THE DOUKHOBOR HOMESTEAD CRISIS

1898-1907

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Kathlyn Rose Marie Szalasznyj

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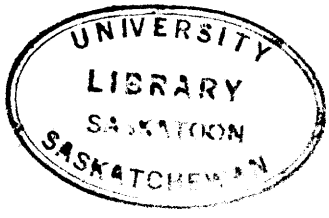

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the Doukhobor homestead crisis, from the granting of a land reserve to the Doukhobor settlers in 1898, to the final cancellation of their homestead entries in 1907. The initial terms of the Doukhobor immigration, and the settlement of the Doukhobors on the Saskatchewan lands are studied. The separate issues of the homestead crisis, homestead entry (1900-1902), the dissolution of the reserve (1904), the cultivation issue (1905) and naturalization (1906), are examined chronologically.

It is a study of Dominion land policy toward settlers, whose peculiarities extended to land-holding. The issues comprising the homestead crisis are examined within the context of general trends in Canadian immigration and land settlement. In 1907, the Doukhobors were compelled to adapt their land-holding arrangements to the requirements of federal land policy. This was an attempt to draw the Doukhobors into the Canadian model of land ownership.

This work also examines the homestead crisis from the Doukhobor perspective. For almost ten years, the Doukhobors tried to resolve the conflict that existed between Canadian homestead law and their particular faith. In 1907, their personal attitudes toward land-holding were clarified and the conflict was resolved. The Doukhobors' migration to British Columbia proved that with regard to property-holding the measures of the federal Lands Branch had largely failed.

Resource materials for this thesis are drawn largely from the P.A.C., R.G. 15, Department of the Interior Dominion Land Files, file # 494483, P.A.C., R.G. 76, Records of the Superintendent of Immigration, the accounts of Doukhobor settlement by both Russians and Doukhobors (especially V. Bonch-Bruevitch, Doukhobortsi v Kanadskiikh Preriiakh, and the Government Documents Section of the Murray Memorial Library at the University of Saskatchewan.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1899, over seven thousand Doukhobors immigrated to Canada. They were driven from Russia by persecutions, arising from their pacifist convictions. They chose to settle in the Canadian West, where free homestead lands were available. They settled on lands reserved for them in the Saskatchewan area of the North West.

The Canadian government at that time was very eager to attract settlers to the still sparsely settled agricultural lands of western Canada. The Doukhobors appeared to be practical and stable people,---well suited to the rigors of prairie life. The Department of the Interior welcomed settlers with these qualities. Favorable experience with Mennonite and Galician settlers, who were also from Central Europe, served to encourage the Doukhobor immigration. In addition, the Doukhobors' industry and self-sufficiency were warmly described by the Tolstoyans and Quakers, who aided in the immigration.

In the years after 1899, large numbers of settlers with diverse backgrounds came to western Canada. As the Canadian prairies were filled, the Canadian government became increasingly meticulous in the application and enforcement of land-holding policies. Before 1898, special concessions and exemptions designed to attract people with unusual religious, cultural, social or economic views were often made. Enforcement of the existing legislation however, became increasingly

rigourous as immigration and the demand for western lands increased. The legislation itself was not significantly changed; the willingness to grant special concessions and the interpretation and enforcement of existing legislation did change significantly.

The Doukhobors who came to Canada at a time when the Canadian government was most eager to attract settlers and granted significant concessions, found themselves hard pressed when government policies became more restrictive and consistent. They lost most of their lands on the prairies in 1907 because they could not accept the conditions attached by the government to the granting of land patents or deeds of ownership.

The Canadian homestead system and land policy was largely copied from the United States and was designed to provide for the basic needs of all settlers. Each eligible person desiring a homestead was required to make entry for a quarter-section (160 acres) of land, by signing for the land at a local Land Titles Office and paying a $10.00 entry fee. Three years after the date of entry, the homesteader could be granted title (patent) for his land, if he could prove that he had resided on it (or in the vicinity of it) for six months of every year, and had made the necessary improvement. Minimum improvement was the cultivation of 15 acres of land. In addition, he had to become a Canadian citizen, which necessitated the swearing of an oath of allegiance. This was the basic homestead system, which, with minor modification, had been in operation since 1871.

The Dominion was willing to recognize the particular needs of settlers, provided that the basic requirements of homesteading would still be met. Settlers who were unable to sustain themselves in the first months of settlement, might be given some financial assistance, or food supplies, for which liens against their homestead entries would be taken.[1]

Group settlers were sometimes granted a reserve of land from which they could have exclusive choice of homestead quarters. These reserves were granted because the settlers wished to live in close proximity to one another and to preserve social or cultural ties.[2] They were granted with the intent that the reserve would be dissolved after the settlers had chosen their homesteads, and that the settlers would fulfill the requirements of homestead law.

In addition, a Hamlet Clause in the Dominion Land Act allowed any group of settlers (over twenty families) to settle for social advantage in a village or hamlet.[3] Each hamlet dweller however, was expected to fulfill all of the cultivation requirements for land patent on his own homestead.

The Doukhobor immigrants who arrived in 1899 were group settlers, with needs related to their particular faith. They desired to live in villages and to be exempt from military service. It seemed that both of these needs could be met within the framework of existing Canadian law. Communal life (residence) was possible under the Hamlet Clause of the Dominion Land Act. Other special concessions such as exemption from military service for conscientious objectors could be attained under Clause 41 of the Militia Act.[4]

Conflict over homestead law developed between the Canadian land authorities and the Doukhobors after these immigrants settled within areas reserved for their homestead selection. The Doukhobors felt that their faith was incompatible with some of the requirements of homestead law, and as communal settlers, they should be exempt from the requirements. Each of the requirements,---homestead entry, the residence and cultivation regulations, and the oath of allegiance, were contested by the Doukhobors who found these requirements at variance with their spiritual beliefs and communistic tendencies. The homestead issues were further complicated by the fact that in 1902, the Minister of the Interior informed the Doukhobors that communal cultivation per village could be substituted for improvements on each quarter-section.

By 1906, the Doukhobor homestead crisis was a subject of prime interest in the West. Conflict with the Doukhobor homesteaders had to be resolved in an atmosphere charged with prairie land hunger. The public cried for "one law for Doukhobors and Canadians". In 1907, the Land authorities took action against the Doukhobor homesteaders, by forcing them to operate strictly within the bounds of Dominion land law.

The Doukhobor homestead crisis was a long struggle to define the homestead rights and obligations of the Doukhobor settlers. Its beginnings were traceable to pre-immigration negotiations, and what the Doukhobors referred to as "promises of full liberty" made to them on their

arrival. It was a cumulative crisis in the relationship between the Canadian land authorities and immigrants, whose settlement these authorities had fostered.[5]

The homestead crisis provides a striking example of the difficulties that the Dominion faced in handling the individual needs and differences of its settlers, and the degree to which conformity could be sacrificed. The ruling of 1907, which resulted in the cancellation of the majority of the Doukhobor entries, demonstrated that conformity would be imposed by the Land authorities, if they felt that individual peculiarities were retarding the socio-economic development of the West. In 1907, land hunger and a changed demographic situation on the prairies showed that peculiarities did not have to be tolerated in the interests of the West. The Doukhobor homestead crisis is also an illustration of how land policy was used as an instrument, whereby "peculiar settlers" might be drawn into the social and cultural, as well as economic mainstream of Canadian life.

The roots of the Doukhobor homestead crisis, from the granting of a land reserve to these settlers in 1898 to the final cancellation of their homestead entries in 1907, will be examined in succeeding pages. The initial terms of immigration and land settlement, and the settlement of these immigrants on Saskatchewan lands are studied, insofar as they contribute to a clear understanding of the land crisis. Dominion land policy toward the

Doukhobor, from the perspective of general trends in immigration and land settlement, is also an important factor. For the sake of clarity, the separate issues constituting the homestead crisis are examined in the chronological order in which they occurred.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]Vladimir Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada (1895-1900): Toronto, U. of Toronto Press, 1967, p. 146. He records that nine of the Galician homesteaders settled near Stuart Burn, Manitoba were granted such assistance in settlement. Liens were taken on their homesteads.

[2]e.g. the Mennonite and Icelandic group settlers.

[3]see page 44 of this thesis for the exact wording of this clause.

[4]refer to page 43 of this thesis for more information on this clause.

[5]A cumulative crisis is defined as: "A problem that develops slowly through a long series of events finally reaching a stage where it is disruptive to the normal life of the individual or group so that it can no longer be ignored". G. A Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology: New York, Thomas Y Crowell Co., 1969, p. 88.

CHAPTER ONE

DREAMS OF A PRAIRIE HOME:
THE DOUKHOBORS AND CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

Introduction:

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the protagonists of the Doukhobor land crisis of 1907 prior to their meeting. They are the Doukhbor people and the Department of the Interior.

A brief history of the Doukhobors in Russia, and in particular, of events that led to their need for a new home is presented. The major characteristics of these people are outlined, bringing to light the major prerequisites that an adopted homeland would have to offer them.

The general trend of Canadian immigration and land policy prior to the Doukhobors' arrival in 1899 is also examined. The extent to which the immigration of the Doukhobors would complement this trend and satisfy the ideals of the Department of the Interior is a key factor in the development of the Doukhobor land crisis.

I. The Doukhobors Prior to Their Immigration from Russia

The Doukhobors who came to Canada in 1899 were members of a Russian Christian sect, which had emerged in southern Russia in the early eighteenth century. The facts of their history were almost unknown in both Eastern Europe and the Western world.[1] It was not until the late 1890's that a wave of persecution against these sectarians caught the attention of prominent members of the Russian intelligentsia and the world abroad, and brought the principal characteristics of these people to light.

The Doukhobors were a priestless religious group, whose faith centred on the belief that every man carried within him the Divine spark of the Holy Spirit.[2] The Doukhobors were pacifists who believed that each person was a temple of the Holy Spirit. The destruction of human life was therefore regarded as a grievous sin. Their belief in the presence of the Holy Spirit led to their reliance on expressions of the Spirit (prophecies, worshipful praise and song) rather than on the written Word. By the 1800's, a heritage of psalms and prayers, called the Living Book, was passed on orally from generation to generation.

By the early nineteenth century, the Doukhobors had established themselves as a separate body of settlers, along the Molochnaya River, in the Taurida province of southern Russia. Tsar Alexander I granted them the status of colonists, under liberal terms.[3] In 1829, their population was numbered at 3,985, consisting mainly of peasants and

soldiers who had turned to the faith.[4] They were known in the area as good agriculturalists, generous neighbours and ardent believers.

