections -- on one of the first game

wardens to patrol the north, an extraordinary fellow named Jim Cumines.

Beyond nourishing people with its flora and fauna, the land also nourishes the creative spirit. The land and its cycles inspired the art of renowned Saskatchewan artist Ernest Lindner - which in turn inspired archivist Nadine Charabin to delve into his life and work. It's important to note that Lindner's private papers are housed in the SAB and were extensively used by his biographer Terence Heath, who wrote, "This remarkable collection... housed now with the Archives of the province of Saskatchewan ... is one of the richest sources of information on Canadian art in the country."

We are also proud to showcase the art of photographer Everett Baker in this issue. Between 1935 and 1957, Baker traveled the province taking beautiful Kodachrome™ images on slides, photographing people, the landscape - life in Saskatchewan. I enjoyed a leisurely spring afternoon pouring over a collection of his slides in the Archives, selecting a number that illustrated "the fatta the lan."

Food, fish and furs - and more: we hope you enjoy this diverse look at some of the myriad ways Saskatchewan people have lived off the land in our history.

There are always more stories to tell.

Myrna Williams, Editor

Letter resolves historical question

I have read with appreciative interest the article “The Bronfman Family and the Yorkton Courts” in the Spring 2010 issue of *Saskatchewan History* and commend the author, Kathy Morrell, for her research on this long-forgotten episode of the Bronfman saga during the Prohibition period. Having known some of the circumstances and participants at closer hand, please allow me to add a corollary, which may serve to provide more context and lore to this paper. In the editor’s foreword (p.6) you credit the Bronfmans for their “innovative entrepreneurial spirit in the face of Prohibition,” and the author concludes (p.40): “The market was lucrative and it fell to the Bronfmans to take advantage of that market.” Perhaps so. Yet there were equally adept participants who helped the Bronfmans on their noteworthy (some say notorious) way to fame and fortune.

Within the text of the paper (p.18) under the title “Purchase and Installation of the Plant,” the author refers to a “Philip Bronfman” or “Brotman,” but there is some confusion as to who this person was and as to his role in the Bronfman enterprise. I am a nephew of Philip Brotman who was my mother’s brother. The

Brotman (Yiddish bread-man) and Bronfman (liquor-man) families were not kin, but they were among the group of 1889-1892 immigrants who homesteaded the Jewish colony northeast of Wapella, Saskatchewan. The patriarch, Edel Brotman, is noteworthy because he had trained in a theological seminary in his native Galicia and served sixteen years as rabbi of the Wapella Hebrew Congregation—the first rabbi in Saskatchewan history. Unlike the Bronfman family, who did not fulfill their homestead duties and soon departed to take up the hotel and associated liquor business, Brotman and his three oldest sons obtained homesteads and farmed their section of land for two decades.

Nevertheless, Philip Brotman, the third and most entrepreneurial of the sons, eventually wearied of the long hours and low returns of farm life and came to Winnipeg where, by 1907, he established a profitable wholesale and retail liquor business. Prohibition in Manitoba in 1916 shut down this business, so that enterprising men, like Phil, looked for a way to earn a living around these unpopular and unworkable government restrictions. He was the first to invent an

alcohol-based medicated wine. Along with a younger brother, Moses (Moe) Brotman, born on the family farm, who had served in the British Royal Flying Corps during World War I, Brotman Brothers built a bottling plant on Notre Dame Avenue in Winnipeg and became wholesale manufacturers of medicines they labelled YUMA ORA ZABA INVALID PORT and NAMTORB (Brotman spelled backwards) SANITAS HEALTH TONIC. Soon these products filled every pharmacy in town—legally.

It was no happenstance that Phil Brotman would tip off his peer and boyhood friend, Harry Bronfman, about this venture. After all, Harry had all these Saskatchewan outlets! At this stage, while Sam may have been the hustler, it was the senior brother, Harry, who was the kingpin respected by his contemporaries as “the brains” of the Bronfman prairie liquor operations. Consequently, Harry and his brother-in-law Barney Aaron went into business with Brotman and, for a time, sold all the medicated wine the latter could produce—again entirely within the law—until the Saskatchewan government banned the operation. As a result, it was Phil Brotman, a man experienced in both the liquor and bottling business, who the Bronfmans engaged to assist them in finding a blending plant for their Yorkton facility that would become the subject of the present paper.

In the sequel to this story, what happened with these Brotman brothers? As a relative, it is sad for me to tell that they became neither as famous nor as rich as the Bronfman brothers. Yet they lived long and productive lives. When their prairie operations shut down, Philip and Moe moved to Vancouver in the early 1920s where they continued in the liquor business. Phil spent the remainder of his life in liquor sales. In Vancouver he was associated with United Distillers Ltd. and Consolidated [Liquor] Distributors Ltd. During the Great Depression, Philip Brotman moved to Los Angeles, California where, after Prohibition, he operated a private retail liquor store until his death there at the age of eighty-eight. Sam Bronfman had the knack for staffing his operations with friends and relatives—people he could trust. When Sam opened warehouses in Alberta and British Columbia he employed Moe Brotman (a peer) along with a Bronfman brother-in-law, Harry Druxerman, to handle these operations—first in Calgary then in Vancouver. In 1936 Moe Brotman moved to San Francisco, California to head Seagram’s Pacific Division into World War II. He died in 1966 at Sausalito, CA at the age off seventy-five.

Yours sincerely,

Cyril Edel Leonoff, Historian Emeritus,
The Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia



Philip Brotman's liquor store with wife Ray at the counter, corner Adams and Crenshaw streets, Los Angeles, CA, ca. 1955. Courtesy of the author.

Rider reviews spark response

It was with considerable interest and pleasure that I read your review of my first book, *West Riders Best*, in the Saskatchewan Roughriders centennial edition of *Saskatchewan History* magazine. Please allow me to express my appreciation for the kind words of reviewer Richard Hall, who perfectly described the essence of what I was trying to accomplish by writing an extended retrospective on the 1966 Roughriders — the first Grey Cup-winning team in franchise history.

Early in the research stage, it occurred to me that although I was ostensibly writing a football book, some issues surrounding the team and the players transcended sport. I was, after all, writing about the 1960s — a tumultuous era — and matters not pertaining directly to football were often raised as I endeavoured to chronicle the life stories of many of the principals involved with the 1966 Roughriders.

During the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, for example, Roughriders defensive lineman Garner Ekstran — a member of the National Guard — was on 48-hour notice for deployment. Had United States President John F. Kennedy failed to negotiate a resolution to the crisis, Ekstran would have left the team in October and reported for duty in the United States.

When President Kennedy was assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963, the Roughriders were preparing for a playoff game against the B.C. Lions. The Roughriders were on a bus, touring Grouse Mountain, when news broke of the shooting in Dallas.

The Vietnam War was a dominant topic during the 1960s, and the Roughriders were at times affected. Defensive back Bob Kosid had been wooed by the American Football League's Oakland Raiders — his favourite team — after graduating from the University of

Kentucky in 1964, but he figured that the likelihood of being drafted and sent to Vietnam would be significantly reduced if he played pro football in Canada. That wasn't the sole reason why he played in Canada, but it did factor into his decision to a small extent.

Another member of the 1966 Roughriders — defensive lineman Don Gerhardt — was declared medically ineligible to serve in Vietnam due to elevated blood pressure. Yet, he was healthy enough to excel for Saskatchewan in the 1966 Grey Cup. And then there was Ron Lancaster, whose younger brother Bill served in Vietnam. The Roughriders quarterback arranged for copies of the *Leader-Post* to be sent to Vietnam so that Bill could follow his brother and his team.

But the dominant non-football story of the 1960s pertained to racism. A significant portion of a chapter was dedicated to episodes of racism which defensive lineman Ed McQuarters — one of three black players on the 1966 Roughriders — encountered while with the NFL's St. Louis Cardinals. In addition, Chapter 25 was entirely devoted to legendary fullback George Reed's sentiments on racism in the 1960s.

Reed was candid about what he perceived to be a racist attitude toward black players on the part of some Regina citizens at the time. The comments, originally published in the *Toronto Telegram* and the *Leader-Post* in 1967, were controversial. At this end, there was considerable debate as to whether to revisit this issue.

More than once, Chapter 25 was in jeopardy of being excised from the book. I wondered, as did publisher Dan Marce of PrintWest, whether the chapter was tangential. But, over time, it emerged as an essential element of the book. After all, I was writing about the 1960s, during which the

civil rights movement was often front and centre.

Reed was interviewed about the topic for *West Riders Best*, and the strength of his sentiments regarding what he perceived as a racist attitude in the 1960s had not waned over time. "I'm not blaming the city today," Reed emphasized. "I'm saying the way it was and I'm happy to say that things have progressed for the better."

Nonetheless, I did wonder how Chapter 25 would be perceived once *West Riders Best* was printed. Would people view it as inflammatory or unnecessary? Did it veer too much from the topic of the 1966 Roughriders?

I didn't think so. In fact, I thought it was (in all immodesty) the strongest chapter in the book, because it helped me realize my objective of writing a book that was a story of the times.

With that in mind, imagine how gratifying it was to read Richard Hall's review, in which he referenced Chapter 25. I was pleased that he found the chapter to be a valuable component of the book and, I must admit, relieved that the entire project was not panned.

West Riders Best was my first book — I often refer to it as "my baby" — and I hoped that it would be positively received outside of my immediate family.

Please accept my sincere thanks for that review, and for Sara Toth's flattering appraisal of a history book to which I contributed — *Saskatchewan Roughriders: First 100 Years*.

My congratulations as well on a superb centennial project. I also look forward to your 200th-anniversary retrospective on the Roughriders!

Cheers,

Rob Vanstone, author of *West Riders Best* and sports editor for the *Leader-Post*.

The Kylemore Doukhobor Colony

By Jonathan J. Kalmakoff

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.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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."⁴

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.⁵ Under this plan, grain grown by Doukhobors on the Prairies would be exchanged for fruit and timber produced by Doukhobor settlements in British Columbia.⁶ 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.⁷ In order to carry out this strategy, however, it was necessary for the CCUB to acquire additional wheat-growing land on the Prairies.⁸

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 1918.⁹ The land was acquired in three transactions. First, the CCUB leased 640 acres of Hudson's Bay Company land on April 1, 1918.¹⁰ The CCUB then leased an additional 109 acres of land from the Department of the Interior.¹¹ 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 \$265,343.00.¹²

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.¹³ For this reason, the CCUB acquired the land for substantially less than developed agricultural land in other areas.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ There would be a settlement of families on each section.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ Temporary tent camps were set up on Section 10 for their accommodation.²⁰ 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.²¹

Land-clearing and breaking began at the northern end of the colony along the Canadian National Railway and slowly advanced to the southern end.²² 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.²³ After, workers came with teams of horses and steam engines to pull out the roots and break the land with the plough.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

Doukhobor work crews constructed eight additional villages on Sections 6, 7, 9, 10, 31 and 33, approximately two per year, from 1919 to 1924.²⁸ 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.²⁹ The exceptions were two villages on Sections 9 and 31 that had twin structures.³⁰ These multi-family communal doms (dwellings) were constructed using timber shipped from the CCUB sawmills in the Kootenays.³¹ Six were clad in brick supplied from the CCUB brickworks at Veregin.³² The remainder had cedar shake siding shipped from the Kootenay settlements.³³ Each had a hip roof and verandah clad with cedar shakes.³⁴ 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

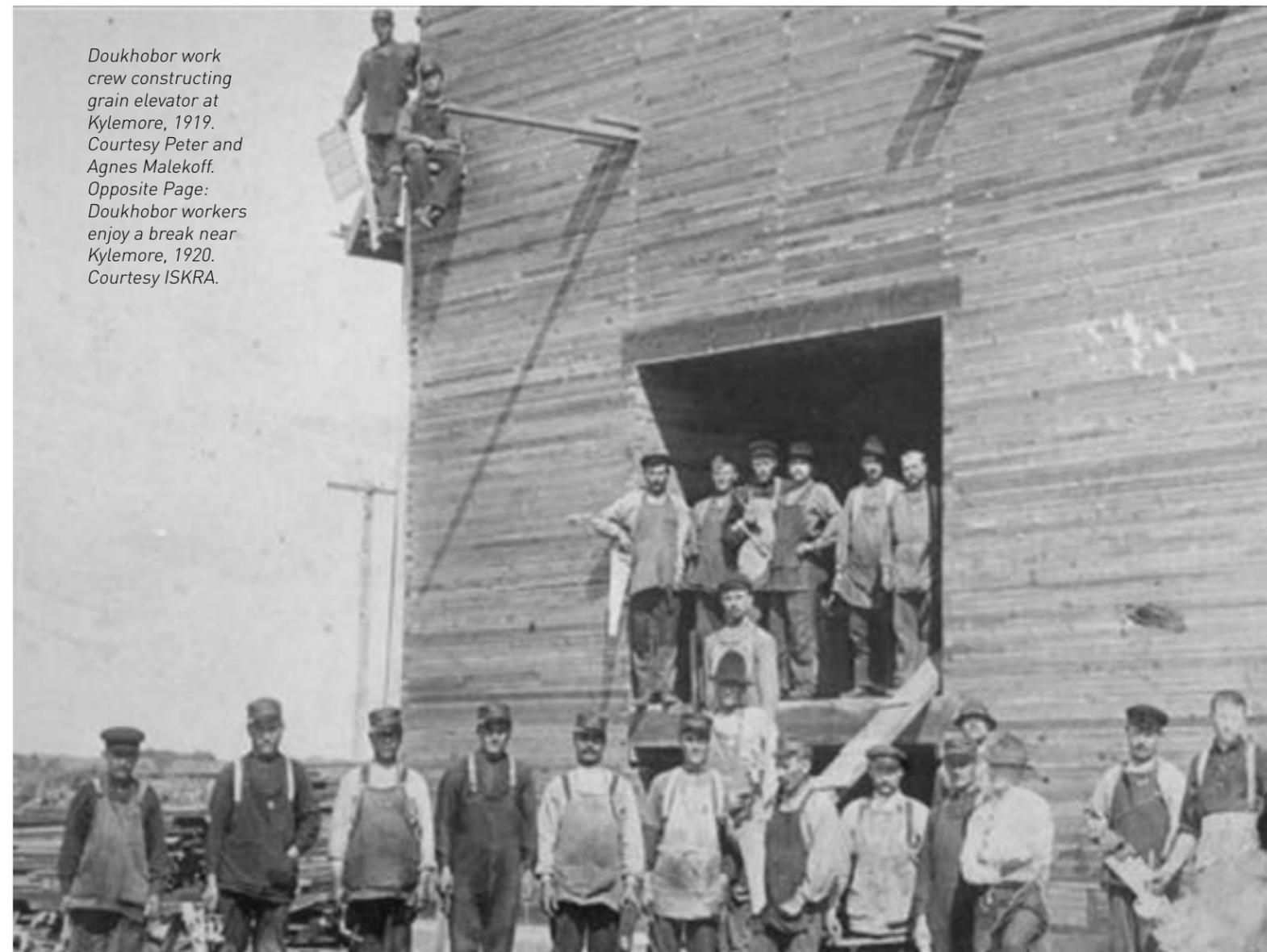
(bath-house) and peche (clay oven).³⁵ At least two villages had large ledniks (ice cellars) dug for cold storage.³⁶ Each had a large garden plot for growing vegetables and fruit.