Conflict with the Russian state and Church was a repeated feature of the sect's history. Their pacifist tradition and non-compliance with the Orthodox faith several times cost them their lands, and the lives of some members. The Doukhobors believed in the equality of all men, and that God gave to each man the ability to discern His will, through the human conscience. This applied even to secular law:[5]

> They hold all people equal, brethren. They extend this idea of equality also to the Government authorities; obedience to whom they do not consider binding upon them in those cases when the demands of these authorities are in conflict with their conscience, while, in all that does not infringe on what they regard as the will of God, they willingly fulfill the desire of the authorities.

The Doukhobors always had leaders within their own body. They believed that God gave to these chosen men or women a special annointing, whereby they could interpret the will of God for the collective body of believers. Leadership succession was based on blood ties to the earliest Doukhobor leaders. Throughout most of the 19th century, members of the Kalmykov family led the Doukhobor people.[6] The leader's authority was accepted without dispute, as his (or her) words were treated as Divine direction.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Doukhoborism had become more than a branch of the Christian faith; it had become an entire way of life with cultural, economic and

spiritual connotations. The growth of the Doukhobor way of life was promoted by the geographic isolation of the Doukhobors after 1840, when they were forcibly resettled in the Wet Mountains area, and were granted the status of a penal colony. Settlements were established in the Tiflis province of the Wet Mountains, in neighbouring Yelizavetopol, and later in the Kars region. Here, by the 1880's, the Doukhobors were prosperous landowners,boasting a population of almost twenty thousand.[7]

A unique Slavic dialect emerged and distinct dress was adopted. A tradition of communal sharing in hard times also existed. Communal life was commonly accepted as a means of survival in times of severe persecution. Their belief in the equality of all men did not erase economic disparity from their ranks. A class system existed, in which families related to the ruling family comprised the upper ranks.

The Doukhobor settlements were block settlements, exhibiting many of the characteristics of the traditional Russian mir or village commune.[8] Pastures and hay meadows were held in common, but the land was cultivated individually. The Doukhobors lived in scattered villages. Decisions pertaining to agricultural work (what work was to be done, and when it was to commence) were made in informal meetings (sobranyi) of the villagers, under the direction of village elders (startsi). There is no indication that the Doukhobor holdings were subject to periodic equalization and redistribution, which was characteristic of peasant holdings in other

parts of Russia.[9] The Doukhobor aristocracy including the Verigins, Podovinikovs and the Vereshchagins, had bigger herds and better homes than others,which suggests that they also had bigger land holdings.[10]

The Doukhobor settlements were governed internally by the Orphan's Home. This title was given to both a building, which served as the leader's residence and an assembly hall, and a political-economic institution that "...combined in miniature the function of a palace, a Vatican, a treasury, and a welfare centre."[11] Tithes from individual Doukhobors were gathered there, to be used by the needy and to maintain the leader. The common granaries of the Home stored grain for hard times.

During the 1880's, a leadership crisis split Doukhobor ranks. Conflict emerged in 1886, when Lukeria Kalmykova, who had ruled for 22 years, died, leaving strong indications that Peter Vasilevitch Verigin was to succeed her. Verigin's claim to leadership, as a great-grandson of leader Saveli Kapustin, was bolstered by rumors that he was the actual son of Lukeria.[12] Lukeria had drawn him aside for years of personal instruction, which was interpreted as a sign that she favored Verigin as her successor.

Verigin's claims to leadership were contested by Lukeria's brother, Mikolai Hubanov. A decade of battle between Verigin's followers and those of Hubanov ensued, which was finally overcome by the emigration of the Veriginites from Russia.

The Hubanov party appealed to the Russian authorities to settle the leadership struggle. This resulted in the imprisonment of Verigin as a disturber of peace in 1887. He was exiled to northern Russia, and many of his supporters suffered at the hands of the Hubanov supporters and the Russian authorities.[13] Verigin's followers numbered over 7,000 in a total Doukhobor population of 20,000.

From 1887 to 1898, when the Veriginites emigrated from Russia, these Doukhobors grew as a separate, splinter body. They were united in their acceptance of Verigin as leader, and in obedience to his directions which, in Doukhobor tradition, were accepted as words from God. By the 1890's, Verigin's directives from exile outlined a Doukhobor existence clearly distinguishable from that of the Hubanov Party. In 1896, the Veriginites adopted a new title, the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.[14]

The influence of Leo Tolstoy and of Populists, whose writings Verigin read in exile, was evident in the directives that he sent to his people. This influence complemented Doukhobor ideals which had been important in the previous history of the sect. A strengthening of personal moral-spiritual codes among the Veriginites was evident. Vegetarianism and abstention from alcohol and tobacco were urged by Verigin.

Another distinguishing characteristic of Verigin's group was its bold pacifist stand, which signalled a return to old Doukhobor ways rather than a departure from them. The Doukhobor position vis-a-vis militarism had become very

important after 1874, when general conscription was introduced throughout the Russian Empire.[15] The Veriginites actively resisted military service in 1895, when eleven Doukhobors, serving in a reserve battalion in Yelizavetopol refused to bear arms.[16] Chastisement of the men sparked further resistance, and the smuggled letters of their leader urged fortitude. The pacifist stand of the Veriginites culminated in a mass burning of weapons on St. Peter's Day, June 29, 1895, under the secret direction of Verigin.[17] St. Peter's Day would be a celebrated symbol of Doukhobor courage, even in Canada.

A third major change in the Doukhobor way of life was the adoption of communal village life, urged by Verigin in 1893. This was possible only because whole villages had made a commitment to follow Verigin. His call to "hold all things in common", to pay off debts to those outside the community, and to forgive debts within it, was interpreted in various ways.[18] Some villages practiced total communism, while others simply established a communal fund, and shared with the poor, but followed an individualistic method of land cultivation and animal husbandry. It is possible that Verigin hoped that communal life would meet the socio-economic needs traditionally met by the Orphan's Home. In 1887, Russian courts had decided that the Hubanov party owned the Home, and the Veriginites were left without this important institution.[19]

In 1896, a more explicit message, relayed by messenger Vasya Pozdnyakov from Verigin in Obdorsk reinforced the previous call for communal life.[20]

> I want the Doukhobors to live in communities, but they should be based on a free principle. Each family should have a separate house, a pair of horses, and a cow at their disposal.. All the work in the fields should be done together.

His followers interpreted these calls within the realm of past Doukhobor experience as signs that physical hardship was to come. The strong moral-spiritual stand of the Veriginites met with disapproval from the larger body of Doukhobors, and with severe reprisals where Verigin's precepts clashed with Russian secular law. Military resistance resulted in northern exiles and imprisonment. Reports of persecution of the Veriginites began to drift out of the Caucasus.

In 1894, Verigin's personal refusal to swear an oath of allegiance to Tsar Nicholas II resulted in relocation of Verigin, still farther north, in Obdorsk.[21] The weapon-burning demonstration led to the forced resettlement of 4,300 of his followers in four Georgian valleys in the Batum region of Transcaucasia.[22] These impoverished pacifist Christians, many of whom were perishing from malaria, caught the attention of the literate public in Russia and abroad, and sympathizers rallied to their cause.

Their plight was made known by a number of prominent members of the Russian nobility who held similar views about militarism and Christian faith. Their cause was taken up by Prince Khilkov, an Officer of the Hussar Guards turned pacifist and peasant liberator; by the religious anarchist, Leo Tolstoy; and by ex-naval officer Pavel Biriukov. Reports

of Doukhobor exiles and chastisements reached the West as early as 1895, when Biriukov published an article entitled "Persecution of Christians in Russia" in The Times. Tolstoyans and Quakers in England rallied to the moral and financial support of these suffering Christians.

The appeals for aid were based more upon the physical urgency of aiding the Batum exiles, than on detailed knowledge of the Doukhobors and their principles. Letters from the Caucasus spoke of alarmingly high death rates (in the Gory district, 147 deaths had occurred among 190 families)[24] starvation and sickness among the exiles. Appeal for Help published by Biriukov and two Tolstoyans, I. Tregubov and V. Chertkov resulted in the exile of Biriukov and Tregubov to Estonia. Chertkov settled in England where he succeeded in amplifying the Doukhobor appeal in a volume called Christian Martyrdom in Russia.

The responsibility for action,---financial aid, moral support, or emigration plans,---fell to the Doukhobor sympathizers, both at home and abroad. The Doukhobors could do little to help themselves. They were impoverished, as they had not been compensated for land losses in the Wet Mountains, and they lacked effective leadership. Help was not forthcoming from the Hubanov Doukhobors, who remained in the Wet Mountains and appropriated many of the exiles' goods, livestock and land. The Veriginite followers who remained in the Kars and Yelizavetopol regions, could do little for their exiled fellows.

In the face of manifold appeals to the Russian authorities by English sympathizers, Quakers, Tolstoyans, and Verigin, a hitherto unconsidered solution appeared: the emigration of the Veriginites. On November 1, 1896, Verigin wrote an appeal to the Empress Alexandra, which ended with a request for the right of emigration.[25]

> If the Government were to find it impossible to consent to this, then let it give us the right of emigration into one of the foreign countries. We would willingly go to England or (which is most convenient) to America, where we have a great number of brothers in the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Quaker Friends also appealed to the Tsar to allow this emigration, arguing that Alexander II had allowed the Mennonites to leave Russia under similar circumstances. Emigration was chosen because there was no alternative for the Veriginites. If they remained in Russia, disease, starvation, or state reprisals threatened to destroy the entire body. As late as August, 1898, Verigin was not entirely well disposed to emigration, stating to Tolstoy that Doukhobor principles would bring persecution wherever they settled.[26] The zeal with which the Quakers and Tolstoyans in England undertook the emigration scheme helped to convince Verigin that such a solution was possible. Appeals for financing the emigration and the search for possible homes for the Doukhobors began by March, 1897.

What were the major characteristics of these intending immigrants? Their sponsors understood them to be frugal, temperant, Christian people, possessing good agricultural potential. Most of all they realized the physical urgency of

their case. 1100 Doukhobors gathered at the port of Batum while the search for a new home continued. By the fall of 1898, over 4,200 sought emigration.[27] The sponsors' appeals stressed spiritual concerns as being paramount in causing the emigration,---concerns shared by earlier immigrant groups, such as the Quakers and Mennonites. Aylmer Maude, Tolstoyan and rug merchant, wrote in New Order:[28]

> The migration of the Doukhobors is similar in character to the expulsion of the Hugenots from France, or the early Puritans to America....it is not a migration undertaken from economic motives so much as it is an escape from the house of bondage prompted by religious motives.

It was understood that the Doukhobors lived in the usual mir or village system, and that they wished to continue to live in this way. The sympathizers were aware that there had been recent attempts to establish communal life in the villages, and that this had some precedent in Doukhobor history. They were unaware that a directive had been sent to the people which was concerned with economic organization in the new lands to which the Doukhobors would move.

This third call for communal life was contained in a letter from Verigin to his people, dated January 6, 1899. It was discovered by V. Bonch-Bruevitch, a prominent Marxist and Doukhobor sympathizer, who accompanied the Doukhobors on their Canadian voyage. He was astounded to hear that Doukhobors questioned on the type of economic life that they would establish in Canada, quoted verbatim from this letter.[29]

> It seems to me that abroad, it is necessary to establish life on communal principles, that is,

> one needs the necessities such as cattle, plows and other agricultural implements, and afterwards also bins for grain storage, mills, oil presses for pressing seeds, or, for example, blacksmith and carpenter's shops, at first even small ones, but they must be built with common effort; each village-colony must hold these independently. It is not necessary to settle in large villages. The largest should be fifty families. The village should be composed of small homes for the housing of each family; the streets should be wide; if it is necessary to settle in forested areas one should not cut down the trees surrounding the village, and if one settles in the open, then immediately the streets should be lined with planted trees. If the climate permits, then with fruit trees. And in general, one should at least plant a small grove.

This short directive would determine patterns of settlement in the Doukhobors' new homeland. It indicated Verigin's concern for the inner organization of the village life. It did not state whether Verigin favored communal land cultivation, or communal ownership of land.

The Doukhobors had also demonstrated that the swearing of oaths was contrary to their religious principles. Verigin personally refused to take the oath of allegiance to Tsar Nicholas II in 1894. He explicitly stated that oath swearing was a sin, as Jesus Christ had forbidden His followers to swear, by heaven or earth, or by any part of creation.[30]

The Doukhobors' sponsors were aware of the pacifist stand that the Doukhobors had taken. This characteristic of the Doukhobors was widely amplified in their appeals. The cause of these Russian pacifists, suffering for their belief met ready response, especially among the English Tolstoyans. Lands within the British Empire were examined as potential homes for the Doukhobors because compulsory military service was not the practice within them.

II. The Canadian West: Background to Doukhobor Settlement

The Doukhobor sponsors only began seriously to consider Canada as a potential home for the settlers sixteen months after the Tsar had granted them permission to emigrate. In the meantime, a temporary home for over one thousand of the Batum exiles was found at Cyprus. When the Doukhobors sponsors turned to the Canadian West, it seemed that they had found the ideal environment in which the Doukhobors could establish a prosperous agricultural existence. In turn, the Doukhobor people appeared to meet the Canadian Immigration authorities' concept of ideal Western settlers.

Since the early 1870's, the Canadian Department of the Interior had borne the responsibility for both the immigration of settlers to Canada, and their settlement on the Western lands. The prosperity of the West, it was generally understood, depended on two factors: the running of a railroad network westward, and the settlement of immigrants on free homestead lands served by these railroad lines. The free homestead system was adopted for the Canadian West in 1871; the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway took until 1885.[31] In the two decades after 1871, however, the West was neither prosperous, nor filled with settlers.

A major part of the problem was a general depression in the Canadian economy, that brought a fall in export prices. A weak recovery in the early 1880's was shortlived and wheat exports declined from 6 million bushels in 1882 to 2 million bushels in 1889.[32] Many Canadians emigrated to the United States, where lands were still available and greater economic

opportunity existed. By 1891, an estimated one and one-half million Canadians had left for the U.S.[33]

It was painful for the Department of the Interior to admit that the majority of people leaving Canada were those immigrants whom it had enticed for western settlement. Strong appeals had been made in the British Isles for suitable settlers to fill this British domain. During the 1880's, 5,000 steamship agents had been stationed in Great Britain to attract potential settlers.[34] The money and effort spent on this British campaign seemed to be wasted. Colonization companies, for whom lands had been reserved for settlement, were largely unsuccessful during the 1880's.[35] Net gains in land entries in the West during this decade scarcely exceeded that of the previous period, 1874-1880, when 5,085 net entries were recorded.[36]

A strong spirit of optimism concerning Western settlement was felt with the lifting of the depression in the mid-nineties. It coincided with the election of a Liberal administration under Wilfrid Laurier, and the appointment of the energetic Clifford Sifton to the post of Minister of the Interior, in 1896.[37]

Sifton embarked on a land and immigration policy designed to fill the West's empty space with enterprising settlers. Promising immigrants were those who could adapt to the rigorous climate, and build up farms where wild brush or empty prairie stood. Nationality was no longer a major factor in determining the desirability of settlers. In fact,

Sifton's ideal,---his "men in sheepskin coats",---would be drawn from the Slavic peoples of Eastern and Central Europe.

Sifton's land policy was characterized by centralization and flexibility of policy. A major complaint with earlier policy was that cumbersome and arbitrary rulings, and bureaucratic delays had slowed settlement. Sifton abolished the Land Board in Winnipeg, which had duplicated the functions of the Ottawa office of the Lands Branch, and transferred its duties to personnel within the Ministry of the Interior. Wide room was left for discretionary action by Sifton and his Deputy-Minister, and rules were sacrificed for the sake of rapid Western settlement. Homestead issues were handled with an eye to their individual merits, and were often weighted in favor of the individual settler. Strict regulation was discarded if it was to the detriment of the sincere, but poor settler. Sifton's biographer, J.W. Dafoe writes:[38]

> One can denote the new spirit in the new regulations, large and small. Young men taking up homesteads could fulfill residence conditions by living at home. Where a homesteader was in debt for seed grain, this no longer prevented him from getting his patent; it was issued with an indorsation as to the indebtedness. Local agents could authorize secondary parties to act for intending homesteaders, an authority previously attainable only on application to the head office.

Amendments to the Land Act had been introduced to facilitate settlement. During the late 1870's a Hamlet Clause was added, which sought to enhance the social existence of the Western settlers. It allowed settlers (a minimum of 20 families) to settle in villages or hamlets, for social

advantage, while farming their individual quarter sections. The clause also allowed group settlers to preserve their traditional way of life. The Mennonite communities were examples of successful group settlement under the Hamlet Clause. They had originally settled on an eight township reserve in Manitoba, in 1873. By 1898 the reserve was dissolved, for the Mennonites had fulfilled the requirements for homesteading.[39]

The Sifton administration added a Cooperative Farming Clause in 1898, to encourage Western settlement. It allowed ten or more settlers to form an association for which homestead land could be reserved, village settlements allowed, and improvement requirements for patent slightly altered.[40]

Basically, however, homestead regulations remained the same.[41] According to the Act, every male over 18 years of age, or a person who was the sole head of the family, was entitled to file homestead entry on a quantity of land not to exceed one quarter section, or 160 acres, of surveyed agricultural land. The entrant was to pay an entry fee of $10 to the local Dominion Land Agent for the land. He was given six months in which to perfect his entry by taking possession of the land, and by beginning to make improvements on it, in the form of residence and cultivation. At the end of three years from the date of entry, the settler, upon proving that he had resided upon and cultivated the land, would be granted a deed of ownership for it (patent). Required improvements on the land usually consisted of the construction of a dwell-

ing , and a minimal cultivation of 15 acres.

By 1902, even Sifton's opponents, who accused him of "subsidizing foreigners", had to admit that the fruits of his policy were evident. In that year, the Department witnessed the largest number of homestead entries granted since its formation,---a total of 8,167.[42] From 1897-1902, 29,514 entries were made, as compared to 13,147 for the 1891-1896 period.[43] The immigrants drawn from Eastern and Central Europe were proving to be industrious farmers, and appeals to potential immigrants from the U.S. were paying off in actual immigration figures. Between 1896 and 1906, 22,478,013 acres of land granted to railway companies before 1894 were selected and patented.[44] Before 1896, only 1,825,433 acres of Canadian Pacific earnings had been patented, out of a total of 32 million acres earned.[45]

The Canadian West was beginning to thrive. The merit of the two-pronged railroad and homestead system had emerged. In the eight years of the Sifton administration, 1896 to 1905, immigration to the West was transformed from a steady trickle of settlers to a hungry rush for Western lands.

III. Conclusion

In 1898, over seven thousand Doukhobors were looking for a home. Canadian Immigration authorities were looking for desirable settlers to fill the Western spaces. It seemed that the Doukhobors would fit well into the general trend of Sifton's immigration policy. They were good agriculturalists and were used to the hardships of frontier life. From the perspective of the Doukhobors' national background and religious beliefs, the Department of the Interior had witnessed the successful settlement of other Slavs (Galicians) and ethno-religious groups (Mennonites). In fact, concern for the proper moral-spiritual development of settlers in the West made the Doukhobor Christian faith more an asset to those parts, than a liability.

From the Doukhobor viewpoint, the Canadian frontier seemed to meet many of their specific needs. Block settlement of the land was not only allowed, but village life was even sanctioned by the Hamlet Clause. Conscientious objector status could be obtained by Order in Council, in the same manner as for the Mennonite, Quaker and Tunker groups. The Land allotments seemed generous, transportation lines existed, and sparse Western settlement insured wide selection in the choice of lands.

The final decision for immigration would have to be based on such factors as the speed with which the scheme could be completed, financial arrangements for transportation and settlement, and official documentation of the rights and obligations of the Doukhobors if they chose to come to

Canada. Intermediaries for the Doukhobors and the Canadian officials would have to establish agreement on these details before the Doukhobors would take up Canadian homesteads. A symbiotic relationship was in the making. The match, it seemed, would be a good one.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]For more detailed accounts of Doukhobor history and the Doukhobor faith consult Aylmer Maude, A Peculiar People: London, Archibald, Constable and Company, 1905; Joseph Elkinton, The Doukhobors, Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada: Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach, 1903; or Ivan Avakumovic and George Woodcock, The Doukhobors: Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1968.

[2]The Doukhobors believed that every man had the capacity to know the Spirit of God and be guided by Him:

> Since every believer has a right to approach God directly through the Spirit of God which is within him, there is a strong belief among the Doukhobors in the corporate power of all the 'people' to make decisions and a resistance to leadership in the accepted sense.

John Norris, Strangers Entertained, A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia: Vancouver, Evergreen Press, 1971, p. 191.

[3]Each head of a Doukhobor household received 40 acres of land and could take a loan of 100 rubles, at the low interest rate of 5 rubles per year. In addition, the Doukhobors were to be free of taxes for 5 years. Ivan Avakumovic and George Woodcock, The Doukhobors: Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 37.

[4]Ibid, p. 38.

[5]Vladimir Tchertkoff (editor), Christian Martyrdom in Russia: London, Free Age Press, 1900, p. 20.

[6]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 64.

[7]Ibid, p. 64. See Appendix A for the location of the Doukhobor settlements in Russia.

[8]The Russian mir was a unit of peasant village organization and local government. It consisted of an Assembly (the heads of the individual peasant households) and an elected Elder (Starosta), who served as an overseer and Assembly chairman.