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 1918.³⁷ 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.³⁸ According to oral tradition, each family was hand-picked by Peter V. Verigin to help develop the colony.³⁹

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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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 1918.⁴² 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 1922.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸ No villages were constructed there; however, single-family dwellings were built on Sections 18 and 27 to house four families permanently stationed there.⁴⁹ Other families were rotated from Kylemore to Kelvington on a temporary basis over summer to tend horses, during which time they lived in tents.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹ All the villages in the colony were organized as one commune.⁵²

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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ Major decisions affecting the colony were introduced at a sobraniye (general meeting) of all members where everyone could have a voice.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰

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.⁶¹ 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.⁶² Later in summer, haying and stooking was performed by both men and women.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

A mainstay of spiritual life in the colony was the molniye (prayer meeting) held each Sunday. According to oral tradition, each village initially conducted its own molniye; however, over time, a number of villages joined together for this occasion.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

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.⁷¹ 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.⁷²

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.⁷³ During this same period, the dom at another village on Section 9 also burned to the ground.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶ For example, the construction of village buildings to replace those that had burnt on Section 9 was suspended.⁷⁷ 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 1925.⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹ This meant that everything owned by the CCUB would now be encumbered with debt, including the lands of the Kylemore Colony.⁸⁰

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



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.⁸¹

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.⁸² 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.⁸³

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'.⁸⁴

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

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.⁸⁹ 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 1928.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ 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.⁹² Seven new villages were built for Families on Sections 2, 3, 5, 32-35.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ 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 \$13,000.00.⁹⁵ 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 \$16,264.60.⁹⁶ Also, the balance owing on the 10,613 acres purchased from the Fishing Lake Land and Farm Co. Ltd. was paid in full.⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ 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. Antifaeff, Mike W. and Wasyl W. Bloodoff, George F. and John F. Kazakoff, Nick W. Pepin, Wasyl L. Shukin and Wasyl A. Juravloff.⁹⁹

Statistical data from 1931 illustrates the extent of CCUB property in the Kylemore Colony at this time.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³

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.¹⁰⁴ By December of 1930, there were 150 male and 148 female members of the Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada from Kylemore.¹⁰⁵

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.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ By 1936, Doukhobor student enrollment increased to such an extent that a second school was opened at the south end of the colony.¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰

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 Veregin, Saskatchewan.¹¹¹ A similar announcement was made in April of 1935.¹¹² Later that month, some Saskatchewan members of the CCUB were served with notices to vacate their villages and lands.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴

Reputedly several offers to purchase the Kylemore lands were made to the CCUB central office in Brilliant, British Columbia;¹¹⁵ however, no sale ever materialized. Nevertheless, in April of 1936, the Saskatchewan branch of the CCUB sold the elevator at Kylemore to James Richardson.¹¹⁶ The CCUB trading store in Kylemore was closed later that year.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ The following year, in 1938, the National Trust Company foreclosed on its mortgage over the CCUB lands and chattels in Kylemore, Kelvington and elsewhere.¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰ Numerous others followed the move to British Columbia during the War Years (1939-1945) to avoid the military call-up.¹²¹ Still others decided to abandon their old way of life altogether, take their few possessions and depart into the world unknown.¹²²

Approximately a third of the Kylemore Doukhobors chose to repurchase their lands from the National Trust Company in 1938 under agreements for sale.¹²³ Payment was made on a one-third crop share basis, as the Doukhobors had little or no cash.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵

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.¹²⁶

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

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.



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.

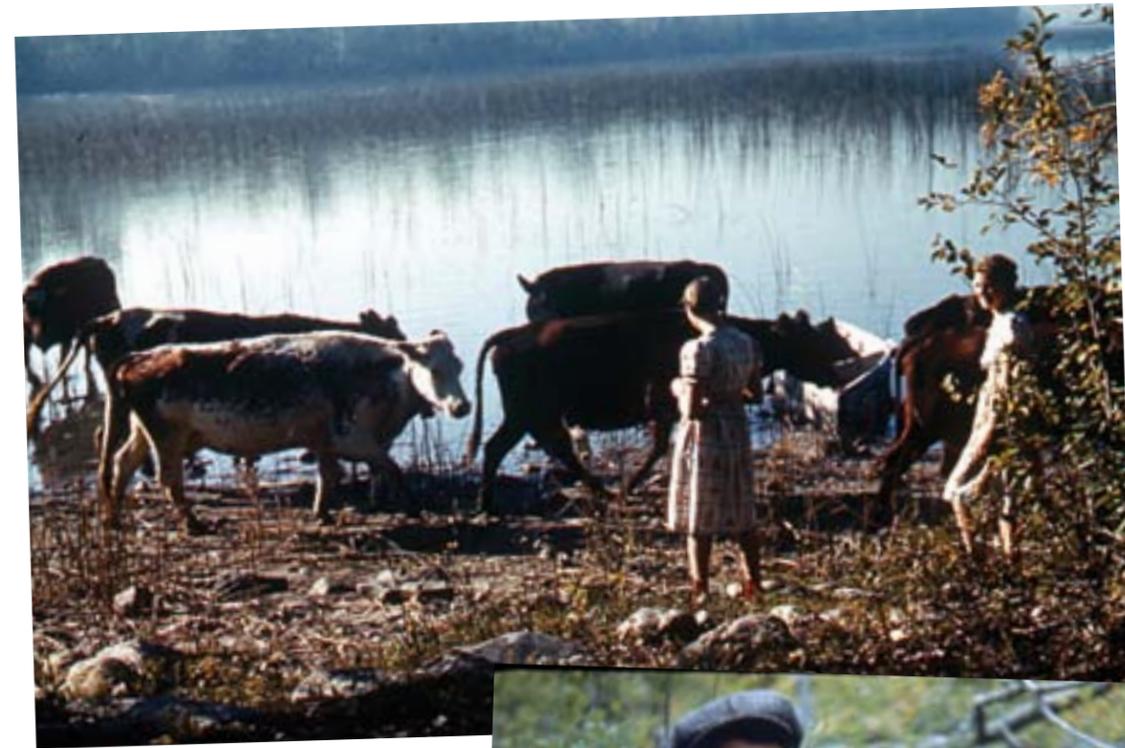
CONCLUSION

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 past¹²⁷ while at least two smaller village dwellings can be found nearby.¹²⁸ The concrete foundations of other village doms, barns and reservoirs dot the surrounding countryside.¹²⁹ 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.¹³⁰

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.

Jonathan J. Kalmakoff has Bachelor degrees in Political Studies and Law from the University of Saskatchewan. He is a lawyer in Regina as well as a local and family historian whose work on Doukhobor names and naming practices, place names and historical maps, and Russian archival records have become standard reference works for Doukhobor genealogists. Visit Jon's Doukhobor Genealogy Website at: www.doukhobor.org.



Top: Marjorie and Joyce Hare, Loon Lake, 1940. SAB 2009-702-41.

Center: Aboriginal boys picking cranberries, Loon Lake, 1944. SAB 2009-702-191.

Bottom: John Pinchbeck holding plums at the Mental Hospital at North Battleford, 1944. SAB 2009-702-13.

MEMORIES IN KODACHROME™

Between 1935 and his retirement in 1957, American-born Everett Baker worked as a "field man" for the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. During these years, he traveled the province taking beautiful Kodachrome™ images on slides, photographing people and the landscape - life in Saskatchewan. The resulting collection is, as CBC's Shelagh Rogers suggested, a treasure trove of "social documentary photography."



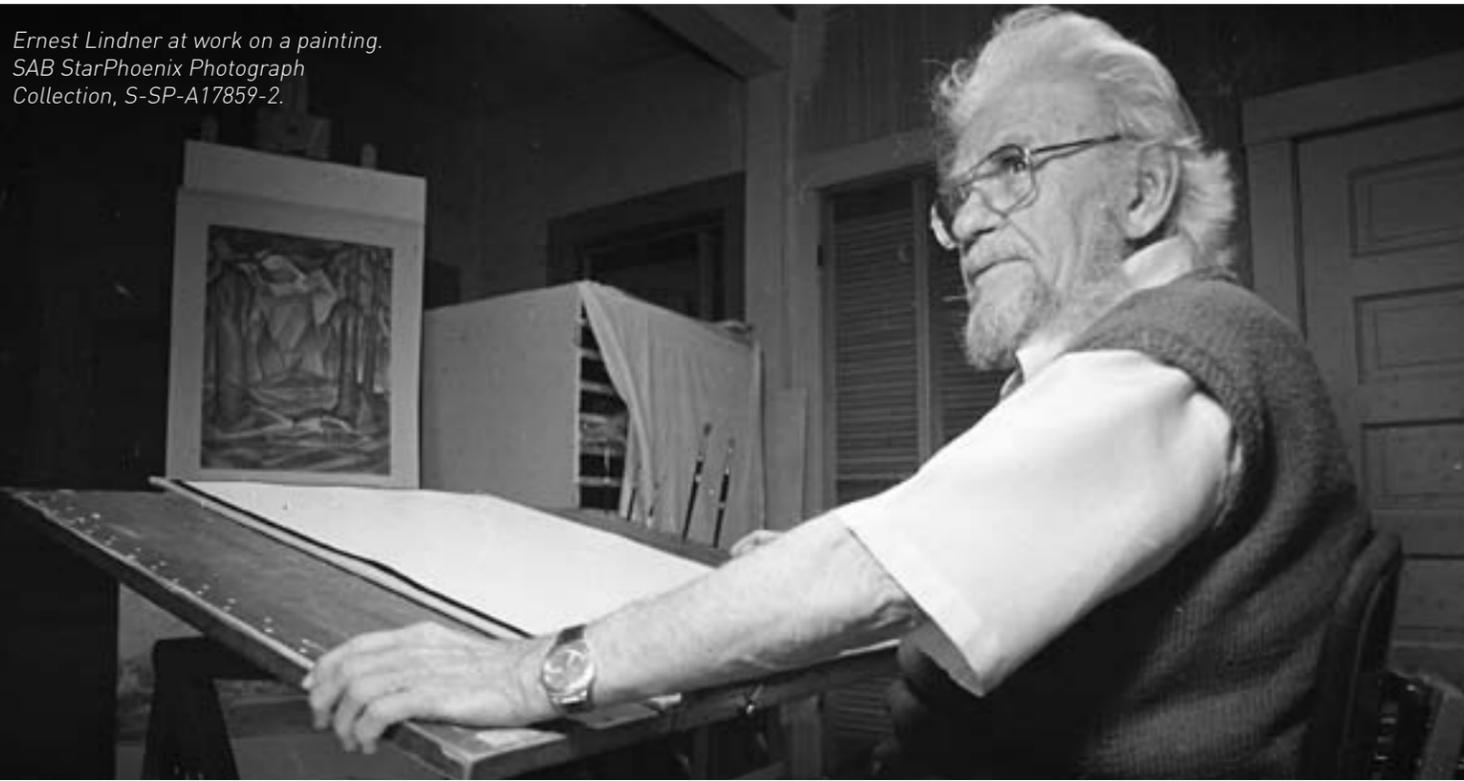
Throughout this issue you will enjoy a selection of Baker images from the collection of the Saskatchewan Archives Board. Moreover, the Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society, where Baker served as first president in 1957, preserves a collection of 11,000 of his slides.

Those interested in knowing more about Baker's work are welcomed to view his work preserved by both institutions, and should check out Saskatchewan historian Bill Waiser's 2007 book, *Everett Baker's Saskatchewan: Portraits of an Era*. There's also a series of short vignettes of his work set to music by Saskatchewan production house 3rd Eye Media Production, available on DVD.

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

By Nadine Charabin

Ernest Lindner at work on a painting.
SAB StarPhoenix Photograph
Collection, S-SP-A17859-2.



Ernest Lindner was born into an old-world family in nineteenth century Europe, but he had modern sensibilities, which eventually formed into a fascinating personal philosophy that imbued his work as an artist. Finding it difficult to settle into a satisfying career or family life in his native Austria, Lindner found new purpose as an artist and art educator in an under-developed cultural landscape, after immigrating to Saskatchewan in the mid-twenties. At the same time, heavily influenced by his close-up examination of the natural world in the northern Saskatchewan forest – which became his true home and which featured prominently in his artistic expression – Lindner developed his own belief system which postulated that life was about continuity, and that there was no death – only change.

ERNEST LINDNER'S LIFE

Ernest Lindner was born on 1 May 1897 in Vienna, Austria. Ernest – later known as Ernie – was the youngest of thirteen children, nine of whom were still living at the time of his birth. His father was a master wood-turner and carver who began operation of his business out of small quarters but eventually

expanded into a large factory producing canes, and umbrella and parasol handles.¹ Ernie's mother was occupied running a large household, and his older siblings were grown up and involved in school and business, so Ernie was put in the care of the family nanny.

Left to his own devices while his busy family took care of its affairs, Ernie remembered his childhood as that of a lonely, sickly child who caught all the current diseases and spent much of his time daydreaming.² However, this combination of factors appears to have laid an early foundation for Lindner's interest in art. According to Lindner's biographer, Terrence Heath:

Two memories [stood] out to him as important to his later career as an artist. At the age of seven, he contracted diphtheria and became very ill. He was confined to bed for three months and on one occasion the family began prayers for the dying over his bed. But he recovered, slowly, and to fill in the time during his recuperation, he began to draw and paint. It [was] his earliest memory of any interest in art. The other memory is of the illustrations in the family Bible, which he spent hours looking at on Sunday afternoons when other activities were forbidden. The illustrator was the famous Auguste Doré, whose dramatic, detailed scenes of Biblical events were for

*Protestants of all persuasions almost as familiar as the text itself.*³

Ernie found himself absorbed in the romantic melodrama of the Doré illustrations, a young boy demonstrating more of an interest in the art than in the scripture that was being depicted in the art.

Despite his upbringing, Lindner showed signs of being an independent thinker from an early age. Ernie was brought up in a strictly religious family. His father had undergone a religious conversion while serving as a journeyman in England and had adopted the creeds of the English Irwinites – a fundamentalist Protestant sect awaiting the end of the world.⁴ However, even as a young child, Ernie sought opportunities to escape the strict religious guidelines and restraints of family life. He was occasionally sent to visit his eldest sister who lived on the outskirts of Vienna, and who had a son who was just a year younger than he was. During those visits, and during family holidays at a rented farmhouse, the two boys explored the forest for days on end, and Ernie relished both the freedom he found in nature, as well as personal freedom from the usual family restrictions.⁵ The differences between his belief system and that of his family only intensified over time:

*As he matured intellectually, he found his family's religious tenets too rigid and confining. He went to a Catholic school and associated with school friends who were not of his family's religious persuasion. He knew many people in Vienna did not take religion as seriously as his family took it. And while he was always to retain a respect for the manner in which his father in particular lived his faith, Ernie himself found in his early teens that he could not embrace it himself.*⁶

Even as a young teenager, Ernie showed that he was keen to explore the world and develop his own philosophy of life.

Those excursions to his nephew's house and the summers in the woods stirred Lindner's interest in nature, in being outdoors, and in animals – interests which would become passions, and which would eventually influence his work as an artist. These interests also resulted in Ernie's first serious run-in with his father. While his father was pushing him towards a career in architecture or contracting, Ernie wanted to go into forestry and become a game warden. Ernie's career choice would not have required him to continue his education in the academic stream, but his father forced him to go on to senior high school and to study subjects for which he had limited capacity. Ernie resisted and threatened to fail; he skipped classes and wiled away his time. His father held firm, and pushed him to complete his education.⁷ Still, on weekends, Ernie would go out with his school friends on excursions into the forest or the mountains, where he could escape the confines of city life, and where "there was always something to see and something to observe."⁸

While Ernie was battling his father, Austria and the Austro-Hungarian Empire became embroiled in the Great War of 1914–1918. When he was old enough, in 1915, Ernie volunteered for the Austrian army. Given his love of the outdoors, it is no surprise that he joined a Kaiserschuetzen – a mountain regiment. The early periods of his military career were spent training and commanding a ski detachment in the high Alps, which he found rather enjoyable.⁹ Things became more serious and dangerous when his unit came to the front, and Lindner himself was shot and wounded in the leg,

for which he received a medal of honour. In 1918, he applied and received a transfer to the Air Force, where he served until near the end of the war. Having served at the front for at least nine months, and having been granted his Senior Matriculation during the war, Ernie was able to apply for leave to attend university, which he did.¹⁰ Despite the demands and the danger of war, Lindner's active service allowed him to discover life outside the small conclave of his family and its factory, and it gave him an opportunity to explore what he wanted to do next.

The post-war years was a turbulent time in Austria and across Europe, and it was also a turbulent time in Ernie's life. His mother died in the autumn of 1918, and his father died eight months later, leaving the family business in the hands of Ernie's eldest brother, Emmanuel. Back in Vienna, Ernie enrolled in agriculture at the university, but his studies were short-lived.¹¹ He continued to sketch in pen and ink in his spare time, but as a pastime rather than an occupation; his applications for work as a commercial artist were unsuccessful. For two years, Ernie worked in the family factory, designing carved umbrella and parasol handles for production, which earned him some recognition from his siblings. Still, he had a tense relationship with his eldest brother who was operating the family business, so he decided to leave the factory and the restrictive family constraints once again. He found work as a foreign correspondent with the Union Bank of Vienna – despite his limited fluency in French and Italian – where he worked from 1920 to 1924. He fell in love with a young Catholic woman and was set to marry her, but his family interceded and the woman married another suitor. On the rebound, he married the

sister of a friend, named Hertha Liebenberger, in 1922, and they had a child named Herbert in 1923. Unfortunately they fought constantly, so the marriage was not a happy one. Ernie attempted to purchase a hotel that he hoped to turn into a sports hotel in the Austrian countryside, thinking that he could get away from the city and once again escape into nature, but the deal fell through. He went into the candy-making business with his brother, Paul, but runaway inflation in the late 1920s and the competitive nature of the chocolate business doomed the venture. With the company on the verge of bankruptcy (which was a felony at the time in Austria), and his marriage all but disintegrated, Ernie made the decision to flee the country and emigrate to Canada in the spring of 1926.¹²

At this time, Canada was willing to accept immigrants provided they were willing to enter the country as a farm laborer. So, despite a lack of experience doing any kind of hard, physical labour, Lindner made the voyage from Antwerp to St. John, New Brunswick from April 3 and 18, 1926, and went on to Saskatchewan by train.¹³ He worked as a farm hand for a few years, at first finding the work grueling, and finding his inability to speak English a difficult barrier.¹⁴ However, in the late fall of 1926, he

started spending his winters living in residence at Luther College in Saskatoon, where he studied English, rested, socialized with other young people, and continued the drawing and painting that he had enjoyed since he was an adolescent and which helped bridge the gap he felt between himself and the people he met. He did portraits and drawings of students who would sit for him, and was happy to help create posters or signs when asked.¹⁵

In 1927, Lindner met August Kenderine, the artist-in-residence at the University of Saskatchewan, who encouraged Ernest to take some art classes and to think of art as a potential career.¹⁶ Lindner tried his hand at freelance commercial art, but found that he could not make a living in this way in Saskatoon any more than he had been able to in Austria. However, in 1931, he applied to teach art at the Saskatoon Technical College, where he was employed as an instructor until his retirement in 1962. He began by teaching night classes to adults, but by 1935 he had received a full-time appointment as a day teacher for regular high school students. Without formal teacher training, it took some trial and error and

some careful tailoring of course content before Ernie felt that he was teaching successful classes that were of both interest and use to first his adult students, and subsequently, to his high school students.¹⁷ Lindner estimated that he taught about 5000 students during his teaching career. Looking back some years later, he mused:

There were many talented students, but the students who had enough drive and purpose to really go for it in art were very limited. I would say at best about half a dozen each year. But I feel that the rest of the students developed a friendly attitude towards art, and became an appreciative public, which is just as necessary to art.¹⁸

In 1935, Lindner was invited by the Prince Albert School Board to give demonstration art lessons in public schools during the months of May and June, and this opportunity introduced some exciting and welcome changes to Ernie's life. Ernie was introduced to the Saskatchewan North, which helped him rediscover the primeval forest that he enthusiastically began to depict in paintings. He also met Bodil Brostrom-von Degen, who was one of his evening art students in Prince Albert. Ernie and Bodil spent an enchanted summer of '35 together, living and painting in the

forest. In early autumn, Ernie and Bodil were married.

Bodil Brostrom-von Degen is described by Terrence Heath as a rather mysterious, aloof person who was distinct because of her Danish background and European ways, but who also seemed to react and think differently from her friends and peers.¹⁹ She was interested in mystical experiences, and attempted to live a life of spirit and intuition. She was most comfortable in the woods, where she became a part of her surroundings, and where wild animals seemed to accept her readily. Although she had little formal training, Bodil was also a talented artist. Given Ernie's attraction to nature, and his own search for mystic significance in life and in his relations with women, it is no surprise that the two came together quickly and with passion.²⁰

Ernie and Bodil's life quickly fell into a pattern that persisted for over a decade. They spent most of the year living in Saskatoon while Ernest taught at the Collegiate, but escaped to the Saskatchewan North every summer. Early in their marriage, they built a cabin on a leased island at Emma Lake, which they called Fairy Isle and which finally felt like 'home' to Ernie:

Coming up to the island into that untouched territory was the first time that I really began to feel at home in Canada. It was the place I apparently wanted to get to all my life, particularly when I was in high school and wanted to go into forestry and my father wouldn't let me.²¹

The natural attributes of the island provided Lindner with abundant subject matter for his artwork.²²

By the early forties, the Lindner's marriage ran into difficulty. Bodil became subject to periods of profound depression. Temporary relief came in 1943 when the couple had a daughter,

Degen. However, according to Heath, Bodil's relief from the depression was short-lived.

Neither Ernie nor Bodil understood what was happening. Ernie reacted by desperately trying to hold everything together, as if the containment of the problem would offer a solution. Bodil abandoned herself more and more to her spiritualist leanings and immersed herself in a world of psychic experiences.²³

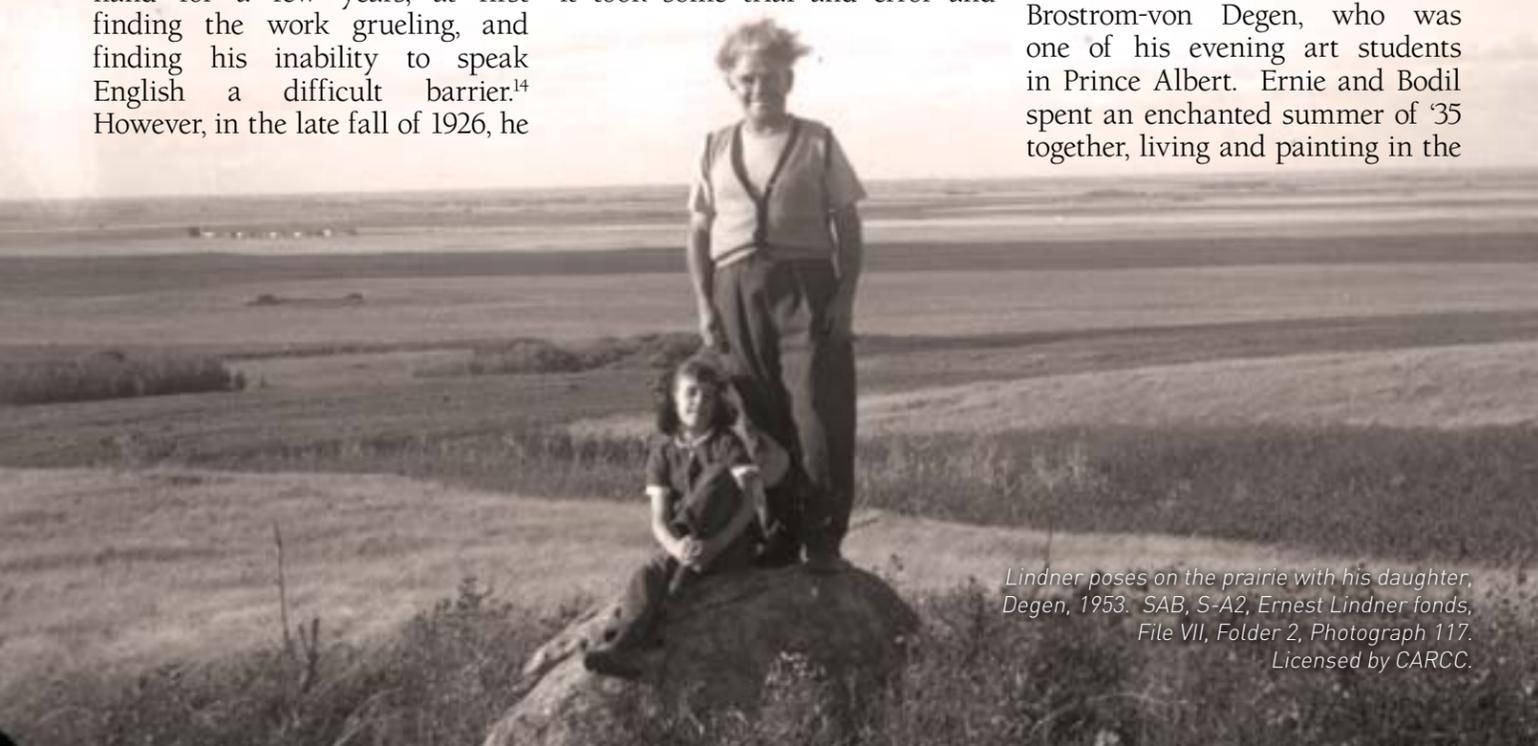
In addition, some issues in their physical relationship and the fourteen-year difference in their ages added strain.²⁴ After having been married for eleven years, Ernie and Bodil's marriage broke down in 1946. Bodil left the family, after which three year old Degen was raised by her father.²⁵ Losing his wife and becoming a single father was a terribly difficult time in Lindner's life, but it also resulted in the development of a very tight bond between father and daughter. True to her roots, Degen also became an artist and continues to live in Saskatoon.

Despite the demands of married life, fatherhood, and a full-time teaching position, Ernie continued to develop as an artist. In a letter to Group of Seven painter, Lawren Harris, he described himself as a "week-end artist". He had to work quickly if he hoped to complete projects, which forced him to temporarily abandon oil painting and take up painting in watercolour, which was cheaper and faster to work with. According to Heath, this was a fortuitous circumstance because his work in watercolour also advanced the development of his artistic talent.²⁶ By 1931, Lindner had won local recognition as an artist and his paintings were selling well locally, and he was exhibiting his work across Canada by 1933. Also during the thirties, Ernie started doing lino-cutting as part of his teaching,

and brought his printmaking to a high level of craftsmanship, receiving national and international attention for his creations.²⁷

Teaching at the Saskatoon Technical Collegiate allowed Lindner to interest young people in art. He made a point of mentoring particularly promising young artists, and spent much of his spare time giving these students special instruction and endeavouring to help them develop deep philosophic roots - something he deemed necessary in order to become an artist of stature.²⁸ He was known in Saskatoon for his weekly get-togethers - the "Saturday Nights" - which gave his more gifted students and other local artists an opportunity to share their work, ideas and company with other artists, as well as with interesting individuals from various walks of life.

The "Saturday Nights" developed in the early thirties, when a group of young professors began meeting regularly for supper, after which they returned to their residence and had intense and animated discussions on philosophic, scientific, religious and artistic topics. The original group included Professor Spinks from Chemistry (and later president of the University of Saskatchewan), Professor David from French, Professor Steinhauer from German, Professor Bently from English, and Professor Saunders from Biology. Ernie Lindner was an early addition to the core group, which over time grew to include all manner of people from the press, the cooperative movement, school teachers, visiting dignitaries, and artists and professionals from other disciplines, such as music teacher Lyle Gustin and librarian Angus Mowat - father of Farley Mowat.²⁹ Ernie inherited the Saturday Nights and moved them to his home, and he kept them going for thirty years. He explained their value in later reminiscences:



Lindner poses on the prairie with his daughter, Degen, 1953. SAB, S-A2, Ernest Lindner fonds, File VII, Folder 2, Photograph 117. Licensed by CARCC.



The "Saturday Night Gang" at Ernest Lindner's residence in the London Block, 1937. From top left: Ted Pulford, Bodil Lindner, Ernest, Dr. Leslie Saunders, Robert Hurley, Toni Morgan, MacGregor Hone. Photograph PH 88 925 courtesy Saskatoon Public Library – Local History Room.

These Saturday Nights were very important for my students and for myself. I didn't have time for social activities. I didn't have time to go and visit a lot of people, so by having the Saturday nights where anybody could drop in for some coffee and doughnuts I could keep in contact with the number of people. My students had a chance of meeting adults and well-educated people like the university professors on equal terms and they were able to be at a place where they could express opinion without being put down, which happened to most of them at home. I know that from the account of former students and so on how very important these evenings had been. In some ways I really believe that the Saturday nights were my greatest contribution to the development of art interest in Saskatoon and also my greatest contribution to my specially [sic] interested art students.³⁰

The Saturday nights flourished in the thirties and forties, but were less well attended after the Second World War. In the fifties, Ernie made a point of inviting foreign students, and in the sixties the discussion moved in the direction of world affairs and culture. Ernie saw the weekly discussions as a microcosm of an enlightened, democratic society, where young and old met as equals to voice their own opinion; others vividly remembered the feeling of belonging to an exciting group of people.³¹

In addition to this very personal contribution to the development of individual artistic

talent in Saskatoon, Lindner also contributed to the organization of art groups in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan and Canada. He chaired the move to reorganize the Saskatoon Art Association, which ultimately resulted in the creation of Saskatoon's first permanent art exhibition space, in the first western Canadian art exhibition in 1940, and in the creation of a western Canada art circuit, remarkable achievements for a city the size of Saskatoon at this time.³² He was a delegate at the founding conference of the Federation of Canadian Artists, took up the cause of the national organization locally, and supported the development

of national art in Canada.³³ He was chairman of the organizing committee for the establishment of the Saskatchewan Arts Board.³⁴ Where, one might ask, did he find time to create his own art, when so much of his time was spent developing the art scene locally and nationally? Ernie himself explained his priorities:

I feel my contribution has been in creating a climate sympathetic to art education . . . and to my students I think I have contributed by opening up a new world for them . . . I have been involved in practically every art movement in Saskatchewan. . . . All of

those things took a great deal of time. But I felt that it was more important in Saskatchewan at that time to have somebody who organizes people, so that future young people will have a chance of becoming artists rather than having one artist maybe, doing some work.³⁵

At that time and in that place, Ernie felt that his best contribution would be to develop an environment that supported art and art education.