Its main task was the collective payment of the soul tax to the Imperial government (a tax levied on each male peasant), and the distribution of land to each household. Each mir was assessed according to the number of its souls, and then equitable shares of land were distributed per family. Theoretically, land shares were determined by the number of

souls per family, but it was more practical to establish the shares on the basis of the working power of the family (as all males, infants or adults were counted as souls).

Arable lands were redistributed after census revision or when practical need made redistribution necessary. Hay meadows tended to be redistributed annually. The lands upon which peasant homes and gardens were situated were inherited and not subject to redistribution.

The mir had other duties, both economic and social, stemming from the fact that all village families were collectively responsible for the payment of the soul tax. These duties included establishing dates for the commencement of haying and ploughing, admitting new members to the mir, and granting permission to erect new buildings. The mir could also take action against peasants who refused to pay taxes, to the point of corporal punishment. A peasant seeking work outside his village had to get permission from the mir and he had to send money to the village to meet his soul tax.

In general, the Russian mir consisted of "... a body of unwritten, traditional conceptions, which have grown up and modified themselves under the influence of practical necessity." Donald MacKenzie Wallace, Russia: New York, Cassell and Company, 1905, p. 1961. For more information on the mir consult: P.I. Kushner, The Village of Viriatino: New York, Anchor Books, 1970, or Jerome Blum, Lord and Peasant in Russia: New York, Atheneum, 1969.

[9]The reason for this was that the Doukhobors were not serfs. Serfdom did not exist in this frontier region of Russia. Woodcock suggests that the Doukhobors were private owners of their lands.

While there is a scarcity of information on the organization of Doukhobor village life, it is important to compare the Doukhobor mir system with the village commune of the Russian countryside. A similar Elder-Assembly relationship existed among the Doukhobors. The Doukhobor mir's functions also included the distribution of hay from common hay meadows. It also made decisions on work to be undertaken. The latter might well have been a remnant of tradition rather than a necessity. The Doukhobors, as private farmers, did not have the same needs as peasants in the Russian mir. In the latter, work decisions were made communally because arable fields were divided into strips. One peasant could not be ploughing his fallow strip while others were still using their strips for summer pasture.

A basic difference was that nowhere in Russian did the peasants have an Orphan's Home. The Doukhobor Orphan's Home handled the collective tax, as well as welfare needs which the Russian mir had to meet.

[10]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 64.

[11]Ibid, p. 66.

[12]For a Doukhobor account of Peter Verigin's ascension to leadership, see Peter Brock, "Vasya Pozdnyakov's Narrative", Slavonic and East European Review: volume 43, no. 100, 1967, pages 152-176.

[13]Verigin remained in exile from 1887 to 1902. From 1887 to 1890 he was placed at Shenkursk; 1890-1892, at Kola, Murmansk Province; 1892-1894 he was again at Shenkursk. From 1894 to 1902, he lived in Obdorsk. Woodcock, op. cit., chapter 4.

[14]Ibid, p. 96.

[15]Ibid, p. 74.

[16]Ibid, p. 97.

[17]Ibid, p. 100.

[18]Ibid, p. 90. "In Orlovka, for example, the peasants pooled half their cash and used this as a communal fund to relieve distress; in addition the richer peasants from Orlovka made gifts to their poor brethren of livestock and implements, but there was no common working of the lands, no pooling of herds, and in general only a slight degree of communism. Even within the villages there were disagreements, and a number of the weaker brethren deserted to the ranks of the Small Party." p. 90.

[19]Ibid, p. 84.

[20]Brock, op. cit., p. 173.

[21]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 94.

[22]Ibid, p. 104.

[23]Ibid, p. 109.

[24]Ibid, p. 111.

[25]Ibid, p. 116.

[26]Ibid, p. 118.

[27]The various groups of Doukhobors seeking emigration were described in a telegram from Alymer Maude to James Smart, Deputy-Minister of the Ministry of the Interior:

2,200-dispersed and destitute
1,100-in Elizavetopol
3,100-in Kars
1,100-in Cyprus

Of these, 4,200 are seeking immediate emigration, largely the dispersed and some of the Kars-Elizavetopol areas.

PAC. R.G. 76, Records of the Superintendent of Immigration (hereinafter referred to as Immigration Files), file # 65101, vol. 183, "Doukhobors", Aylmer Maude to James Smart, October 29, 1968.

[28]H.P. Archer, "Aylmer Maude's Recent Visit to America", New Order: February, 1899, p. 21.

[29]V. Bonch-Bruevitch, Dukhobortsi v Kanadskiikh Preriiakh: Petrograd, 1918, p. 227-228. This is a personal translation.

[30]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 93-94. This message was delivered by Vasili Verigin, Vasili Vereshchagin and Vasili Ob'edkov from Verigin in Shenkursk. It contained plans for the weapon-burning scheduled for June 29, 1895.

[31]Edgar McInnis, op. cit., p. 394.

[32]Ibid, p. 405.

[33]Ibid, p. 407.

[34]James B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West: New York, Russell and Russell, 1939, p. 100.

[35]A. N. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies in the 1880's", Saskatchewan History: vol. XXIV, no. 3, Autumn, 1971, pages

[36]Hedges, op. cit., p. 12.

[37]Clifford Sifton was a lawyer, of Irish origin, who represented the North Brandon constituency in the House of Commons from 1888 to 1911. In November, 1896 he joined the

Laurier administration as the Minister of the Interior. He held that post until his resignation in February, 1905. He continued to be active in public affairs and Government Commissions. "His energy and insight and matchless gift for business made him the greatest force in the Government outside of the Premier". Henry J. Morton, Canadian Men and Women of Our Time: Toronto, William Briggs, 1912, p. 1022-1023.

[38]John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times: Toronto, MacMillan Co., 1931, p. 137.

[39]see Frank Epp, Mennonites in Canada: Toronto, MacMillan Co., 1974.

[40]It was possible for the Minister, under this Clause, to reserve both even and odd numbered sections for homesteading. Cultivation requirements could be altered to allow cultivation to be done in the general tract of land, as long as it was worth $ 150 per member of the association and the member had built a residence in the hamlet. Revised Statutes of Canada, vol. II, 1906, Chapter 55, Clause 122.

[41]Ibid, Clauses 108-158.

[42]CANADA. Sessional Papers (hereinafter referred to as Sessional Papers), vol. 36, no. 10, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ending June 30, 1902, p. xv.

[43]Loc. cit.

[44]Dafoe, op. cit., p. 133.

[45]Loc. cit.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FRAME IS SKETCHED: NEGOTIATIONS, AGREEMENTS AND PREPRATIONS PRIOR TO THE DOUKHOBOR IMMIGRATION

Introduction:

Negotiations between the Doukhobor sponsors and the Canadian immigration authorities prior to the Doukhobor immigration to Canada acquainted the Dominion with the major characteristics and needs of the intending settlers and the Doukhobors with the basic requirements of Canadian homestead law. The official terms of settlement dealt with two of the Doukhobors' needs: their desire for military exemption and for settlement in a block area.

The terms of settlement did not outline clearly the rights and obligations that the Doukhobors would have in their new homeland. Both Canadian authorities and Doukhobors later sought to clarify these rights and obligations and were disappointed by the brevity and ambiguity of these terms.

The negotiations for the Doukhobor immigration were completed in haste. The Doukhobor sponsors realized, throughout the preparations, that any delay in emigration from Russia would cost even more Doukhobor lives. The negotiations, spanning only four months, were completed by

December, 1898. On the prairies, the Canadian immigration authorities prepared for the arrival and settlement of the Doukhobors.

I. Negotiations Prior to Doukhobor Settlement:

Arrangements for the immigration of the Veriginite Doukhobors to Canada began in July, 1898. It was January, 1899 before the first party of Doukhobor settlers landed at Halifax.[1] By the end of June, 1899, the entire Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood had arrived in the West.

The Doukhobor immigration was one of the largest group immigrations for which the Canadian authorities were responsible. Immigration plans had initially centered around the 2,200 Verigi-nites dispersed in the Batum valleys. In October, 1898, 2,000 Doukhobors from the Kars and Yelizavetopol regions indicated their intentions to emigrate.[2] Fears that the remaining believers in Kars and Elizavetopol would be liable for mili-tary service drove immigration numbers higher.[3] In addition, 1,126 Doukhobors who had been temporarily settled in Cyprus needed a permanent home. By November, 1898, a total of 7,400 Doukhobors were included in the immigration plans.[4]

These plans were made by Doukhobor sympathizers, both in Russia and abroad. Commiserating groups, including the Russian and English Tolstoyans and Quakers were involved. Individual sympathizers most active in immigration negotia-tions were Prince D.A. Khilkov, Aylmer Maude, Vladimir Chertkov, and Prince P. Kropotkin.[5] They were in general agreement with Doukhobor ideals, especially with their pacifist convictions.

In Canada, James Mavor, a Professor of Economics at Toronto, and close friend of Prince Kropotkin provided

personal direction to immigration negotiations. Government decisions were made by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, who was assisted by James Smart, his Deputy-Minister, and by William McCreary, the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg.

In July, 1898, English Tolstoyans approached the Canadian High Commissioner in London about the possibility of settling the Doukhobors in Canada. Correspondence between Doukhobor sympathizers and Professor Mavor during August and September outlined the history and the needs of the intending settlers.[6] Letters recommending the Doukhobors as settlers were received from prominent Doukhobor supporters, including Leo Tolstoy and V. Chertkov. Mavor served as an intermediary between the Doukhobor sponsors and Canadian immigration officials, until a Doukhobor delegation arrived in September, 1898, to personally participate in the agreements. Concrete terms of settlement were reached by the delegates (Ivan Ivin and Petr Makhortov, from the Doukhobors and Maude and Khilkov) and the Ministry of the Interior.[7] These were formally documented on December 1, 1898, by Alymer Maude and James Smart.

Correspondence between Mavor and the Doukhobor supporters revealed the immigration concerns of both the Ministry of the Interior and the Doukhobors. While most of these considerations were not re-expressed in the formal agreement, their clarification was necessary before immigration plans could continue.

The Canadian interests centered on the personal characteristics of the Doukhobors and their adaptibility to prairie life. Mavor, in July, outlined six major concerns:[8] 1) the Doukhobors' agricultural ability; 2) their capacity for using government resources and aid wisely; 3) their personal beliefs---"Are they addicted to any of the outbursts of religious ecstasy resulting in sexual or other excesses..."; 4) their ability to adjust to the Canadian climate; 5) their educational views; 6) the numbers intending to arrive.

V. Chertkov and Tolstoy replied to Mavor. Both informed him that the"Doukhobortsi"are the best farmers of Russia",[9] and that they would use government aid properly. Although neither Chertkov nor Tolstoy knew the Doukhobors personally, they assured Mavor that they would adjust to any climate ("...in the opinion of several Russians who know them").[10] They were described as a "sober, temperate people, with a "chaste family life".[11] There was some ambiguity over their educational views: while Tolstoy felt that they would send their children to schools as long as there was no religious teaching, Chertkov replied that "...this (educational matters) must be left to the Doukhobortsi themselves to be consulted."[12] No indication was given of the numbers involved.

The Doukhobor concerns were expressed in a letter from Prince Kropotkin to Professor Mavor, dated August 31, 1898:[13] .It outlined three conditions that the Doukhobors' new home would have to meet. No historical sources exist to

show how these terms were arrived at, or who initiated them. It is possible that word was sent by Verigin in exile, and was passed on by the Doukhobors, Ivin and Makhortov.

The conditions were the following:[14]

1. "no obligation to military service".
2. "full independence in the inner organization of their lives".
3. "land in a block settlement".

The demands represented no major departure from the Doukhobors' general life style and religious convictions. Their pacifist stand was well known. Their request for conscientious objector status was not odd in the light of the immigration of other pacifist groups to America.

Their concern for full independence in the inner organization of their lives indicated their desire to maintain the traditional village commune, or mir system.[15] In general, the mir served as a unit of local economic government. It established and operated communal hay meadows and pastures, and made decisions concerning work to be undertaken. In other parts of Russia, the mir had additional functions: its treasury supported the sick and needy; it bought and rented land, and was responsible for the periodic redistribution and equalization of peasant holdings. Among the Doukhobors in Russia, the Orphan's Home met the welfare needs of the villagers, lightening the functions of the mir. There is no indication that the Doukhobor mir was involved in land ownership; the individual cultivation of holdings and the

inequality of wealth among the Doukhobors implied individual land ownership. As the Doukhobors were not involved in serfdom, there was no periodic redistribution of land holdings.

The concern for independence in the inner organization of their lives may also have indicated their desire to organize themselves in villages according to principles later outlined by Verigin in January, 1899.[16] He called for the formation of villages of less than 50 families each, and for the communal holding of local industries, such as blacksmith and carpenter shops. Only by having the mir in operation could his message be fulfilled.

The Doukhobors' desire for land in a block settlement was based upon their traditional patterns of settlement. Block settlement allowed the holding of communal pastures and hay meadows. Their request was based on practical concerns (for pasture block summerfallow and efficient group labor) rather than on fears of rapid assimilation should they be placed in scattered settlements. This would be demonstrated in their early years in Canada, when they put forth demands to live "like one farm".[17]

Their request for a block settlement on the prairies was based also on observations made by Kropotkin, when he visited the western Mennonite settlements in 1897. Kropotkin described his visit in an article published in March, 1898 in The Nineteenth Century.[18] Group settlement, he stated, was allowed and in fact, encouraged in Canada. The free homestead system offered large tracts of fertile land to

intending settlers, but the isolated residence of the settlers, he felt, was socially unpleasant. "Altogether it begins to be recognized that the village system with plenty of free space between the villages would have been preferable".[19]

According to Kropotkin, the most prosperous settlers in the West were the Mennonites, who had settled in villages:[20]

> They settled in Canada on the distinct understanding that they should receive the land in a block, and be left entirely to themselves;... they settled in villages and in these villages they maintain the institutions of mutual support and peace, which they consider to be the essence of Christian religion---a practice for which they have been persecuted for three centuries in succession by Christian Churches and States. The unanimous testimony of all Canadians is that the Mennonites are the wealthiest settlers in the neighbourhood. Their homes are spacious and have an air of homeliness which is often missing in other hamlets..there are no signs of poverty, although the Mennonite population has multiplied in twenty years out of every reasonable proportion.

It was evident from the writing of Kropotkin that "land in a block" meant more than simply settling the Doukhobors in close proximity to one another (i.e. on neighbouring quarter-sections). To the Doukhobors, "land in a block" and "group settlement" were synonymous terms.

Between August and December, 1898, the terms of settlement were restated several times. Kropotkin's letter had outlined the three concerns previously discussed. In September, Mavor informed Sifton that the terms would be the following:[21] 1) land in a block; 2) reasonable aid in establishing themselves; 3) educational concessions ("They

wish their children educated, but wish to be consulted in the mode".). Later, Mavor in his book, My Windows on the Streets of the World stipulated that only two terms of settlement were stated by the Doukhobors: communal settlement and military exemption.

The recorded agreement between Smart, on behalf of the Department of the Interior, and Maude, representing the Doukhobors, outlined two terms of settlement:[22] Canada would allow the Doukhobors a block settlement and exemption from military service. These concessions were documented in a correspondence between Smart and Maude, dated December 1, 1898. On the same day Aylmer Maude made formal application for the reservation of approximately 238,000 acres of land for the Doukhobor settlement.[23]

The Department of the Interior responded favorably to the Doukhobors' demand for block settlement, although it interpreted the request as a desire to live in one area, rather than to live communally. Smart informed McCreary that "The Minister is anxious to settle (the) Doukhobors in one locality and insists that they should be placed on the best land, or at least that the bulk of the land should be first class".[24] To the Land and Immigration authorities, block settlement meant the reservation of lands from general settlement until the Doukhobors would choose their homesteads. It did not mean communal living, which would have necessitated discussion of the Hamlet Clause at this point in immigration negotiations.

Two months of indecision and travel passed before suitable tracts of land were found by the delegates. Lands south of the railroad lines in Saskatchewan were already occupied and the search headed northward. Twelve townships near Beaver Lake, Edmonton were investigated, but an outcry from Conservatives regarding the inflow of Slavs to that area halted further plans.[25] The Pipestone region was also examined, but it did not contain sufficient open land for a group of such size.[26]

Khilkov's original plan was to reserve 12 townships of land to accommodate 4,200 settlers.[27] Later he confessed that he had not been aware that the Hudson's Bay and School sections were not available for homesteading in each township, or he would have requested a larger reservation.[28]

In late November, suitable lands were found in the Swan River-White Sand area of eastern Saskatchewan. The area included about three-quarters of a million acres with excellent soil, plenty of water and hay meadows. In the summer of 1897, two surveying parties had outlined 18 townships and had subdivided 9 of them.[29] In the fall of 1897, T.A Burrows had inspected the area and reported: "... the general impression of the trip was one of surprise at the large extent of fine land to be found in this district, possessing many atrractions to those seeking homes".[30] He suggested rapid survey, in anticipation of a large rush of settlers to this district by 1898.

By October, 1898, 8 of the 30 townships in this area

were settled.[31] Although rail communications stopped at Pine River, some 45 miles distant, the area seemed suitable for the Doukhobors.

The Doukhobors were to be settled in four or five colonies, rather than in a single settlement. Khilkov hoped to settle all of the Doukhobors in the White Sand area (Canora area) due to its proximity to the Yorkton supply base. The new plan was adopted on the advice of Burrows, who felt that if settlements were restricted to populations of one thousand, it would be easier for the Doukhobors to find employment along the railroad lines.[32] Khilkov agreed, provided that the colonies would not be too distant from each other. McCreary also assented, "...as they (the Doukhobors) would more rapidly become Canadianized".[33]

Formal application for the reservation of the lands was made by Maude on December 1, 1898.[34] This application is the sole surviving document pertaining to the land agreement between the Doukhobors and the Department of the Interior. In all, the reserve was designed to provide 1,485 homesteads on 237,667.45 acres, of which 158,560 acres were unsurveyed (67 percent of the total area).[35] The reserve included both the even and the odd sections, and as such the Department of the Interior undertook to exchange with the Manitoba and North Western Railway and the Winnipeg Great Northern a total of 124,665.53 acres.[36]

The second concession for settlement, the granting of conscientious objector status was clearly fulfilled by an

Order in Council on December 6, 1898, which confirmed the following recommendation from the Minister of the Interior:[37]

> The Minister recommends that under the power vested in Your Excellency in Council of the above provision (sub-section 03, Section 21, of the Militia Act, Chapter 41 of the Revised Statutes of Canada), the Doukhobors, settling permanently in Canada, be exempted unconditionally, from service in the Militia, upon the production in each case of a certificate of membership from the proper authorities of their community.

Since 1868, a clause in the Militia Act allowed pacifist citizens, for reasons of faith, to be exempt from military service. Both Canada and the U.S. were familiar with the "pacifist trinity" of the 19th century. Quakers, Tunkers, and Mennonites had been granted conscientious objector status under this clause.[38]

> Every person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Mennonites or Tunkers, or any inhabitant of Canada, of any religious denomination, otherwise subject to Military duty, but who, from the doctrines of his religion, is adverse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace, or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council may, from time to time, prescribe.

There were important aspects of the Doukhobor settlement which were not dealt with explicitly in the immigration negotiations. In future relations between the Doukhobors and the Department of the Interior these points would become increasingly significant. Both Doukhobor and Canadian officials would seek a justification for their stands in the preliminary agreement.

The Doukhobors' desire to live communally was one

aspect of settlement that was not clearly discussed and documented. The intending settlers understood that Verigin had accepted communism as a basic, although recent principle of Doukhobor life. Yet even the Doukhobors did not know the exact form that this communism was to take.

The Canadian authorities understood that the Doukhobors wished to farm in block settlements, and that they would be group settlers. The latter implied that they would live in villages, under the auspices of the Hamlet Clause. The Clause stated that they would have to make improvements on their individual quarter-sections, although there was nothing to prevent them from making these improvements by communal labor. The Clause stated:[39]

> If a number of homestead settlers, embracing at least twenty families, with a view to greater convenience in the establishment of schools and churches, and to the attainment of social advantages of like character, ask to be allowed to settle together in a hamlet or village, the Minister may, in his discretion, vary or dispense with the foregoing requirements as to residence, but not as to the cultivation of each separate quarter-section entered as a homestead.

There were indications from the Canadian Immigration authorities that the Doukhobors would be expected to meet the requirements for homesteading outlined by the Dominion Land Act, before they would become land-owners (receive patent for their lands). Smart informed Maude in a letter dated December 1, 1898 that the Doukhobors would be charged the regular homestead entry fee of $10, and that no patents would be issued until the fees were paid.[40] Any monetary advances given to the Doukhobors would result in liens taken on their

land. Smart's instructions implied that the Doukhobors would follow the regular procedure for Canadian homesteading; they would make entry for their lands, pay the fee, and make improvements on the quarter-sections, so that in three years they could qualify for ownership of the land.