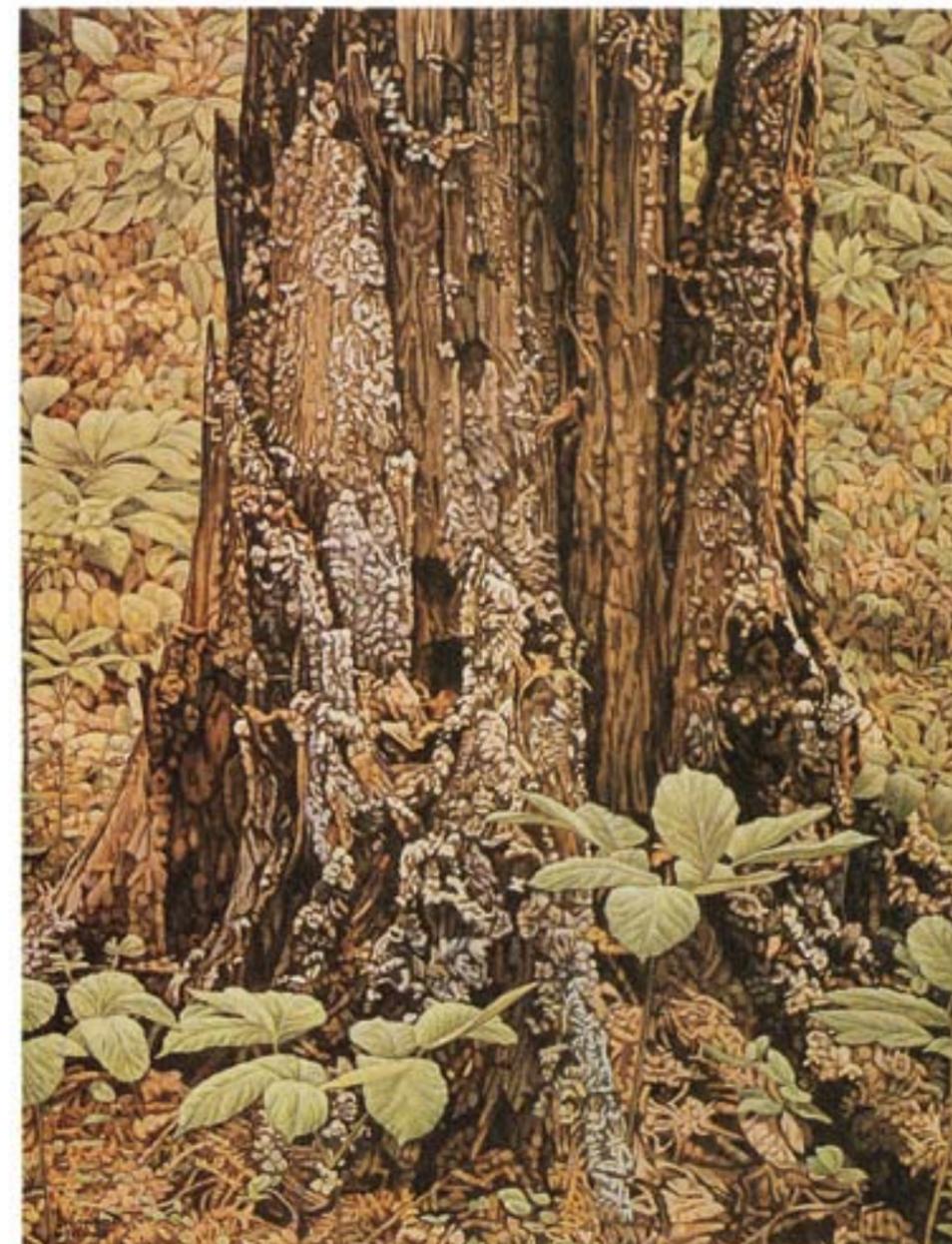
It was only after his retirement as an art teacher that Lindner considered art to be his full time career, and it was in his later years that his contribution to art in Saskatchewan and Canada was widely recognized. In an introduction to a 1983 exhibit entitled "Lindner's Forest" shown at the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon, Lindner biographer Terrence Heath suggests:

Most persons of sixty are looking forward to retirement as an end to their working life and a beginning of a time of leisure and relaxation; Ernie stood at the beginning of his career as a full-time working artist. If the painting he began in the late fifties had not been done, he would be remembered as a teacher and a regional artist. Those paintings [were] a breakthrough in his career and the beginning of the work that established him as a major Canadian artist.³⁶

The last decades of Ernest Lindner's life were filled with honours. At the age of seventy, he was a nationally recognized artist whose works were being purchased by the National Gallery of Canada. In 1972 he was bestowed a doctorate of laws for his service in art and education. In 1977, the Royal Academy of Canada elected him as a fellow. In 1979 he became a member of the Order of Canada. He died in 1988, at the age of 91.

LINDNER'S CONNECTION TO THE LAND

Whether he was enjoying the wide open expanse of the Saskatchewan prairie (which reminded him of the open vistas at the top of the Alps in his native Austria), or exploring the depths of the northern forest near his woodland get-away at Emma Lake, Lindner felt an acute attachment to the natural environment which surrounded him. Forest subject matter became a major preoccupation from the time of his first visit to northern Saskatchewan in 1935, and was a central source for his artistic meditations on nature and the purpose of life.³⁷ As explained by his biographer, Terrence Heath:



Lindner's art often reflects his life philosophy, as in this 1970 painting, **Pearls in the Woods**. Photographer: Imagery: Milton Taylor. SAB, S-G573.33, in **Lindner's Forest**, published for an exhibition of Lindner's work by the Mendel Art Gallery (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1983), page 13. Licensed by CARCC.



Puff Balls, 1971. Photographer: Imagery: Milton Taylor. SAB, S-G573.33, in **Lindner's Forest**, published for an exhibition of Lindner's work by the Mendel Art Gallery (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1983), page 13. Licensed by CARCC.

[Lindner] saw in it the continuity and persistence of life even in the decay and constant change of the forest growth. . . . In the forest detail of ferns and fungi and in the texture of bark and leaves, he saw a wholeness where previously he had seen parts of a whole. And he began to recognize the affinities of the forms and textures of all life. What he saw in the close-up of forest growth was a pattern of basic life and he realized that all of life could be experienced at any distance – the detail of a single life, the detail of a nation and the detail of the universe were ultimately alike and equally meaningful.³⁸

Heath suggests that, to Ernie, “the forests of northern Saskatchewan manifested the eternal upward striving of all life – the decay of the old, new life growing out of it, moss breaking down the stumps of forest giants, the spongy compost of the muskeg sprouting an ever-changing plant life.”³⁹ In the mid-fifties, Ernie found words to express his philosophy:

*My close association with untouched nature on my island has particularly strengthened my belief in a continuity of life, death being only another form of life. Only forms change, life does not.*⁴⁰

In fact, says Heath, “with ever greater concentration and increasing consistency, Ernest Lindner [pursued] this philosophy of life in his art work.”⁴¹ In a review of Lindner’s 1972 exhibit, “The Drawings of Ernest Lindner”

(Mendel Art Gallery and Civic Conservatory, Winter 1972), Heath suggested that the exhibition of drawings “offer[ed] a new and, in many ways, startling step in the visual realization of his search for the oneness of man and nature under their varied and changing forms.”⁴² While his early work was often described as high realism, Lindner’s later work saw human and forest subject matter begin to merge into each other, where the human form often became “an object to be subsumed into the patterns of all organic life.”⁴³

Lindner’s belief that “forms change, life goes on” imbued many facets of his belief system. Despite his strict Protestant upbringing, his personal religion was not grounded in one denomination. He borrowed from eastern philosophy and religions such as Buddhism, which encompassed a belief in reincarnation, for example, and which he viewed as less dogmatic and able to answer more of the questions he had to ask about life.⁴⁴ On numerous occasions when he was interviewed about his life and his art, he demonstrated how this philosophy was reflected in his views about facing life-changes, facing death, self-identity, his concept of time, his understanding of the natural world, the circle of life, and religion.

In an interview conducted by Idabelle Melville of Saskatoon for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation around 1965, Lindner talked about his connection to nature and to the Saskatchewan landscape, and explained how his “forms change, life goes on” philosophy was reflected in his artistic representations of that landscape.

The following selections from that interview with Ernest Lindner were taken from a transcription which had been annotated by Ernest Lindner, and which forms part of the Ernest Lindner fonds housed at the Saskatoon office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.⁴⁵

Idabelle: ... To get back again to the magic realism of your art. Your work I know is in water colour... you paint in oils... pen and ink... most of your paintings for the New York show were in Egg-Tempera... but what interests me... is not the techniques and craftsmanship behind all this... What interests me is your ability to portray your subject matter... with love and with wonder. I feel you portray and capture a beauty of nature which only the truly perceptive and sensitive person realizes is there. Through your paintings I've learned to look at trees and moss and old stumps... to look at them in a new way... and to be more aware of a world of beauty in and around them. I remember for instance, a snow scene of yours, at one of your shows at the Saskatoon Art Centre. You remember I especially mentioned it to you at the time. For me it had in it so much peace and tranquility... it had about it some rare feeling of continuity and eternity. I can close my eyes, even today and still see it. To me there something hauntingly symbolic about it.

Ernie: I remember the painting. I think it was really a very abstract painting. I think it is the abstract quality which is important in a painting... and I think it was the abstract quality which started you out on your dreams about the picture. It is important that there is room for the beholder to dream about a picture... and to dream his own dreams...

Idabelle: It seems to me one of the most significant things about your

art is your love of your subject matter... your love of the woods... and the water... where did it begin?

Ernie: I couldn't say exactly... except in my earliest childhood... it was more than being fond of nature. I was always only happy when I was out in nature. I wanted to go to forestry school... but my father wouldn't let me. Then I joined the army... that's the Austrian army in the First World War... I immediately went into the skiing patrol. Much of my time was spent in the high mountains. I was always anxious to be out in nature... to be away from the enclosure of stone houses... to be away from the city...

Idabelle: I've heard people say when they first came to the prairies, they found the very vastness and emptiness of the landscape frightening. Alone at night on the prairies were you ever afraid?

Ernie: No, it wasn't the landscape that bothered me. All my life had been spent in the Alps, and yet in spite of this I never missed the Alps... never missed the mountains when I came to the prairies. I think it is because of the wide vistas... the wide horizons... the wide skies... the clear skies... that same as you have on top of a mountain. I loved the open country. I loved especially riding horseback on the prairies. What I didn't enjoy was the harshness of my personal life... the primitiveness. To emigrate to Canada I had to come as a farm labourer. I had never done physical labour in my life before. The first farm I worked on was poorly organized... poorly run. Frankly the first summer as a farm labourer in Saskatchewan, was the most difficult time of my life. It was more difficult than three years of war. Life in a strange country... when you don't speak the language... can be very difficult. It was especially hard for me compared with the

kind of life I'd lived in Vienna. But it was very good for me because it could only get better after that...

Idabelle: ... Were you tempted at all on your retirement to live again in Austria?

Ernie: No, not at all

Idabelle: Where is your favorite place to live?

Ernie: Right here

Idabelle: What is the best time of your life?

Ernie: I feel that I have at the moment the best time of my life.

Idabelle: Right now?

Ernie: Yes, right now. I enjoyed teaching. I enjoyed my students very much. But since I have retired... the last 3 years have been the best of my life. I am now painting full time, no interruptions, free to work out artistic problems at leisure, more time at Emma Lake.

Idabelle: Emma Lake in northern Saskatchewan. I know it is so much the inspiration for most of your paintings. How did you happen to find it?

Ernie: I was asked to give an art course in Prince Albert, the late James Wood, who taught in Prince Albert and was later a librarian in Saskatoon. Mr. Wood took me to Emma Lake for the first time... the freshness of the country... it was primeval and untouched... it immediately attracted me. I spent the first summer up there exploring... and falling in love with primitive untouched nature and also with my future wife. With primeval forests as it still was at the time. My future wife and I... on a canoe trip... found a place on an island which we thought would be ideal for a home. Miraculously the winter after, I was able to get the land on a lease from the government, and we started to build our first cabin. I've spent all the summers there since, with the

exception of the two summers I spent in Europe, when I was given the Canada Council grant. In the early years we used to even spend every Christmas at Emma Lake. We used to have to go in by dog sled from the highway. Now I go alone in early spring to get some winter sketches.

Idabelle: Do you have a feeling of renewal of your life, each time you go to Emma Lake?

Ernie: No, I have a feeling always of going home.

Idabelle: This is your favorite place?

Ernie: Yes, yes I'm at home there.

Idabelle: Are you always exploring? Do you find new things in our north country every year? It seems to me I heard you mention one time... there is a lot to learn about muskegs, forests...

Ernie: Yes, but I don't want you to misunderstand my interest. You must understand. I'm not so interested in the objects themselves as I am in the shapes and forms I encounter in nature. In the woods where there is a lot of moisture and a lot of decay... there are very many colors and very many fantastic shapes... and some how that continuity of life which I observe in the primeval forest, to me is symbolic of the continue of our whole life. There is no death, only change of forms.

Idabelle: Ernie, you have serenity, a sense of purpose. I think perhaps if I didn't think life made too much sense at times, I'd like to be with you and talk to you. I feel you have a strong sense of your own identity. Has it anything to do with your relationship to the natural world around you?

Ernie: Yes, I think it has. I've a place to live that I love. I've found the work which suits me, and I'm satisfied to be me....

Idabelle: What is your concept of time?

Ernie: I have all the time... an eternity of time... That is what my painting is about in nature... the continuity of life... eternity... there is no end... the horizon is an imaginary line... it keeps on moving... as we emerge. There is only change... but no death in nature...

Idabelle: Are you afraid to die?

Ernie: No.

Idabelle: What is your feeling about death?

Ernie: I'm very curious about what I'm going to do next time.

Idabelle: You definitely have a feeling of continuity and evolving.

Ernie: Yes. Even in war time, when I was often confronted with immediate death, I never had the feeling that this was the end. I always had the feeling... I wonder what is going to happen now? I have this feeling of continuity in my life, in my career, otherwise what would be the point of still striving at my age? In art we never achieve the top, and I think we absolutely need the philosophy which makes room for the possibility that some day we achieve the perfection which we are aiming at. It seems to be a fact that artists either die frustrated, very young, drinking themselves to death or committing suicide... or they become very old. Titian for example changed his style of painting when he was 90, and he died when he was 99 of the plague, not a natural death. Many of the others were very old: Michelangelo; Braque was over 80; Picasso is over 80; Matisse was over 80 I believe; Duffy; all the great painters, and they didn't have time to die.

Idabelle: And so at 68 Ernie, when many people feel their life is ending, you are at the peak. All the best, Ernie, for a continued rich and varied and dynamic life, a truly

creative life... with a sense of eternity, with a sense of continuity and forever new beginnings.

Though born into a European family that observed very conservative religious strictures, Ernest Lindner proved to be an independent-minded individual who readily abandoned a set of narrow family views and developed his own philosophy of life, which imbued his creative work. After escaping the confines of both European city life and suffocating family life, Lindner found himself at home in a new world in Saskatchewan, where he connected with both the wide-open spaces in the south and with the fascinating natural world he found on the forest floor in the north. He also found new purpose in a largely untouched cultural environment which seemed ripe for cultivation, and he dedicated massive resources of time and energy to encouraging art education and to creating a solid base on which art could develop in Saskatchewan. Despite the hardships along the way, Lindner's views formed into a belief system which moved forward rather than looking backward, which saw life as an endless circle of change, and which he recognized in the most basic features in nature:

That is what my painting is about in nature -- the continuity of life, eternity. There is no end, the horizon is an imaginary line: it keeps on moving as we emerge. There is only change, but no death, in nature.⁴⁶

Endnotes on page 45.

Nadine Charabin is Chief Archivist of the Reference Services Unit at SAB, and production coordinator of Saskatchewan History.