While the Doukhobor sympathizers, who undertook the immigration scheme, knew the basic procedure for homesteading, there is no indication that this information was passed by them to the Doukhobors. The two Doukhobor members of the delegation, Ivin and Makhortov played minor roles in the whole business of land selection. Maude complained that he and Khilkov were forced to make decisions on behalf of the immigrants:

> Their (Ivin's and Makhortov's) usual reply, when a prompt decision on any point was urgently necessary, was to say: "We cannot decide; we are not empowered. Wait until all the brothers are here and then the matter can be discussed.."41
>
> The Canadian Government, on its side, naturally wanted some responsible person to treat with; and thus the curious result was arrived at; that Hilkeoff and I had, unwillingly, to accept the role and responsibility of plenipotentiaries for people whom I, at least, knew little of, and whose delegates more less distrusted us both.42

There were signs, in the few months following the Doukhobors' arrival in Canada, that they were not acquainted with the homestead system (i.e. did not know the minimum age at which one could take entry, or on what lands it could be made).[43] Not until 1900 did Maude outline the original agreement on land-holding, which he stated, was based on the existing regulations of the Dominion Land Act.[44]

> At first they did not want to permit community at all, but afterwards they consented to allot you the land so that you could live together, but to the existing laws. That meant, that every male of age should receive his 180 (sic) acres which he could afterwards transfer to the delegates as community property. To the Indians...are left undivided districts---but to the newcomers land is alloted only according to the existing laws.
>
> In other words, the government will not interfere with you using the land as community property but will not help you to do so.

A further point which the 1898 negotiations failed to clarify concerned the oath of allegiance which immigrants had to swear in order to be eligible for citizenship (and hence, land patent). Newcomers were given three years after homestead entry in which to take the oath, so that the issue may not have seemed important in 1898. In later years, the Doukhobors pointed to the oath as the prime motive for their Russian emigration, although exemption from the oath was not listed in their 1898 requests. When the Mennonites settled in western Canada, the right to affirm rather than to swear the oath had been included in a 15 point Privilegium passed by Order in Council in August, 1873.[45] Later, the Doukhobors were told that they, too, could affirm rather than swear the oath.[46] The ambiguity surrounding the Doukhobors and the oath in 1898 would lead to future problems over this issue.

There was also the issue of Doukhobor compliance with civil law. In September, 1898 the Doukhobor delegates indicated that the Doukhobors did not wish to register vital statistics (births, deaths and marriages).[47] This may have been a safeguard against the recurrence of their Russian

experience, where the registration of ages, births and marriages was linked with military conscription.

On September 17, 1898, Maude informed the Tolstoyan Committee in England that marriages must be registered.[48] He later informed the Doukhobor delegates and the Committee that the newcomers would be expected to live "according to the laws of Canada".[49] Doukhobor compliance with civil law was not written into the official agreement, probably because neither the Doukhobor sympathizers nor the Canadian immigration officials could foresee any problems in this area. The Doukhobors, in future conflicts with the Dominion, would refer to a promise of "full liberty" made upon their arrival in Canada. In actuality this reference reflected more their initial requests than any promise exacted from Department of the Interior.

No guarantee concerning the preservation of the Doukhobors culture and language was made in 1898. Kropotkin had pointed out the "...extremely interesting French population which maintains its language and national features amidst quite different surroundings".[50] According to Kropotkin, the Canadian educational system encouraged the preservation of ethnic differences: "...the Canadian government very wisely lets school teaching to be made in the mother tongue of the settlers."[51] Mavor in July, 1898 had informed Tolstoy that "...in pioneer districts no attempt is made to enforce the compulsory school law".[52] An implicit guarantee was contained in the Dominion's allowance of group and block settlement.

By December, 1898 the major precepts of the Doukhobor immigration were worked out. Maude concluded, on behalf of the Doukhobors, that "Canada is as free as any country in the world".[53] The expectations which the delegates had outlined had been largely fulfilled. Land in a block reserve had been granted and their desire for military exemption had been fulfilled.

The concessions offered to the Doukhobors, in the light of general Canadian immigration policy, were in no way extraordinary. The military exemption had been granted before. Temporary reserves from which to select homesteads, had been created for previous settlers, and had been dissolved when their usefulness was outlived. Nor was the choosing of lands by the Doukhobors themselves an oddity; in the earlier Galician immigration, Dr. Josef Oleskow, who headed the movement, made requests for land around Lake Dauphin, which were fulfilled.[54] Liens on the land were also normal procedure, in cases where government assistance was necessary. The typical concern of the Immigration authorities was that the new settlers would stand on their own financial resources as soon as possible,and avoid being labelled <u>wards</u> of the state.

II. Canadian Preparations Prior to the Doukhobor Immigration:

In addition to the agreements pertaining to land and military affairs, the Department of the Interior promised aid in the actual settlement of the Doukhobors on their lands. This badly needed assistance, which from the Doukhobor perspective seemed very generous, was given with the strict admonition that further government aid would not be given. The Doukhobors were clearly informed that they were not to become dependent on government help.

The immigration authorities understood that the Doukhobors would be arriving with meager financial resources. Mavor described them as "...by no means destitute",[55] but Kropotkin estimated their personal financial resources at £ 6,000.[56] This money would not go a long way in feeding and settling 7,400 immigrants. Donations and subscriptions pouring in from sympathizers in America, England and Russia were applied to the cost of transportation and provision for the people. Maude promised that aid would be given by the English Committee of the Tolstoyans for the Doukhobors in their first Canadian winter.

Dominion aid was offered through a decision to place the one pound per immigrant bonus, usually paid to steamship agents for recruiting settlers, at the disposal of the Doukhobors.[57] The total bonus amounted to $35,817.78.[58] A nine-member Doukhobor Committee responsible for the fund and for overseeing the general settlement was appointed in

Winnipeg.[59] Khilkov, McCreary and several prominent members of the Winnipeg business community were included on the Committee.

An oddity in Canadian immigration policy was that the Doukhobor immigration was scheduled for the winter months. Immigrations in the spring meant that settlers could move immediately onto the land, and in a few months could do sufficient labor for an independent, although meager subsistence. This winter immigration was practical in that the empty immigration sheds could readily house over 7,000 settlers. A major problem was that the settlers would have to be housed and fed in the sheds for at least four or five months, until they could get to their lands.

The practical, material aspects of the settlement of the Doukhobors was left to the Commissioner of Immigration and his Agents. Arrangements were made with the Canadian Pacific Railway for the transportation of the settlers from port to their settlements for the cost of $6 per head.[60] McCreary decided that when the immigrants arrived, 100 or 200 Doukhobor men would go out to the reserves and erect temporary boarding houses, capable of lodging 400 to 500 people per building.[61] In the meantime, a surveyor was sent out to the reserves to cut a demarcation around them.[62] The Interior also agreed to arrange for the purchase and freighting of vegetables, which Maude promised would be financed by the English Tolstoyan Committee.

The complexity of the Doukhobor exodus, combined with

the uncertainty of adequate finances and swelling immigration numbers made the whole Doukhobor immigration somewhat chaotic. Maude, who was at the centre of the negotiations, illustrated something of the difficulties involved:[63]

> There are ten centres with which I have to correspond and arrange about this movement, directly and indirectly. 1. Tolstoy-Moscow. 2. Sulerjitsky-Batum. 3. Biriukov-Cyprus. 4. Chertkov-Maldon. 5. Archer-Danbury. 6. Bellows-London. 7. Professor Mavor-Toronto. 8. Prince Hilkov-Canada. 9. Smart-Ottawa. 10. McCreary-Winnipeg...one needs all the suitable volunteers we can get for the movement (which is the most curiously anarchistic business move I ever encountered).

Maude promised that subsistence funds would be forthcoming from the English Committee, but as immigration numbers increased to 7,400, the Canadian authorities were informed that they would have to provide supplies for the extra settlers. The Dominion could have refused the additional 3,000 Doukhobors, as Maude urged: "If...your resources will not enable you to go farther---then I think the wisest plan will be for you and me to discourage any more coming out at present than we have means to provide for".[64] The Department of Interior's response, "See no reason why all Doukhobors who wish to leave should not be sent forward, will endeavor to house all who come",[65] committed the Immigration authorities to sustaining the Doukhobors beyond the bonus resources.

The Department of the Interior realized that the cost of providing for the Doukhobors until the 1899 harvest would outstrip the bonus money. McCreary estimated the cost of feeding one hundred Doukhobors for one month to be $236,

independent of freight and hauling costs.[66] Providing for the vegetarian immigrants was going to be a costly and difficult process. McCreary predicted that the price of potatoes would increase from 30¢ per bushel to 60¢ - $1.00 per bushel by spring.[67] 10,000 bushels for food and 600 - 1,000 bushels for spring seed would be needed. Problems of storage and delivery of these perishable goods had to be overcome. Even if donations and subscriptions were forthcoming, it was evident that keeping the immigrants in bare necessities for seven months was going to be an expensive venture.

Mavor warned against overtaxing the generosity of the Interior, suggesting the establishment of a subscription to meet Doukhobor needs, and that a loan of money and seeds be made, with security taken on the Doukhobor lands.[68] Maude toured the U.S., taking subscriptions on the immigrants' behalf, while the Quakers in the United States gathered donations. A Tolstoy Fund was formed in New York and Chicago on the Doukhobors behalf.

Several false starts and alarms hastened McCreary's preparations for the Doukhobor settlement. On October 17, the High Commissioner's Office in London reported that 4,000 Armenians were leaving Batum the following month, to settle in Manitoba, which caused a flurry of activity in the Winnipeg Immigration offices.[69] Due to delays in the Doukhobors' departure, McCreary was left with the problem of handling 10,000 bushels of spoiling potatoes and 15

tons of cabbage, purchased by the Doukhobor Committee.[70] By the dawn of the new year, Canada waited in readiness for her new immigrants.

III. Conclusion:

By December, 1898, the major precepts of the Doukhobor immigration had been worked out in ways favorable to both the Doukhobors and the Dominion. The expectations outlined by the delegates had been largely fulfilled; land in a block reserve had been granted, and their desire for conscientious objector status had been clearly fulfilled. The Immigration authorities had allowed almost twice as many settlers to immigrate as had been originally intended. Provisions totalling $35,000 had been set aside for the intending settlers.

Even after the commitment to allow the immigration was made and the larger details of settlement clarified, the Department of the Interior had to admit that it knew very little about the coming settlers. In fact, most of the Doukhobor sympathizers could have admitted it also, as none of them had spent any time among the Doukhobors. Mavor later stated that "I should have preferred before making such a recommendation as my friends suggested, to go to the Caucasus to see the Doukhobors and examine their situation for myself, but there was an urgency in their case that rendered such a course impracticable".[71]

There is no historical evidence to show that the Department of the Interior was made aware of the major characteristics of the Doukhobor faith or life-style. Lord Strathcona of the High Commissioner's Office in London informed Sifton that "There are certain peculiarities in their manners and customs, and in their religious beliefs,

which I understand have been fully explained to you". He suggested that these peculiarities be explained "in fullest detail".[72] It is most unlikely that they were explained, because until 1900, the Immigration authorities were not even aware that Peter Verigin, still in Siberia, was the leader of the Doukhobors.