GONE FISHIN'!

Walleye, northern pike, lake trout: with 67 different species of fish in our lakes and rivers, Saskatchewan people have long fished -- some for sustenance, some for income, and some just for the sheer relaxing joy of spending time in quiet tranquility on the water. Summer, winter, day and night: from our First Peoples, to the Hudson Bay Company, settlers and still today: fishing is part of the experience of life on the land.



Clockwise starting from top: Mr and Mrs Art Stabler fishing, Loon Lake, 1943. SAB 2009-702-79.
George Graham fishing, Loon Lake, 1944. SAB 2009-802-37.
Snaring fish, Loon River, Rapidview, 1944. SAB 2009-702-110.
Chief Petkykuk and family holding their catch, Loon Lake, 1943. SAB 2009-702-84.

FISHY FACTS

Saskatchewan is popular as a world-class fishing destination, with close to 100,000 lakes and rivers covering almost 1/3 of the province and all kinds of fishing lodges to visit.

In Saskatchewan, First Nations' right to hunt and fish is guaranteed under Treaty and as defined by the Constitution Act, 1930 and several court cases.

Métis rights to hunt and fish are generally defined by case law and the application of those rights continues to evolve.

Aboriginal rights are protected in the Canadian Constitution and are given priority over all other uses. Only valid conservation concerns and other compelling concerns can supercede these Aboriginal rights.

The recreational fishery experienced considerable growth from 1950 to the early 1980s, with angling licence sales peaking at about 206,000 in 1981. In recent years the number of angling licences sold has varied from 160,000 to 186,000 annually.



Top: Aboriginal women digging seneca root, Four Corners, 1945. SAB 2009-702-80.

Below: Elmer and Anne Little, seneca rooters, Pierceland, 1942. SAB 2009-702-156 SAB 2009-702-155.

NATURAL HEALING WITH SENECA ROOT

Among the Everett Baker slides are images of various people – both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal -- digging Seneca root. What did they use it for? A quick internet search revealed that Seneca was rooted and sold for transplantation because of its healing properties.

First of all, Saskatoon's self-named "Root Woman," Kahlee Keane, writes that "Seneca is native to North America, originally found from eastern woodlands to Alberta in the North, and from Georgia to the upland regions of Arkansas in the south. Although not officially listed as an endangered species, Seneca root has been all but eradicated in the eastern portions of its range and is greatly reduced in the rest of the continent by destruction of the natural habitat and over harvesting."

Research published by the Western Development Museum explains that harvesting Seneca root for transplantation was a way to make money: "The Great Depression was a time of hardship for everyone, but for the dispossessed Métis it was a desperate time.... Forced out by municipalities, they were constantly on the move in search of temporary employment as farm labourers, picking stones, clearing tree stumps, or stooking wheat in the fall.... Many Métis dug and sold seneca root which was used in a remedy for respiratory problems."

Finally, on a blog operated by the Métis Culture and Heritage Resource Centre, one finds many knowledgeable posts in response to a question about Seneca, including this one: "known in Cree as WINSIKIS, [it] is a plant that once was common in the province of Saskatchewan; however it is currently considered to be ENDANGERED so can I beg you to PLEASE do not harvest/pick wild winsikis in Saskatchewan these days! It CAN still be harvested without harm in moderation from Manitoba areas though. The fact is that this root has been harvested (and still is where abundant!) by Métis and Indians alike for many years, both as a "profit crop" and to alleviate symptoms of a number of "respiratory ailments and diseases:" from colds/flu, to bronchitis."





Letters East from Next Year Country: The Gilbert-McDonald Correspondence, 1909-1951

By Graham A. MacDonald

“Don’t take this bad news too hard - there is always next year!”
P.T. Gilbert to E.G. McDonald. Aug. 23, 1950.

Possibly Percy Gilbert, c. 1916: The northern ridge of the Fairmount Marsh is visible in the background, similar to the view from the Gilbert and McDonald properties. Courtesy Kindersley Museum.

The general historical patterns and dynamics of agricultural settlement in the Canadian West after 1870 are fairly well-documented, as are the economic cycles of prosperity and recession that accompanied pioneer development up to World War I and beyond.¹ With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway as far as Calgary by 1884, the agricultural frontier had been extended radically beyond Manitoba.²

In Saskatchewan, the years between 1896 and 1921 saw vigorous, if fluctuating, agricultural growth and expansion, facilitated first by the ambitious settlement policies of Laurier’s federal ministers of the Interior, and also by a great deal of new railway branch line development.³ Moreover, expansion was reinforced through the effects of improvements made to the grain stocks. For example, the important Red Fife wheat strain was supplemented in the early twentieth century by the introduction of the earlier-ripening Marquis variety. As a result, Western Canadian agriculture expanded: it moved further northward, and it also improved in terms of production per acre.⁴ Rural population grew steadily, accompanied by a general prosperity that was aided by a developing Canadian export market in grain. Year-to-year results were nevertheless variable, stimulating on the one hand an impulse towards a political ethos favourable to cooperative arrangements, and on the other a sense of prudential caution in the individual land proprietor. Regardless of one’s political creed, the phrase ‘Next Year Country’ quickly worked its way into the western Canadian vocabulary.⁵

Just how the farmers on the ground viewed these regular ups and downs of economic life has also become a matter of increased record through

monographs and memoirs, particularly for the “dust-bowl” years of the depression.⁶ If the psychological and material aspects of farm life and immigration have received much description, the finer economic details of specific farm business practice have remained more obscure.

However, a cache of recently found letters and documents can help to overcome this dearth of information, shedding light on the post-1910 interactions between one small Ontario agricultural investor and his contracting counterpart who had moved to Saskatchewan to take up prairie agriculture in the newly opening lands around Kindersley. The documents record formal contractual relationships and a mutual exploration of unknown circumstances by two men raised on the land in Ontario, both knowledgeable about farming: Edward G. McDonald of Listowel, Ontario and Percy T. Gilbert of Fairmount, Saskatchewan.⁷

In 1912, McDonald was the experienced Principal of the Listowel Public School, as well as the recent owner of a quarter section of land in the Fairmount area (supplemented later by a further quarter). Gilbert, meanwhile, had relocated to Fairmount from Peterborough, Ontario, to take up his own land. The two men would not become acquainted for another eight years.

Edward Graham McDonald (1865-1951) was born in the small town of Hawkesville, located in a prosperous agricultural zone of southwestern Ontario, to a Scottish immigrant named Thomas G. McDonald, who died in a fall from a roof. When Edward’s mother died a few years later in 1877, she left four orphaned children; her two sons were taken in by the Robertson family of Howick Township, her farming

kin. Thus, Edward’s formative experiences continued to be shaped in an agricultural milieu that was strongly Scottish in background. The Presbyterian Church was a formative factor in his upbringing and education and he later became a Church Elder of long standing.⁸ McDonald showed inclinations toward teaching and after 1887 he was appointed to several positions in Huron and Grey Counties. In the early 1890s he obtained training at the Ottawa Normal School and in 1905 was appointed to the Principalship of the Listowel Public School, a position he held until 1935.⁹

There were many books in McDonald’s home library, including James Fletcher’s recent *Farm Weeds and Plants of Canada*, richly illustrated by the talented Manitoba naturalist and artist, Norman Criddle.¹⁰ This was a useful volume for a teacher dealing with the children of farmers and rural merchants. McDonald’s interests were suitably broad and his reputation as a good teacher and administrator were regularly acknowledged.¹¹ Keeping abreast of contemporary economic developments was part of his job and in the first decade of twentieth century Canada, such monitoring included keeping a close eye on the progress of agriculture in the new western provinces. After 1890, many young eastern Canadians travelled west on the excursion harvest trains to make some money for school or as a way of building up some capital towards future ambitions.¹² Some naturally went west to work on the farms of relatives who had pioneered what, in 1888, George Henry Ham had extolled as the “New West.”¹³

While much-interested in practical matters of rural economy for pedagogical reasons, McDonald was also attracted by the investment prospects of western agriculture. Opportunity

in such western lands was being heavily promoted in these years, but for far away small investors in central Canada, not free to travel, land appraisal was a substantial issue. Ideally, one might rely upon information provided by contacts in families already on the land. Just why McDonald was interested in the Kindersley area in particular is not known, but there are clues. Most likely his interest was kindled by an accumulation of local influences, including acquaintance with a young teacher from Listowel, who settled at Fairmount in 1910 following her marriage to O.G. Alderson of Sault Ste. Marie.¹⁴ As the Principal in



*Edward McDonald, circa 1915.
Courtesy of the author.*

the Public School in Listowel, he almost certainly would know the plans of the future Mrs. Alderson. Moreover, there was the activity of Percy Bangs, a young Englishman resident at Listowel. Anxious to move to the West, he found his opportunity when hired as box-car custodian for the worldly goods of a Listowel farmer, himself in the act of relocating to Fairmount.¹⁵ The timing appeared to be good for such colonists. In May, 1911, the recently founded *Kindersley Clarion* reported that crops “in this district are in the pink of condition

and better growing weather could not be desired.”¹⁶

Kindersley in 1911 was a fledgling community located on the northern edge of the wheat belt where it begins to ease into the Aspen Parkland. Rail extension between Saskatoon and Calgary was underway via the so-called ‘Goose Line,’ thus providing improved access to the Rosetown - Kindersley districts.¹⁷ The *Kindersley Clarion* regularly featured real estate articles and promotional advertising for the agricultural prospects of the area.¹⁸ A few miles southwest of Kindersley, a small station was erected at the current end of Canadian Northern rail, known as Fairmount, the hub of a small commercial and residential community located on a ridge overlooking a large wetland. However McDonald learned of the opportunities around Kindersley, it is certain that he brought a good deal of fundamental knowledge about agriculture to his investment task. At any rate, in 1909 Regina agents recommended to McDonald that land at Fairmount was productive and suitable for purchase.¹⁹

Initially, he was not impressed with some of the details he was given about the land proposed and he expressed his displeasure in no uncertain terms. In a letter to the firm of Balfour and Broadfoot of Regina, McDonald speculated that perhaps the land appraiser had been drunk while on duty, one of the worst accusations a man of McDonald’s Presbyterian and abstemious temperament could level.²⁰ He was assured that such was not the case and that the appraiser in question was a very experienced man of the land.²¹ In this somewhat heated exchange much devolved on the implications of the presence of the previously mentioned wetland, known as the Fairmount Slough or Marsh, and

its encroachment on the proposed lands. In a general way, the slough might be considered a valuable local asset, harbouring wildlife and birds, a more or less permanent water reservoir, a welcome local hedge against hard times. Emerson Hough, in his contemporary travels around Saskatchewan, commented on the value of such regular conditions: "The wheat lands run up to the edges of long winding marshes" where "the wild fowl readily adjust themselves to the early stages of civilization, the wheat stubble furnishing the best shooting grounds for geese and cranes."²² On the other hand, from a production point of view, a farmer presumably did not want sloughs encroaching significantly on his land. The new railway right of way also crossed a corner of McDonald's property, although this disadvantage was offset somewhat in terms of the close proximity given to the grain elevators at Fairmount Station. Ultimately, McDonald became satisfied with the selection and carried out the purchase from the owner, the Canadian Northern Railway (CNR), in January 1912.²³ The main questions now posed involved consideration of the practical operation of the farmland.

Fairmount, like Kindersley a few miles to the east, had been born of the new CNR, although its

growth as a centre would quickly give way to the latter. One of the earliest to take up a position at Fairmount was Percy T. Gilbert (1886-1963), a native of Hamilton, Ontario, but more recently of Peterborough.²⁴ Gilbert's reasons for relocation may have owed something to the actions of James E. McBain, who migrated from Peterborough to Oxbow, in 1902 and later moved to land south of Kindersley. McBain became a local force in Saskatchewan affairs after 1905, serving as a Reeve and active in the Grain Growers Association and in the Saskatchewan Farmer's Union.²⁵ Whatever McBain's influence, it appears that Gilbert combined his own farmland purchase, made around 1912, with a lumber yard operation, thereby taking advantage of the recently constructed Fairmount Station.²⁶ Following McDonald's purchase of his quarter section, near to that of Gilbert, it is not certain who initially worked the land for McDonald since it appears Gilbert began to correspond with McDonald only in 1920. The McDonald land may have been worked by the Coleman family, by the McCormack brothers of Fairmount, or even by O.G. Alderson.²⁷

After their initial land purchases, both men soon had to contend with the onset of war time

conditions. The First World War lead to higher grain prices but also placed ever more severe limitations on the availability of agricultural labour, a reliable supply of which was particularly crucial at harvest time. In March, 1917, at a Kindersley Chapter meeting of the National Service League -- the body most active in promoting military conscription -- the membership attempted to address the very real problems of labour supply confronting prairie farmers.²⁸ The War also induced a certain amount of inflation, affecting both the prices of goods and labour rates, thus off-setting the better rates of return. The higher rates for wheat, indeed, led to the formation of Canada's first (if short-lived) Wheat Board in 1919.²⁹ For the first eight years of Gilbert and McDonald's western experience, there is a lack of significant documentation as to personal returns, but it must be assumed that they were sufficiently remunerative.

It is only in 1920 that additional light is shed on the condition of the Gilbert-McDonald holdings. In that year Gilbert made an offer to purchase McDonald's land 'since he was going into horses.'³⁰ This offer was declined and McDonald's acreage presumably remained in the hands of another local farmer for the next seven years. A letter of 1927 indicates that McDonald and Gilbert were again in touch and starting to get to know each other more formally. Gilbert had reviewed McDonald's contract proposal for the coming year with Mac McCormick in Kindersley (who appears to have been acting as McDonald's agent). While Gilbert found it generally satisfactory, he insisted that one area had to be clarified: "You asked me to insert a clause to surrender the crop in a case of a sale and accept pay at current rates for work done...[but] It would hardly be fair to me." Gilbert preferred to know where he stood,



Horse teams and crews grading the new Canadian Northern Railway roadbed for the Goose Lake Line in 1910. This new line ran southwest from Kindersley to Pinkham, Hanna, Alberta and Calgary. Photo: Kindersley History Book Committee, 1985.

asking for "either an agreement to work at current rates or rent it."³¹ Gilbert included a diagram of the 93 acres that McDonald had under cultivation, distinguishing 35.5 acres to be left in summer fallow.