Nor were the authorities aware that seeds of distrust of secular governments, sown in Russia, would be brought to Canada by the Doukhobors. Their general experience with the state prior to 1898 had been bitter. The years of exile, followed by favorable concessions, which were withdrawn upon the ascension of a new leader, did little to foster confidence in the secular authority. The strengthening of their moral-spiritual codes during the 1887-1898 period further negated the temporal aspects of life. The persecution after the weapon burning of 1895 solidified Doukhobor sentiments concerning the deceitfulness of Caesar's kingdoms.

As the steamship Lake Huron left the port of Batum on December 24, 1898 with the first of the Doukhobor settlers, the Doukhobor immigration to Canada became a reality. Even the Doukhobors at that point could not have foretold the form that the life of the Community would take in its new surroundings. The framework for that form had been sketched by Verigin's precepts and by the Canadian immigration agreement. The exact structure of Doukhobor life would be determined when the Doukhobors settled in their new environment.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]The Lake Huron arrived on January 20, 1899. Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, J. Smart to F. Pedley, Superintendent of Immigration, January 20, 1898.

[2]Ibid, Maude to Smart, October 29, 1898.

[3]Ibid, Maude to Smart, October 22, 1898.

[4]There is some debate concerning the actual numbers that arrived in Canada. Bonch-Bruevitch recorded 7,160 Doukhobor immigrants and Aylmer Maude 7,363 (see Woodcock, op. cit., p. 148). The "Report of the Deputy-Minister of the Interior" in Sessional Papers, vol. 34, no. 10, 1900, stated that 7,400 Doukhobor settlers arrived in Canada.

[5]Prince D. A. Khilkov had been stationed among the Doukhobors during the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) and had been attracted to their beliefs. He resigned from the army and under the influence of Tolstoyan ideals, divided his estates among his peasants. He was exiled to the Caucasus and renewed his attachment to the Doukhobors. He was instrumental in acquainting Tolstoy with the plight of the Doukhobors after 1895. Woodcock, op. cit., p. 108.

Alymer Maude was an English rug merchant, with business connections in Russia. He became a dedicated follower of Tolstoy, and sponsor of the Doukhobors, being especially active in the Canadian immigration scheme. He later became disillusioned with them (as he did with the Tolstoyans), and wrote an critical history of the Doukhobors, entitled A Peculiar People.

Vladimir Chertkov, described as a "notoriously quarrelsome pacifist", was also a follower of Tolstoyan philosophy. He was exiled to England after 1897, for the publication of an Appeal for Help, which provided information on the suffering Doukhobors. In England, he formed a Tolstoyan Colony at Purleigh, Essex, and operating a printing press (Free Age Press), Woodcock, op. cit., p. 112.

Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) was a well-known Russian intelligent from an old noble family. He was a graduate of the Corps des Pages; he sacrificed both position and wealth for the sake of revolutionary anarchy. He was associated with Michael Bakunin's philosophy, and played an an active role in the populist ("to the people") movement during the 1870's, for which he spent two years in the Peter-Paul fortress. M.T. Florinsky, Russia: New York, MacMillan Company, 1953, vol. II, p. 1076-1077.

[6]The majority of these correspondences are found in the James Mavor Papers, Doukhobor Immigration (1898-1899).

[7]There are few references made to Ivin and Makhortov. They played prominent roles in the Cyprus immigration: Ivin and Makhortov and their families were sent to England in July, 1898 to complete the negotiations, Woodcock, op. cit., p. 122.

[8]James Mavor Papers, Mavor to Tolstoy, letter # 7, July 26, 1898.

[9]Ibid, Tolstoy to Mavor, letter # 10, August 16, 1898. The comments on the Doukhobors' agricultural capacities made by the Doukhobor sponsors were based on a single incident, recorded by Leopold Soulerjitsky, that occurred in the Skra district of the Caucasus. A certain landowner leased to the Doukhobors six acres of land. He supplied the seed, while the Doukhobors labored on the land. Two-thirds of the profit accrued to the Doukhobors, and the remainder to the landlord. The landlord's profits were three times greater than that of other years. All landlords in the Skra area offered their lands to the Doukhobors in the following year. This incident was repeated three times in correspondence between the Doukhobor sympathizers and Mavor.

[10]Ibid, Vladimir Chertkov to Mavor, letter # 12, August 27, 1898.

[11]Loc. cit.

[12]Ibid, V. Chertkov to Mavor, letter # 12, August 27, 1898.

[13]Ibid, Peter Kropotkin to Mavor, letter # 15, August 31, 1898.

[14]Loc. cit.

[15]I. P. Kushner, op. cit., and Jerome Blum, op. cit., neither of these sources however, make direct reference to the Doukhobor village system.

[16]Bonch-Bruevtich, op. cit., p. 227-288.

[17]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 754, Village of Woscresenovka Petition, March 23, 1901.

We repeat that we live like (sic) one farm.

> We'll use the land thus: one portion of the field goes for tilling, second---for resting (sic) that is in time we'll sow it, the third portion---for mowing of hay.

[18]P. Kropotkin, "Some of the Resources of Canada", Nineteenth Century: March, 1898, p. 494-514.

[19]Ibid, p. 506.

[20]Ibid, p. 503.

[21]James Mavor Papers, Mavor to Sifton, letter # 19, September 8, 1898.

[22]James Mavor, My Windows on the Streets of the World: Toronto, J.M. Dent and Sons, 1923, p. 02.

[23]James Mavor Papers, Smart to Maude (no letter number), December 1, 1898.

[24]Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, Smart to McCreary, October 19, 1898.

[25]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 135.

[26]Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, Smart to McCreary, October 18, 1898.

[27]This was mentioned in a letter from C. Mair to McCreary on November 2, 1898. Lands Files, file # 494483, vol. 754.

[28]Ibid, Khilkov to McCreary, March 12, 1899.

[29]Sessional Papers, vol. 32, no. 10, 1898, T. A. Burrows, Report on the Swan River Valley, March 1, 1898, p. 06.

[30]Ibid, p. 13.

[31]Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, McCreary to Smart, October 14, 1898.

[32]Ibid, McCreary to Smart, October 15, 1898.

[33] Ibid, McCreary to Smart, October 18, 1898.

[34] Lands Files, file # 494483, vol. 754, Maude to Sifton, December 1, 1898.

For purposes of settlement by the Doukhobors who are now being brought to this country from the Transcaucasus, Russia, I have the honor to apply for the reservation of the following lands:

Fractional townships 29, 30 and 31, in range 32, West of the 1st Meridian; township 29 in range 1 and East (sic) half of township 29 in range 2, West of the 2nd Meridian; townships 30 and 31, in ranges 1, 2 and 3, West of the 2nd Meridian, and all lands open for entry in townships 34, 35 and 36, in ranges 29, 30 and 31, West of the 1st Meridian.

[35] Ibid, Summary re Doukhobor Townships, n.d. The calculation on the percentage of land unsurveyed is a personal calculation.

[36] Loc. cit. Solid blocks of even and odd sections were reserved, with the exception of sections 11 and 29 in each township, which were held by the Crown for educational purposes, and secs. 8 and 26, which were Hudson Bay Lands.

[37] PAC. R.G. 2, Records of the Privy Council, Orders in Council (hereinafter referred to as Orders in Council), #2747, Exemption from Military Service, November 30, 1898.

[38] Revised Statutes of Canada, 1886, Militia Act, chapter 41, section 21, sub-section 03.

[39] Ibid, 1906, chapter 55, section 21.

[40] James Mavor Papers, Smart to Maude (letter not numbered, December 1, 1898.

> If,however, it is found that uncertain colonies or persons are not possessed of sufficient means to enable them to carry on the work and the Government decides at any time to make any further advance either for maintenance or for the purpose of equipment, it is understood that liens on the land shall be taken from such colonies or persons covering not only such an additional amount as may be advanced, but all payments made by the Government as commissions or otherwise. This, as I have intimated, will only apply to those persons who may absolutely require further assistance.

> It is further understood that the Homestead entry fee of $10.00 will be held against the land and no patents will be issued until this fee has been met.....

[41]Aylmer Maude, A Peculiar People: London, Archibald Constable Co., 1905, p. 48-49.

[42]Ibid, p. 50

[43]Lands Files, file # 494483, vol. 754, Leopold Soulerzhitsky to McCreary, August 3, 1899.

> 1. I do not know who is responsible that the people on Thunder Hill have not yet been told about the conditions on which they can occupy land, but the fact of the matter is that they do not know yet anything about it...
> 2. Now I should like to know for sure what is the age at which a homestead can be taken.

[44]Immigration Files, file # 140124, vol. 237, Maude to Doukhobors, August 20, 1900.

[45]Frank Epp, op. cit., p. 192.

[46]This was formally expressed by Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior to William Evans of the Society of Friends, June 6, 1907. Lands Files, file # 494483, vol. 756.

[47]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 132. The major point of contention was the registration of marriages. The Doukhobors' reluctance to register births and deaths would emerge in these settlers' early years in Canada.

[48]Loc. cit.

[49]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 134.

[50]Kropotkin, op. cit., p. 498.

[51]Ibid, p. 506.

[52]James Mavor Papers, Mavor to Tolstoy, letter # 7, July 26, 1898.

[53]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 133.

[54]see Vladimir Kaye, op. cit., chapter 3, on the settlement of Galicians in the West during the 1895-1897 period.

[55]James Mavor Papers, Mavor to Sifton, letter # 6, July 26, 1898.

[56]Ibid, Kropotkin to Mavor, letter # 1, July 10, 1898.

[57]Ibid, Smart to Maude, (letter not numbered), December 1, 1898.

[58]House of Commons Debates, March 25, 1901, p. 1998. The Honourable James Sutherland in response to a question by Mr. Wilson. The total amount spent by the government on the Doukhobors by spring, 1901 was $55,817.78. Of this, $35,817.78 was the immigrant bonus. The remainder was spent on provisions, "...which will be refunded and to secure payment of which will be taken on their lands".

[59]James Mavor Papers, Smart to Maude (letter not numbered), December 1, 1898.

> ...This committee will be fully authorized to disburse all moneys placed to the credit of the Doukhobor fund, to the best possible advantage, and will receive all moneys to be donated by interested persons in the Old Country as well as in America. I suggest that this Committee be composed of Mr. Isaac Campbell, Q.C. of Winnipeg, Mr. Thomas McCaffrey, Manager of the Union Bank of Canada, Mr. D. W. Bole, Wholesale Merchant and President of the Board of Trade of Winnipeg, Mr. W. F. McCreary, Commissioner of Immigration, and Prince Hilkoff.

Mr. Alexander Moffatt, Accountant in the Commissioner's Office in Winnipeg, was chosen as secretary for the Committee. The additional members were not named in the correspondence.

[60]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 132.