In December 1928, Gilbert wrote again, outlining the cropping possibilities along with his wish to enter into a contract to run several years. This would allow him to better manage the land, a point he reinforced by his observation that some of McDonald's land 'has been cropped to death' in the past.³² In 1929, Gilbert replied to McDonald's proposals in a way that illustrated how close the bargain had to be to satisfy the farmer, but with sound arguments. He stated that the "suggested changes in the contract will suit me" with the exception of clause one which "will have to read 1/4 of whatever it may be each year. This division of the crop may not appeal to you but if you knew the local conditions as well as I do you would not hesitate." Recent experience showed that the previous arrangements whereby the owner received 1/3 and the farmer 2/3 (and 10 acres oats clear) gave only a slight edge on the 1/4 basis to the owner. "In 1927 I made money, 1928 I lost. And no doubt it will work that way again." Gilbert went on to review some of the issues on the McDonald land, including the presence of Poverty weed on certain portions, stating that it is a native with jointed roots and there is no known method of killing it out due to its sucker

roots that go to great depth. He concluded his letter on a positive note: "You can make out contracts and embody your suggestions with mine and I am sure we can pull together for better or worse and will be mutually satisfied."³³

These discussions over a contract extending as far as 1933 appear to have been satisfactory. In reviewing Gilbert's proposals with a Mr. Wright (presumably his legal counsel in Listowel), McDonald observed that 'Mr. Gilbert drives a hard bargain but he is honest I believe and I am at his mercy but he will play fair I am sure otherwise.' He imparted to Wright the somewhat distressing news that 'Gilbert has only found out about the poverty weed. It is news to me.'³⁴

Intimations of the on-coming hard times of the 1930s were revealed in Gilbert's next letter to McDonald. In July 1929, he wrote "this has been a very dry year, in fact one of the driest years we have experienced since coming West." He reported on his successful task of breaking 40 acres on a second quarter section (SW-27-28-24) now owned by McDonald, directly east of his own holdings. He sought McDonald to revise their contract in favour of a new five-year arrangement so that he might purchase some larger machinery "with the idea of farming your 1/2 along with my own land."³⁵ This was satisfactory to McDonald. In 1933, however, there is evidence that McDonald

may have been sounding out other options through correspondence with A.R. Coleman, a veterinarian-farmer living in Kindersley. Coleman replied to McDonald that his options were few, especially "as everyone is getting fed-up on farming." On the bright side, Coleman observed that, even though a hard bargainer, "Mr Gilbert I believe is farming your place good...[he] "has plenty of power to work it properly."³⁶ In 1934, Coleman himself moved his family back east to Ontario but retained his farm holdings at Fairmount.³⁷

Late in the summer of 1934, Gilbert reported to McDonald on the current state of affairs. Clearly, he and several other farmers around Fairmount had managed to keep crops growing, but "I am forced to play safe and I will sell enough wheat to pay current expenses and hold the rest and sell as I need the money." He went on to argue that while world conditions "point to higher prices, speculators and elevators may depress the price by short selling so they can buy the wheat cheap from the farmer." If financial conditions improve "the demand for actual wheat may improve so the man that can afford to hold may do a lot better later on." He recounted to McDonald that a Calgary grain man "told me today that he thought wheat would be high in October (your guess is as good as his!) The Argentine crop estimate will be out then."³⁸

CHOICE

LOANS

FARM LANDS

INSURANCE

Snap! Snap!

Half section close to Kindersley. 200 acres ready for crop. Good buildings; good water.

CHEAP FOR QUICK SALE

1/4 Sec. West

Ditson Bros.

Kindersley

A land advertisement from the Kindersley Clarion, Dec. 11, 1912.

Gilbert then provided a fairly detailed and astute appraisal of current local conditions. "West of the Fairmount Road harvesting is in full swing." Many crops were running high. "Stubble wheat is weighing 50 lbs to the bu. and summerfallow 56 to 59 lbs. It takes 60 lbs wheat to make a [No.] 1 Northern." However he thought most of the stubble crops not worth cutting: "Lots of farmers put nearly the whole farm in crop expecting a wet year. It's too bad for they will have no summer-fallow for next year as we have no reserve of moisture their next year's crop will be a straight gamble."³⁹ For McDonald's land, he reported that 'we have 40 acres of wheat and 40 acres of wheat and 40 acres of summer fallow on 27 - 57 1/2 acres of wheat, 57 1/2 summer fallow and 45 of breaking on 23.' There was a good-looking crop, with lots of straw but "the heads are not filled properly. And it is hard to estimate the yield... started combining but had to stop -- the wheat was tough. The straw is brittle and dry, but the kernel doesn't seem to hard up as it should."⁴⁰ If nothing else, Gilbert's detailed comments must have been reassuring to McDonald that his land was in seasoned

hands. Nothing has survived in documentary form for the later 1930s, but clearly Gilbert managed to hang on and make a living. In 1942, McDonald wrote to his own son that Gilbert had settled for 1940, for which the wheat crop realized \$599.43 and the 1941 crop for \$315.60.⁴¹

By this time the Gilbert family had been on the land for thirty years and sought to ease into semi-retirement by purchasing a home in Saskatoon where they could spend the long winter months of wartime in greater comfort. The move afforded more opportunities for social life. For Ethel Gilbert, this meant increased involvement with Grace United Church and with the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. For Percy Gilbert, it meant easier access to curling, a favourite pastime for many other farmers on the prairies.⁴² He informed McDonald that a major bonspiel was in the works, 200 rinks being expected to participate, a sign of the optimism attending the winding down of the war.⁴³ On the agricultural side, Saskatoon in winter also offered better opportunities for meetings and university extension lectures. In January 1945, Gilbert wrote of attending the

annual meeting of the Canadian Seed Growers Association as well as University-sponsored lectures on control of the Saw Fly and Flax Bollworm. The supplementary exhibits he considered excellent and he told McDonald that control of such pests had broad implications and "must be done by all the farmers in the district that is infested."⁴⁴

The increasing range of farm payments was also reflected in this letter. Gilbert enclosed a federal grain check to McDonald as well as one for the "dried out bonus." However the "Pool equalization payment on flax" was yet to come.⁴⁵ The reference to flax is of interest, for this crop had come into strong demand as a part of wartime production needs.⁴⁶ Things were definitely improving for a few months later he reported that the Saskatoon district "had the best crop in its history last year" and that the late "snowstorms this year will mean good moisture in the ground."⁴⁷ Later reports for the year indicate how quickly things could change. In August the wheat "was fair" and "the flax was poor" but by late September he reported a "good harvest of wheat and flax."⁴⁸ In April of 1946, the spring seeding went well but there was also an

sixty mile wind that lifted everything that wasn't nailed down."⁴⁹ In July Gilbert was

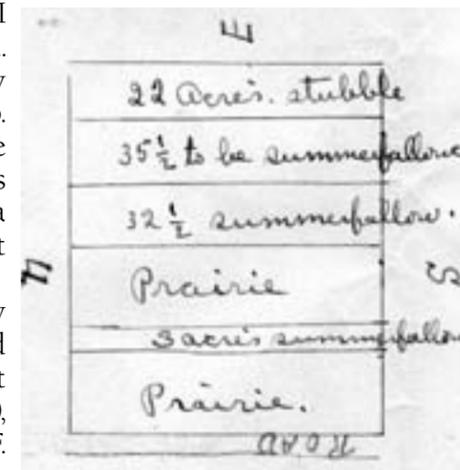
pleased to report on the welcome revival of the agricultural fair at Saskatoon.⁵⁰

An improving outlook is revealed in his letter of early September 1946, reporting on the recent harvest for which "the returns are a little better than expected." The total wheat harvest on McDonald's land was 2,714 bu; Gilbert had sold 1,714 bu. of which McDonald's after-taxes 1/4 share was \$350.00. "You will notice I had to hold 1000 bu on the farm... [because this wheat] was badly bleached...[probably] make a No. 2 Wheat." Rather shrewdly he suggested that "maybe when it is sold they may ease up and give a No. 1. There is a lot of poor wheat in the country this year."⁵¹

Gilbert's letters occasionally show him to be an interested political observer, and a consistent Liberal, (as was McDonald), somewhat suspicious of the C.C.F. party.⁵² Early in September, 1946, he recounted the news that the "farm strike is supposed to start tomorrow...won't effect us. We have our quota in. Our Municipality paid \$200 into the United Farmers. So that makes us all members. But it is funny, we didn't know it until today."⁵³ The reference was to the so-called 'non-delivery strike,' an attempt by some organized farmers to gain greater equity in costs, as opposed to prices paid for their product.⁵⁴

In the few years remaining of this long-distance business relationship, Gilbert continued to report on each year's activities. In May 1948, he was following with interest the introduction and uses of the new weed killer, 2-4-D, along with its associated costs.⁵⁵ This new herbicide was a by-product of British war-time research aimed at increasing the local food supply and its use would soon become widespread.⁵⁶ The year 1948 was not, however, shaping up to be a good one. In July Gilbert writes they "have all the pests that go

with a dry year" with abundant grasshoppers and poor crop prospects.⁵⁷ By late September, however, things had turned around once again. "The whole growing season was freakish. We had no rain for a month and a half and when it did rain some farmers got lots and others very little. We at Fairmount were on the short end." Still, the "flax was a wonderful crop for this year. It was late and



In a 1927 letter, Percy Gilbert included this sketch of McDonald's land to show how he intended to treat it that year.

the rain we got in August when it was in flower made it."⁵⁸ In 1950, on the other hand, while prospects looked excellent in July, Gilbert reported bad news in late August: his "first experience with a frozen crop." he enclosed articles from the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* on the disaster and estimated that McDonald had lost \$1000 on the frozen wheat.⁵⁹

Since his arrival at Fairmount in 1912, Percy Gilbert had witnessed many fluctuations in the final outcome of a season's produce. Among the descriptions of these yearly financial cycles, he occasionally included comments on the parallel comings and goings of local game and avian life. The water levels on the great Fairmount Marsh might be high or low. Gilbert's observations on nature, land and life were relatively few, but in late September, 1948, he echoed Emerson Hough's long ago

observation and told McDonald that the "ducks and geese are plentiful. And today is the first day of shooting and I think we had everyone from Kindersley out at Fairmount shooting on the big slough. There is a lot of water in it and the ducks are on it in swarms."⁶⁰

In the absence of a complete record of returns, changes in insurance rates and comprehensive tax information, it is not clear if McDonald made much profit from his land in the overall mix of good years and bad. Between 1912 and 1951 much had changed for the Saskatchewan farmer in terms of crop rotation methods, payments from the Wheat Board, insurance rates and other special program financial adjustments. The letters indicate an appreciation on the part of both parties that persistence and patience were fundamental to their mutual success. Although McDonald and Gilbert never met, the letters reveal an ingrained civility, a steady interest between the men concerning their respective families, and an interest in current events, including of course, the deterioration in Europe and the War.⁶¹ It was the bond of mutual business, however, which remained central. In reflecting back on the "freakish" weather of 1948, Gilbert resorted to the customary refrain of the North American prairie farmer: "Our rain in June would [have] doubled our yield. However, better luck next year. As you know it is next year that keeps us in this country."⁶²

Endnotes on page 48.

Graham MacDonald has worked as a teacher, librarian, heritage resource consultant and as a historian for various park agencies, including Parks Canada. His Saskatchewan publications include (with Grit McCreath): Waskesiu and Its Neighbours: A Casual Illustrated History (Calgary: 2008). He lives in Victoria, B.C.

Kindersley train station, circa 1912. Courtesy Kindersley Clarion.



Along the Orkney Road By Kathy Morrell

This is the story of one clan of pioneers who came to a new land that proved as hard and tough as the one they left. The Reid and Fergus families from the rugged Orkney Islands settled near the present city of Yorkton along a trail that came to be known as the Orkney Road.



Orkney immigrants John Flaws Reid and his mother, Charlotte Stevenson Reid, photo dates unknown. Courtesy Helen Norman.

Located in the North Sea off the coast of Scotland, the Orkney Islands are stony barren outcroppings of rock battered by gale force winds and high tides. In the eighteenth century, the Hudson's Bay Company recognized the vigour of the Orcadian lads, recruiting them for work in its cold and lonely outposts: "Dour they might be, but the Orkneymen's own sea-borne history had implanted character traits well fitted for survival under stress. Canny moderation, self-control, resourcefulness and rivalry without animosity characterized their approach to life."¹ The people of the Orkney Islands brought this same hardy independence to the prairies when they emigrated to Canada in the 1880s.

Disaster struck the Reid family in 1875 when the head of the household, Robert, died in a farm accident. His hard-hearted Orcadian laird turned his widow and five children off the land, forcing them to live with relatives. The resulting loss of independence drove his son, John Flaws Reid, to Edinburgh to apprentice as a cabinet maker. In the city, he came across a pamphlet from the York Farmers' Colonization Company offering one quarter section free homestead land in the Canadian North West with an additional quarter for sale at \$2 an acre. According to the pamphlet the land featured a rich fertile soil, rivers and streams, and wooded areas for lumber, fencing and heating. The climate was described as "healthful." Seeing the promise of a better future, John F., as he was known in the family, sailed for Canada from Glasgow in April 1882, took the train from Quebec to Winnipeg and walked or caught rides with strangers to Whitewood. From there, he hiked along a trail to York Colony, a site along the Little White Sand River, a tributary in the Assiniboine Watershed. He selected his homestead land and returned to Portage La Prairie to work for the winter.

In May 1883, John's mother, Charlotte, embarked for Canada with her three sons, Robert, James and William and their cousins, George, William, James and David Fergus. The decision to emigrate was prompted by the hope for a better life and the expectation of land ownership. The two families arrived in Point Lévi, Quebec on May 28 and took the train first to Winnipeg and then on to Brandon where they purchased their outfits: wagons - \$65 each; yoke

of oxen - \$190 each; harness - \$14 each; and cows - \$95 per animal. They bought some staples and other household goods from a firm with the unusual name of Bundle, Mundle and Porter. The two families loaded their gear onto a train headed for Whitewood, the end of the railway line that year. There, the families hitched up the oxen, loaded the gear and tied the cows behind the wagon. The men walked while the children and Charlotte rode in the wagons. They would set out on the trail John had taken one year earlier.

The family encountered problems along the way. Young William came down with the measles. Rivers, swollen with unusually heavy spring rains, were difficult to cross. Some of the problems resulted from ignorance. Knowing only the relatively flat country of the Orkneys, the men didn't know how to contend with the steepness of the Qu'Appelle Valley. As the wagon descended the sharp slope, family members would pull back on ropes attached to the backboard to slow the speed of the wheels down the hill. Eventually, a passing rider showed them how to "ground lock" the back wheels with a logging chain.

After twelve long days, the families arrived at York Colony, a collection of tents and one lone building that served as land titles' office, hotel, store and post office. James Fergus took out the bagpipes and everyone gathered around, tears in their eyes, to hear the music of Scotland in the new land. The family made its way west to John's cabin, a simple affair made of logs, a hard-packed dirt floor and a leaky sod roof. Even though the walls were chinked with mud, the place was drafty. The family all stayed in that little shanty for

the summer until new houses could be built. Robert, James and William Reid and their cousins, George, William, James and David Fergus took up homesteads in the district. A year later, Matthew and Ann Peace, a sister of John F., settled in the area as well. The Orkney Road had become the settlement for the hardy, industrious Reid clan.

One of the most anxious times for the family was the year of 1885. Like other settlers around the West, the Orkney settlers feared that native bands in the area would mount a resistance similar to that of the Métis at Batoche. The Reid sons joined the Home Guard, a volunteer militia formed under the command of Major Thomas Charles Watson and the leadership of some of the settlers including John Flaws Reid. Even William, only fourteen years of age, joined up. Major Watson and the other volunteers built Fort Watson on the banks of the Little White Sand River. It was meant to safeguard the women and children in case of attack.

Charlotte Stevenson Reid, the matriarch of the clan, was a character, a woman who smoked a pipe in defiance of the norms for a lady of the day. One tale has survived the decades. It was said that, in that spring of 1885, a number of Indians from the nearby reserve came into her house looking for food, near starvation with the extinction of the buffalo. Charlotte, fearful of the rumoured threats of violence, took her broom and literally swept them out the door.

John Flaws Reid, her son, became a pillar of the community. He served as board member of the Grain Growers Association, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool,

Yorkton's Queen Victoria Hospital, and the Orkney School and Church. In 1917, he was elected Member of Parliament. Before his death, he made a return visit to the Orkney Islands and visited the cemetery where the landlord was buried. Legend states he spat upon the grave of the laird.

The Orkney School and Church still stand. The stones for the two buildings were dug from the surrounding fields and pulled on stone boats drawn by oxen. The pulpit built by William Rendell and the pump organ purchased in 1890 for \$30 still have pride of place in the church. In the school, visitors can see the raised platform for the teacher's desk, the wood stove in the middle of the room, the collections of old textbook in the cupboards, and the double desks with the hole for the ink bottle.

The Orkney Historical Society has taken on responsibility for the historic site that includes both the Orkney School and Church. The group received government grants in the early 1980s to restore the stonework, replace the flooring, windows and shingles, and install power. Thus the church and school remain sturdy bastions of rock battered by prairie winter blizzards, backlit by the pulsating sweep of the northern lights. They remain a sturdy testament to the memory of the settlers who made a life along the Orkney Road.

Kathy Morrell is a Saskatoon-based freelance writer primarily interested in the history of Western Canada. Her work has been published in Prairies North, Saskatchewan Folklore and right here in Saskatchewan History. Kathy operates a business writing legacy histories for families and businesses.

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The Adventures of Cumines of the North

By Les Oystryk

Known as the 'strong and silent type,' Jim Cumines was a well-respected figure of authority in the far northern reaches of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. He was hired at age 57 as one of the first game guardians -- or game wardens -- in 1936, not long after both provinces were given the jurisdiction and responsibility for their natural resources by the Federal government as a result of the infamous Natural Resources Transfer Agreements in 1930.



Conservation Officer inspecting fish, circa 1957. Dodds, Earl 1957, "Winter Commercial Fishing on Reindeer Lake 1956-57 Report."

Being a first generation game warden in such a remote and wilderness setting was not an easy assignment, but it was really a perfect job for Jim as he was a true northerner -- despite being born in Welland, Ontario. Not only did he love the north and feel at home with all northern people, but he also had a deep appreciation for the fish and wildlife resources that he was hired to protect and manage.

He was a capable northern traveler who patrolled this vast territory by canoe and dog sled. His efforts and tremendous dedication were recognized in January of 1949 when he was presented with a Conservation award by the Manitoba Department of Mines

and Natural Resources for his meritorious service in the cause of Conservation. This was a Conservation Officer Award and the first ever to be awarded in Manitoba.

Cumines first job was as a clerk in a local bank in Welland at a salary of \$15.00 per month. In April of 1900 at the urging of a close family friend, he was accepted into the North West Mounted Police Force. After his training with Regiment #3658 at Depot in Regina and a short stint as a constable in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, he left the force in 1901. It is not known what took Cumines into the north but there is some suggestion that he went north as a trader for the newly formed Revillon Frères fur trading

company; he may also have been a free trader.

Jim married a northern Aboriginal woman named Adelaide Roy in Ile-a-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan on December 2, 1906, whisking her away from the church with his dog team and toboggan. By 1908 he had started working for the Hudson Bay Company in some capacity and his HBC record shows that in 1917 he was employed at Ile-a-la-Crosse and for a time he was in charge of their Clear Lake outpost before being appointed manager of their Buffalo River post in 1920.

It was during his time at Ile-A-La-Crosse in 1917 that he came to know a very young and later to be famous member of the

Saskatchewan Provincial Police Force (eventually the RCMP). This was Lance Corporal Marcel Chappuis, known as 'Chappy.' Chappy stated that he learned a great deal about survival in the bush and about dog team handling from Jim Cumines. The two would later patrol together as law enforcement officers in the Reindeer Lake and Wollaston Lake areas in the 1930s and 1940s.

In June of 1923 Jim was transferred to Lac du Brochet (Brochet), Manitoba to take over as manager of the HBC post there at a salary of \$1,500 per year. The next year, he took the newly commissioned HBC vessel, the Lac du Brochet for her first voyage on Reindeer Lake. The Lac du Brochet was a 45-foot motor schooner that the HBC had built in Edmonton and was freighted up to Reindeer Lake in the winter of 1923-24 with twelve teams of horses. This maiden voyage was from the south end of Reindeer Lake to Brochet. This vessel served the HBC freighting trade goods, fur and people on Reindeer Lake for many years.

In July of 1928 Jim left the service of the HBC and stayed on at Brochet as a free trader as well as a

camp trader for Del Simons in the Nueltin Lake area north of Brochet. He was also a Police Magistrate for Manitoba from 1933 - 1935 while he lived at Brochet. In the fall of 1935 Saskatchewan's Game Commissioner J.R. Hill and Manitoba's Director of Game and Fisheries, A.G. Cunningham reviewed reports from RCMP Det. Sgt. Woodhouse and Inspector F.W. Schutz (Prince Albert Sub-Div. Commander) that described a situation at and near Brochet. Jim Cumines was referred to in these reports as being a suitable candidate to be hired as a game guardian to be stationed at Brochet and to represent both provinces in enforcing the Game Laws.

The exact content of these 1935 reports is unknown. What is known (from a later report by Woodhouse and Schutz on Feb. 5, 1936) is that in December of 1933 at Lac du Brochet, the infamous "Eskimo Charlie" Charles Planinshek was convicted by Police Magistrate J. M. Cumines for using poisonous baits in the vicinity of Fort Hall Lake which was 130 miles north of Lac du Brochet in the Dauphin Judicial District of Manitoba. This was a contravention of Section 51 of the Game and Fisheries Act and he was fined \$204

-- quite a hefty fine at that time. Cumines also knew that Charles Planinshek and John Ivanchuk were the worst 'poisoners' in the northern district.

J.R. Hill commented that because of the conditions (game infractions) in the Lac du Brochet area he felt that there should be a permanent Game Guardian stationed there. Because of a very limited appropriation (budget), all he could do was send a man in by plane a couple times a year. He also commented that Mr. Jas. M. Cumines, Police Magistrate at Lac du Brochet, had rendered a great deal of assistance, but he could not be expected to enforce the Game laws and adjudicate at the same time. Jim Cumines was already quite involved in bringing an end to the uncontrolled Game Law infractions taking place all over that territory in Manitoba and Saskatchewan -- and as far north as the NWT boundary.

On January 2, 1936 Jim was appointed as a Game Guardian II at a salary of \$50 per month by the Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources. This was followed with a similar appointment by the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources at \$50 per



Constable Chappuis aboard the Lac du Brochet, date unspecified. Courtesy P.G. Downes collection.

month as well. Jim was also granted traveling expenses of \$2 per day for his dogs and \$1.50 per day for meals while he was on the road.

Manitoba provided Jim with a "list of duties" as set out for all Game Guardians, and Saskatchewan outlined the work that he would need to do to deal with the illegal activities on the Saskatchewan side of the border as well as cross border problems with bootlegging (laundering) of furs between Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the NWT. Regulations and seasons varied between all three jurisdictions. The fur traders knew this and some of the unscrupulous free traders encouraged the trappers to violate the law. Jim, who knew the fur trade very well, including the games played by the violators, called these people the "infraction men" - and he knew how to catch them too. Violations included killing beaver out of season when they were fully protected, penning fox, illegal snaring, using poison, and not paying royalties on fur taken. Jim was also instrumental in trying to get people to stop killing caribou indiscriminately and not to feed caribou to their dogs.

It didn't take Jim long to start taking his enforcement duties seriously. In March of 1936, Jim devised a secret code that the Saskatchewan Game Commissioner could use in order to relay messages to him via CKY radio broadcasts from Winnipeg about the opening or closing of certain seasons for fur bearers. He took the initiative to keep certain information confidential so that the unscrupulous fur traders did not find out ahead of time - which had happened when the Manitoba

Director relayed a similar message via the HBC store radio system, VY2F. If the fur traders knew when seasons would change all of a sudden they could change their game.

From February 25 to March 15, 1936 Jim made the first of his many wildlife patrols in the Reindeer and Wollaston Lakes area. This was a 20-day patrol covering 452 miles by dog team. During the next five years, Jim made 14 patrols by dog team or canoe on the Saskatchewan side of the border. These patrols covered the entire Reindeer, Wollaston, Hatchet and Black Lakes areas. There are no available copies of his Manitoba patrol reports although it is known that he patrolled all of the Reindeer Lake, Cochrane River, Whiskey Jack Lake, Thlewiaza River, Nueltin Lake, Churchill River and South Indian Lake areas in Manitoba.

Jim's fisheries patrol reports from Saskatchewan are still being researched. Commercial fishing on Reindeer Lake began in 1937 with 12 fishermen, and Jim was expected to license, inspect and monitor the fishery on this entire lake by himself. The known patrols he made and reported ranged from a short 110 miles to the Swan River area to the much larger 330 - 450-mile trips. One such 40-day patrol in 1944 contributed to some concern from his supervisor about his health. It is unknown how he knew the distances logged each day as there were only rudimentary maps available -- and certainly no GPS units!

In April of 1936 Jim completed a report regarding the illegal activity of John Ivanchuk, a known infraction man. He had

been trapping in the area north of Brochet; Jim was investigating him for failing to pay royalties on furs he had shipped to Montreal via Flin Flon. Ivanchuk was also reportedly using poison baits and trapping without a license in the NWT, and was the trapping partner of Charles Planinshek, who had already been previously convicted by Cumines. The investigation led to the involvement of Jim's boss, Mr. C.W. Ilsley, Supervisor of Fish and Game from Prince Albert, and RCMP members from Cumberland House, Prince Albert, NWT, and as far as the Criminal Investigation Branch in Ottawa - including the afore-mentioned Chappy. Although Ivanchuk was never formally charged with any of these suspected infractions, he was barred in 1939 from holding a license to hunt or trap in the NWT.

In 1937, Archie Hunter, the new HBC manager at Brochet decided to re-commission the Lac du Brochet, which had been beached for a number of years. He felt the sails were not efficient and had the masts removed. Jim, who was the first one to take the schooner out on Reindeer Lake in 1924, was quite attached to her and was horrified when he heard what Archie had done. Archie even had to contend with Jim's insistence on the method of beaching the schooner for maintenance even though Jim was no longer working for the HBC by that time.

During the summer of 1937, Jim's old friend Chappy made his first summer patrol from his detachment headquarters at Cumberland House to the Reindeer Lake area. Jim and Chappy had met at Ile-a-la-Croise 20 years earlier and maintained a friendship and camaraderie



Left: Winter fish camp: Jim is third from right, date unknown. Courtesy George Angell personal collection. Right: Jim Cumines relied heavily on his trusted radio for communication. SAB R-A10710-1.



over the years. Chappy admired Cumines. They eventually found themselves patrolling many of the same wilderness areas by dog team dealing with the same trappers, traders and fishermen. These fellow northerners also found themselves sitting around remote fur outposts or HBC manager residences late into the evenings discussing all sorts of mutual topics including the infamous four F's of the north.

In June of 1939 Jim began an investigation into the illegal killing of beaver and the bootlegging of these furs by two free traders on Reindeer Lake. In 1939 and 1940 beaver populations in both provinces were so low that they were described as being totally depleted and received full protection by way of a closed season. This did not deter some unscrupulous traders from encouraging trappers to kill any beaver they could find as the value for them was now increased. On August 4, 1939 this investigation continued with Supervisor Ilsley from Prince Albert and RCMP Cst. Wenzel from La Ronge flying to Brochet in a WACO aircraft CF AYQ. They assisted Jim in finding and flying all of the accused and witnesses to South Deer (Southend) for court on August 14. A Police Magistrate from Prince Albert was flown in on a WACO aircraft CF

BBQ. Seven Indian trappers were convicted of illegally killing beaver and two free traders, Steve Russick and Jim Gowans were convicted of buying these beaver pelts. 84 beaver pelts were involved!

In March of 1944, when Jim was 65, his Manitoba supervisor, Gerald Malaher wrote a memo describing the need to have Jim flown out to the hospital in The Pas because of his poor state of health. Jim had reportedly just completed a 40-day dog sled patrol of the commercial fishery on the Saskatchewan side of Reindeer Lake - and he had lost 40 pounds. He was hospitalized in The Pas and was granted two months of sick leave. He did not return to Brochet until May 9th. Shortly after, Manitoba Order in Council 446/44 was approved, allowing Jim's continued employment past the age of 65.

This was not the only time Jim's health was a concern. On August 3, 1944 the *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* both ran stories of a mercy plane being dispatched by the Honourable J.S. McDiarmid, Minister of Mines and Natural Resources in Manitoba. This plane, along with a doctor, was dispatched from The Pas to pick up field officer Jim Cumines who was suffering from a heart illness. Word of his condition had been relayed

via radio station VY2F in Brochet, which was part of the HBC private radio system. As of January 1, 1945 (because of illness) Jim was placed on light duty at a reduced salary of \$40.00 per month from each province.

Jim continued to be busy with the Reindeer Lake commercial fishery booming due to the demand for fish during the war years. In fact, there are accounts of upwards of 500 fishermen who worked the fish nets on Reindeer Lake during the winter of 1943-44. It's clear that he was one busy Conservation Officer!

During all of these years Jim was the only Conservation Officer or Natural Resource Officer for hundreds of miles. The nearest field officers were in The Pas, Flin Flon, Denare Beach or La Ronge, and his suggestions for establishing officers in Stony Rapids and Island Falls went unheeded.

Stories about Jim's heroism circulated the North, including tales of his single-handed arrest of three troublesome characters, of a defiant confrontation over rights of trespass with the once renowned Chipewyan Indian Chief Casimir, of the rescue of his traveling companion from a wintery drowning at the perilous risk of his own life, and of being run over while driving a team of



Jim's bombardier being by a sled, date unknown but possibly 1947. Courtesy George Angell family photo collection

Top: Marking fish boxes, circa 1950. Courtesy Frank Fieber, *North Roots* magazine.
 Bottom: Sample of Jim's weekly reports. SAB, Dept. of Natural Resources NR3. File A.4.6.



dogs through a stampeding herd of caribou.

In January of 1949 at a Manitoba Field Officer's Conference in The Pas, Manitoba Jim was presented with a Conservation Award for 1948 by his fellow officers for meritorious service in the cause of Conservation. The award came in the form of a silver tray and was inscribed as follows: "Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources · Conservation Award - 1948"

He was cited by the Honourable J.S. McDiarmid for his "intimate knowledge of the rugged country for miles around his headquarters and knowledge of the language of the native population and the ways and customs of the people." Jim cherished this silver tray award for the rest of his life. In 1974 he was posthumously commemorated at a ceremony at Brochet, where a memorial stone with his silver tray affixed to it was placed near his and his wife's grave at the local cemetery. Jim passed away quietly at his home in Brochet on March 28, 1961 while he was still employed by both provinces. He was 82 years of age.

Les Oystryk is a retired Saskatchewan Conservation Officer who lives in Creighton. He has a very keen interest in the history of Northern Saskatchewan, particularly the history of the people who used natural resources and the management of these resources. Les presently owns a consulting business called Amisk Atik Resource and Environmental Management.

DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES										
WEEKLY REPORT OF FIELD OFFICER — Name Jas. M. Gurness Address Lac du Brochet via Channing										
Date	Days in Party	Days Trained	Miles Traveled					Period from	to	REMARKS, PLACES VISITED, ROUTE TRAVELLED OR WORK PERFORMED. IF IN OFFICE DESCRIBE WORK DONE AS TO BRANCHES.
			On Foot	On Dog	On Sled	On Car	On Other			
March 2nd	7						March 2nd	to	19	Indian arrived who found poisoned wolves, remained at camp getting information regards wolves also white fish frozen in lake supposed to be poison bait--Regarding Stony Rapid Indians killing and disposing of beaver at Stony Rapids, see general report of Patrol.
March 3rd	11	35								Left Indian camp 8 O'clock, bad roads, deep snow, travelled north east for about 4 miles turned south, lakes and portages, going to get poisoned baits, came to lake where poisoned bait was set found some had been cleaned up. Nothing but deer horns still frozen in ice. White fish had also been cut out of ice. Camped at 7 O'clock. Snowing, South East wind, the country travelled is not so hilly more small lakes and muskegs.
March 4th	11 1/2	30								Left camp 7 O'clock, clear cold North wind, hard pulling snow shoes ahead of dogs. Travelled East till 12 O'clock, made fire, found white trappers trail at 1 O'clock. Travelled trail, had lifted all fox traps. Very few fur signs. Made fire at 3 O'clock near Out cabin of white trapper, followed trail, still travelling south arrived at Larson and Jacobson mail cabin at south of what is called Stony River out of Sun Rise Lake at 6.30 O'clock.
March 5th	8	20								No one at Larson and Jacobson cabin awaiting till noon, Arrival. Did not arrive left at 1 p.m. for Jim Addison's cabin Little Big Stone Lake, arrived at 7 O'clock, inspected his trapping license No. 57, counted his furs, had killed to date, 7 mink, 8 wolves, 7 x foxes, 18 reds, 1 otter, 1 ermine. Has a good cabin, good dogs, has a white woman which is supposed to be his wife.
March 6th										Remained at Addison's cabin 4 below zero. mild, strong north west wind blizzard. Addison reports poor hunt, no mink since Christmas. very few foxes. severe cold cause the foxes to hole up. Caribou scarce at this point, poor fishing last fall, low water the cause.
March 7th	9	31								Left Addison Cabin at 9 A.M. for North and Wollaston Lake at Big Stone Rapid, saw many caribou tracks moving north. Arrived at Wollaston Lake. Indian camp, no Indians here, the chief was shot by another Indian in mistake for a moose found letter saying they had all gone to Brochet with the body of the dead chief. I will return to Larson and Jacobson cabin Sun Rise Lake Stony River mouth.
TOTAL	46 1/2	116								

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 Snasarev, 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 doms 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.⁵¹ 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. ⁵² 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. ⁵³ Ibid.⁵⁴ 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 41.⁵⁵ Friesen, John W. and Michael M. Verigin, *The Community Doukhobors: A People in Transition* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1996) p. 88.⁵⁶ Supra, note 27.⁵⁷ *Manitoba Free Press*, "Views of Wadena, Saskatchewan" (May 24, 1926); Supra, note 28. ⁵⁸ 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. ⁵⁹ Ibid.⁶⁰ Ibid. Individual members of the colony were thus directly dependent on the CCUB central organization. ⁶¹ Supra, note 19, pp. 126-130 and note 39, pp. 174-182.⁶² Ibid.⁶³ Ibid.⁶⁴ Ibid; Supra, note 40, p. 81.⁶⁵ Ibid.⁶⁶ Ibid.⁶⁷ Ibid.⁶⁸ Supra, note 27 and note 19, pp. 130.⁶⁹ Supra, note 39, p. 177.⁷⁰ Ibid.⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 177-182.⁷² Ibid.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ Woodcock, supra, note 1, p. 257; Tarasoff, supra, note 1, p. 139.⁷⁶ 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 1924.⁷⁷ 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. ⁷⁸ Woodcock, supra, note 1, p. 285; Tarasoff, supra, note 1, p. 142.⁷⁹ Ibid.⁸⁰ 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. ⁸¹ Supra, note 39, pp. 184-196.⁸² Ibid.⁸³ Ibid.⁸⁴ 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. ⁸⁵ Ibid. Land allocation was based on acreage with reference to fertility and improvements. ⁸⁶ 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).⁸⁷ Ibid. The main object 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.⁸⁸ Note in 1928, the Starshina of the colony Families were: (i) Ivan N. Konkin; (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. ⁸⁹ Supra, note 14.⁹⁰ Ibid. Note Dawson errs in noting 12 Families in the Kylemore Colony; official CCUB records show 13.⁹¹ Supra, note 27. From 1928 on, these villages became known as the Popoff Village, Malakoff Village, Chernoff 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. ⁹² 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. ⁹³ Ibid. These new villages were thereafter known as the Chernenkoff Village, Pereverseff Village, Hoodekoff Village, Konkin Village, Makortoff Village, Samsonoff Village and Arishenkoff Village. ⁹⁴ Woodcock, supra, note 1, p. 290; Tarasoff, supra, note 1, p. 146.⁹⁵ 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. ⁹⁶ 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 \$2,398.00.⁹⁷ 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, 1930.⁹⁸ 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 48.⁹⁹ Ibid. See also Lapshinoff, Steve, *Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada, 1937 Membership List* (Crescent Valley: self published, 2001) pp. 66-68.¹⁰⁰ Supra, note 28.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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. ¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴ Note in 1934, the Society of Named Doukhobors of Canada delegate from Kylemore was Alexei I. Hoodekoff. In 1937, it was Havrila N. Kanigan.¹⁰⁵ Kalmakoff, supra, note 38.¹⁰⁶ 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."¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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 Families¹³¹

(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.

1 The literature is now extensive. See by way of introduction A. N. Lalonde, 'Colonization Companies in the 1880s' in D.H. Bocking, ed. *Pages from the Past: Essays on Saskatchewan History*, Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979, pp. 16-30; W.A. MacIntosh, *Prairie Settlement: the Geographical Setting*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1934. 2 On the growth of general farm production on the prairies between 1878 and 1914, see Duncan A. McGibbon, *The Canadian Grain Trade*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1932, pp. 23-41. 3 See J. Howard Richards, *Saskatchewan: A Geographical Appraisal*, Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan, 1981, pp. 125-29; Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History*, Calgary. Fifth House, 2005, Chaps. 7 and 13. 4 Charles D. Saunders had perfected the new strain between 1892 and 1904. See T.H. Anstey, *One Hundred Harvests: Research Branch, Agriculture Canada, 1886-1986*, Ottawa, Agriculture Canada, 1986; and Harry Black, *Canadian Scientists and Inventors*, Markham, Pembroke Publishers, 1997, pp. 98-102. The implications of this advance underlie the chapters on agriculture in Ernest J. Chambers, *The Unexploited West*, Ottawa, Department of the Interior, 1914. 5 Richards, *Saskatchewan* (1981), pp. 129-30; see also the general review in McGibbon, *The Canadian Grain Trade*, Chapters 3 and 4. On the depression years, see David C. Jones, *Empire of Dust: Settling and Abandoning the Prairie Belt*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002. See also, Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971; Barry Broadfoot, *Next Year Country*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988. pp. 1-3. 6 Filled with insights are monographs such as John H. Blackburn, *Land of Promise*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1970; James M. Minnie's *Homesteader*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1972; and W.C. Pollard, *Pioneering in the Prairie West*, Toronto, Thomas Nelson, 1926. 7 The original letters cited in this article came to light in 1999 among the papers of the late Griffith B. MacDonald of Toronto. The letters and related documents have been deposited in the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon. 8 *Listowel Banner*, Dec. 29, 1943. 9 *Listowel Banner*, June 13, 1935; Cameron R. McIntosh, M.P. (Battleford) to E.G. McDonald, July 8, 1935. McIntosh had moved to Saskatchewan from Dornoch, Grey County, Ont., in 1911 and was a cousin of E.G. McDonald. On McIntosh and his journalism career, see John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, Regina: S.J. Clarke, 1924, Vol. 3. pp. 1552-55. 10 On Criddle, see N.J. Holliday, 'Norman Criddle: Pioneer Entomologist of the Prairies' *Manitoba History*, 51, (2006), 8-15. See also Alma Criddle, *Criddle-De-Diddle-Ensis*, Winnipeg, 1973, pp. 232-33. 11 *Listowel Banner*, June 13, 1935; *Listowel Standard*, June 28, 1935. 12 The social history of these excursions has gained increased attention in recent years. See A.A. MacKenzie, *The Harvest Train, Halifax*, Breton Books, 2002. An insightful account by a participant is Robert L. Yates, *When I was a Harvester*, New York, Macmillan, 1930. 13 George Henry Ham, *The New West. Extending from the Great Lakes across plain and mountain to the golden shores of the Pacific. Wealth and growth. Manufacturing and commercial interests. Historical, statistical, biographical*, Winnipeg, Historical Publishing Co. 1888. 14 Alderson also worked the land of Duncan McMartin, who owned sixteen sections of land and was married to Alderson's sister. *Kindersley Memories*, Altona, Kindersley History Committee, 1982, p. 50. 15 Alderson also worked the land of Duncan McMartin, who owned sixteen sections of land and was married to Alderson's sister. *Kindersley Memories*, Altona, Kindersley History Committee, 1982, p. 50. In 1913, Alderson was one of the founders of the Central Saskatchewan Trust Company in Kindersley. *Saskatchewan Statues* (1913), Ch. 85. 16 *Kindersley Clarion*, May 31, 1911. p. 1. 17 T.D. Regher, *The Canadian Northern Railway*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1976, pp. 202, 207, 240-41. 18 'Many Homesteads Open for Entry Along the C.N.R.' *Kindersley Clarion*, May 8, 1912. 19 S.W. quarter of 23-8-24 west of the 3rd Meridian. 20 Balfour and Broadfoot (Regina) to E.G. McDonald, May 26 1909; E.G. McDonald to Balfour and Broadfoot, May 20, 1909. 21 Balfour and Broadfoot to McDonald, May 26, 1909. 22 Emerson Hough, *The Sowing*, Winnipeg, Vanderhoof-Gunn, 1909, p. 61. 23 Land Titles Act Transfer. Prairie Lands no. 1533. Canadian Northern Railway and E.G. McDonald. Jan. 22, 1912. The purchase was for the SE. Quarter, Sec. 27, Twp. 28. Range 24, West of Third Meridian. The price paid was \$1136.00. This land was confirmed as owned by McDonald in 1936. Saskatchewan Certificate of Title. no. 199P11. Day Book DR 5697. Dec. 30, 1936. 24 Obituary, Thomas Percival Gilbert, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, July 17, 1963. The Obituary appears to be in error in terms of the sequence of the name, which is elsewhere recorded as P.T. Gilbert. See also Book of Remembrance, Typescript, 1960, entry for P.T. Gilbert. Kindersley Museum Collection. 25 Book of Remembrance, 1960, entry for James Elmer McBain. McBain's marriage to Maybelle Cameron of Bruce Mines, Ontario, is of interest, for it may bear on O.G. Alderson's decision to come to Fairmount, owing to his family connections at Gordon Lake, close to Bruce Mines. On the history of the Farmer's Union see D.S. Spafford, 'The Origin of the Farmer's Union of Canada' in Donald Swainson, ed. *Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), pp. 254-66. 26 *Kindersley Memories*, pp. 384-5; Obituary, 1963. 27 A.R. Coleman to McDonald, Sept. 1, 1933. O.G. Alderson, on the other hand, brought considerable financial resources to Fairmount between 1910 and 1924, and worked extensive holdings. See the several photos in the Kindersley Museum Collection of the Alderson operations and homestead. On the McCormick brothers see *Kindersley Memories*, pp. 384-5, and Book of Remembrance, 1960, entries for M.A. McCormick and Collie McCormick. 28 'National Service League' *Kindersley Clarion*, March 15, 1917. On the League see W.H. Merritt, *Canada and National Service*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1917. 29 The social and economic shifts for prairie life brought on by the First World War has received considerable comment from scholars. A useful review is provided in Joan Champ, 'The Impact of the First World War on Saskatchewan's Farm Families'. Paper submitted to the Saskatchewan Western Development Museum, Dec. 16, 2002. 30 Gilbert to McDonald, March 20, 1920. 31 Gilbert to McDonald, April 6, 1927. 32 Gilbert to McDonald, Dec. 27, 1928. 33 Gilbert to McDonald, Feb. 27, 1929. 34 McDonald to Wright, March 4, 1929. Wright may have been the lawyer Peter Wright, one of the counsel retained by the 'dry' forces in the 1939 reference to the Ontario Supreme Court seeking to preserve the force of the Canadian Temperance Act. See W.S. and H.J. M. Johnston, *History of Perth County to 1867*, Stratford, County of Perth, 1967, p. 348. 35 Gilbert to MacDonald, July 8, 1929. 36 A.R. Coleman to McDonald, Sept. 1, 1933. 37 *Kindersley Memories*, 1982, p. 80. 38 Gilbert to McDonald, Aug. 15, 1934. 39 *Ibid.* Summer fallowing at this time was still very much a point of orthodoxy with western farmers and farm specialists. As soil started to blow around the west in the 1930s however, the procedure slowly came into question from several points of view. See 'Summerfallow' in *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2005, pp. 915-16; and B. Frick and E. Johnson, 'Summerfallow as a weed management strategy - pros and cons', Organic Agriculture Centre of Canada. www.organicagcentre.ca/Research-Database/ext-weed-summerfallow.asp 40 Gilbert to McDonald, Aug. 15, 1934. 41 McDonald to G.B. MacDonald, [March, 1942]; June 17, 1942. 42 Obituary, 1963; H. and W.P. Argen, eds. *Saskatchewan Curling: Heartland Tradition*, Regina, Saskatchewan Curling Association, 1991. 43 Gilbert to McDonald, April 28, 1946 44 Gilbert to McDonald, Jan. 21, 1945. 45 *Ibid.* 46 H.G.L. Strange, 'The World of Wheat' *Kindersley Clarion*, June 11, 1942. 47 Gilbert to McDonald, March 15, 1945. 48 Gilbert to McDonald, Aug. 26, 1945; Sept. 22, 1945 49 Gilbert to McDonald, April, 1946. 50 Gilbert to McDonald, July 11, 1946. 51 Gilbert to McDonald, Sept. 6, 1946. 52 Gilbert to McDonald, Oct. 20, 1945. 53 Gilbert to McDonald, Sept. 6, 1946. 54 See Alfred P. Gleave, *United We Stand: Prairie Farmers, 1901-1975*, Toronto, Lugas Publications, 1991, Ch. 7; 'Non-Delivery Strike Called' *Western Producer*, Sept. 5, 1946; Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, 1971, p. 217. 55 Gilbert to McDonald, May 9, 1948; May 24, 1948. 56 The achievement was that of J.H. Quastel and his associates. Quastel went to McGill University in 1947 where he became professor of Biochemistry and also Director of the new Montreal General Hospital Research Institute. See *Nature*, 159, 14 June, 1947, 802-3; and 'J. H. Quastel, FRS' *Neurochemical Research*, 5:9, 1980, 919. By the early 1950s, such chemical controls had become normative in farm practice in Canada. See for example, *Guide to Farm Practice in Saskatchewan*, 1954, Regina, Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture, 1954, pp. 79-81. 57 Gilbert to McDonald, July 22, 1948. 58 Gilbert to McDonald, Sept. 28, 1948. 59 Gilbert to McDonald, Aug. 23, 1950; Sept. 29, 1950. 60 Gilbert to McDonald, Sept. 28, 1948. 61 Gilbert to McDonald, Aug. 26, 1945; July 11, 1946. 62 Gilbert to McDonald, Sept. 28, 1948.

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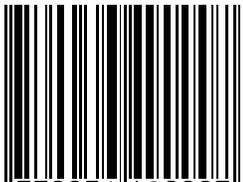
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Saskatchewan HISTORY

Volume 63 • Number 1 • Spring/Summer 2011

*Identified as Alfred Peterson with "Eskimo Charlie"
Charlie Planinshek, Putatow Lake, 1940. Jim
Cumines convicted Planinshek for using poisonous
baits in 1933. Courtesy P.G. Downes collection.*

ISSN 0036-4908



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