[61]Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, McCreary to Smart, December 17, 1898.

[62]Ibid, McCreary to Smart, December 31, 1898.

[63] James Mavor Papers, Maude to Mavor, letter # 49, November 2, 1898.

[64] Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, Maude to Smart, October 29, 1898.

[65] Ibid, Maude to Smart, November 22, 1898.

[66] Ibid, McCreary to Smart, December 31, 1898.

[67] Ibid, McCreary to Pedley, November 16, 1898.

[68] James Mavor Papers, Mavor to H. Archer, letter # 94, January 23, 1899.

[69] Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, Canadian High Commissioner in London to the Superintendent of Immigration, October 17, 1898.

[70] Ibid, McCreary to Pedley, November 16, 1898.

[71] James Mavor, op. cit., p. 102.

[72] Immigration Files, file # 65101, vol. 183, Lord Strathcona to Sifton, October 25, 1898.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDATION IS LAID: THE DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENTS (1899-1900)

Introduction:

The immigration of the Doukhobors in 1899 was a highlight in Canadian immigration experience. It was a well publicized undertaking. Slavs and pacifists had come to Canada before 1899, but none had caught the public eye, as the Doukhobors did. The description of these coming settlers by their sponsors outshone descriptions of any previous immigrants.

The Doukhobors, during their first year in Canada, were chiefly occupied with establishing themselves in their prairie settlements. A direct relationship between the Doukhobors and the Dominion (Immigration and Lands Branch authorities) began, where previously intermediaries were of prime importance. This relationship was chiefly an economic one, which included establishing the boundaries of the Doukhobor reserve and providing for the colonies until they could sustain themselves.

These settlers continued to attract public attention, but much of the romanticism surrounding them was gradually eliminated. As the sect became a western community, and the major hardships of settlement were overcome, observers of the

Doukhobor colonies had to admit that these settlers called for special understanding. The Doukhbors' needs were not those of the ordinary homesteader. Schools, churches, and close proximity to the railroads--so important to other settlers---mattered little to the Doukhobors, who formed self-contained settlements. After the most pressing economic needs of settlement were met, the colonies promised to be almost self-sufficient. While the Doukhobors' industry was admirable, their aloofness from the local prairie community did not endear them to the public.

Would the Doukhobors' uniqueness call for special treatment as homesteaders? By 1900, there were hints that this question would be raised in regard to homestead entry. A radical Doukhobor minority, which equated land-holding with secularism and with falling away from the true Doukhobor faith, had emerged. The dilemma of dealing with settlers, whose obedience to the state hinged on how secular ordinances appeared in the light of their peculiar faith, faced the Dominion, which had generously fostered the Doukhobors' arrival and settlement.

I. The Arrival and Settlement of the Doukhobors

The hopes that the Immigration authorities had placed on the intending Doukhobor immigrants were not dashed by the arrival of the Doukhobors in Canada in 1899. The first party of settlers, consisting of the impoverished, "dispersed" people from Batum, were described by Smart as a "splendid looking people".[1] Personnel from the Immigration offices who accompanied the settlers on the west-bound trains lauded their cleanliness, cheerfulness and good composure.[2]

Public response to the Doukhobors was positive. It reflected a general desire to have the West settled, rather than detailed knowledge of who the Doukhobors were. L. Geotte, Member of Parliament for Estevan expressed the common sentiment:[3] "This is not a matter of politics but one in which all parties can agree. We want the country settled up and if these people are as presented, will make good settlers". In December, 1898, settlers at Whitemouth petitioned the Department of the Interior to settle the Doukhobors in their area.[4]

The Doukhobors arrived in the West as five separate parties, grouped according to their home locality in Russia. The S.S. Lake Huron, which arrived on January 20, 1899, brought 1,989 Doukhobors from the Georgian valleys.[5] These were destitute people, who had been uprooted from their homes following the burning of weapons in 1895.

Veriginites from Kars and Yelizavetopol comprised the second group of Doukhobor immigrants. They embarked on their journey on December 29, 1898.[6] Unlike the previous

travellers, these Doukhobors had sufficient resources through the sale of their property to pay for their fares and to have a small financial reserve. These 1,209 adults and 700 children arrived on January 27, 1899, but it was not until late February that they were released from quarantine.

A third party arrived on May 21, 1899 on the S.S. Lake Superior.[7] This party consisted of 1,030 Doukhobors who had been temporarily placed at Cyprus. The survivors of that rigorous stay were the most impoverished of the Community that settled in the West. A misunderstanding concerning the allotment of the prairie reserve kept the Cypriots in immigration tents until late July, where they battled malaria and other disease.

The arrival of the remaining Kars Doukhobors, 2,318 in number,[8] on two ships during June and July, 1899, completed the Doukhobor immigration. These settlers arrived with financial resources of 70,000 rubles,[9] from the sale of their property. They were accompanied by Verigin's mother, Anastasia Verigina, and Marxist sympathizers, V. Bonch-Bruevitch, and Vera Velichkina, a medical doctor.

The Doukhobors initially settled in two main areas, which soon became known as the North and South Colonies. The North Colony was located south-west of the infant town of Swan River, where approximately 69,017 acres of land, including both odd and even numbered sections, had been set aside for Doukhobor homesteading.[10] The Doukhobor settlement in this region was also known as the Thunderhill Colony,

due to the existence of a large hill by that name, in the eastern part of the settlement.

The South Colony included reserve lands roughly forty miles north-east of Yorkton, embracing the Fort Pelly settlement, and two townships near Good Spirit Lake, to the south-west of the Pelly lands. It contained approximately 168,983 acres of fertile land, both the even and odd sections, much of which still had to be cleared of brush and tree growth.[11] Ranching still predominated over homestead settlement in the Good Spirit area, where the soil was sandy. In June, 1899, the South reserve was enlarged to include two more townships (tw. 30, ranges 5 and 6, w. 2).[12]

A third reserve was created in May, 1899, when it was found that the lands previously allotted were insufficient for the numbers arriving. Khilkov's desire was to find lands within a seventy mile radius of Yorkton, but no suitable land was available. Lands were therefore chosen along the North Saskatchewan River, west of Prince Albert. Twelve townships were selected, which Khilkov expected, would add 700 additional homesteads.[13]

In preparation for settlement, a survey party, with two gangs of men were sent out to the North and South reserves in late January. They began the surveying of the land and the construction of temporary lodging units. In mid-February, they were joined by 150 young Doukhobor men, who aided in the construction of the first village, Mikhailovka, consisting of five poplar sheds on the Swan River.[14]

The Doukhobors who wintered in Immigration sheds followed the advance parties in the spring. The trips were made before the frosts disappeared, so that settlers, seed and equipment could be easily transported. Fifty horse teams were rented from Dauphin to draw supplies to the colonies from Yorkton.[15] By late April, the Doukhobors were sufficiently settled in the North Colony to call a sobranye to determine which lands should be cultivated first.[16] It was decided to cultivate nearest to the large temporary villages, and at least obtain a crop of potatoes in the 1899 season. Later, village sites were to be selected according to the proximity of cultivatable lands.

The settlement of the Doukhobor colonies was complete by August, 1899. The North Colony was settled by a mixture of Kars, Yelizavetopol and Batum Doukhobors. 13 villages had been formed throughout the North reserve by the summer of 1899. They contained a total population of 1,395.[17]

4,452 Doukhobor settled in the South Colony, in 34 scattered villages.[18] This Colony's population was even more heterogeneous than that of the North Colony. The Batum Doukhobors who settled there were joined by Kars and Yelizavetopol Doukhobors. The impoverished Cypriots formed 13 separate villages there.[19] The South Colony villages, from the earliest days of their settlement, exhibited wide economic disparity.

The Prince Albert reserve was settled by the Kars Doukhobors. They brought clothes, equipment and money, which gave them a good start on the prairies. Statistics for the

summer of 1899 recorded that ten villages had been established, with a population of 1,452.[20] Some of the villages had as many as 15 horses, and others had as many as 25 oxen and 26 cows. In contrast was the village named Kirilovka #1, whose population consisted of poor families who had travelled with the Kars Doukhobors.[21] The possessions of these 112 settlers were 6 horses, 2 wagons, and 2 ploughs.

The official report on the three colonies for 1899 indicated that the Doukhobors had settled and were establishing firm roots in the West. Despite a wet spring and snowstorms in May, the colonists were progressing.[22]

> They (the Doukhobors) have earned a considerable amount of money which they have spent in purchasing horses, wagons, ploughs, harness, provisions and clothing for themselves... They have a day school, where the young are being taught the English language...The health of the colony is excellent.

It was evident, however, that despite summer employment on railway lines and neighbouring farms, government aid would be necessary to carry the settlers through the winter. Throughout the summer months, the entire male population capable of work found employment on the railways and farms. Leopold Soulerzhitsky, one of their Russian sympathizers, arranged for work on the Canadian Northern line west of Cowan, in June.[23] Earnings for the first summer of work were not sufficient to sustain most of the villages through the winter. The North Colony's total earnings to October 15, 1899 were a meager $3,778, which included $360.00 raised by gathering seneca root.[24] By fall there was wide disparity in the debts and incomes of the various villages: the village of

Pokrovka, with 35 male workers had raised $400.00 against a debt of $152; Verovka with 12 workers had earned $40.00, while debts reached $152.00.[25]

By October, 1899, Immigration officials had made expenditures for the Doukhobors that exceeded the bonus money held by the Doukhobor Committee. Approximately $20,000 in excess of the bonus funds was spent.[26] These expenditures were chiefly on food and medical supplies, although some livestock was also purchased.[27] Support from philanthropic groups was also forthcoming during the Doukhobors' first season in Canada. By May, 1899, the Quakers had contributed $4,000 in cash to their settlement.[28]

The comparative standing of the three colonies was recorded by Bonch Bruevitch during the fall of 1899. The Prince Albert settlers were considerably better equipped with regard to livestock and implements that were the North and South Colonies. The Kars and Yelizavetopol settlers of the North and South Colonies followed second. The exiles of the North and South Colonies were the most poverty-stricken. The following table shows the relative standing of some of the Doukhobor settlements.[29]

	SOUTH COLONY (Kars & Yelizavetopol)	NORTH COLONY (exiles only)	PRINCE ALBERT (in general)
1 horse	per 22.6 people	67.7	per 14.6 people
1 ox	per 66.1	58.4	per 23.4 people
1 cow	per 47.8	73.6	20.4
1 wagon	per 60.4	105.8	30.0
1 plough	per 61.7	130.2	36.1

Altogether in their first season, the North colonists broke 450 desiatins of land (1,215 acres) and the South

colonists cultivated 350 desiatins (945 acres). The Prince Albert Doukhobors broke 123.5 desiatins in their first year.[30] Crops consisted mainly of potatoes, barley, oats, cabbage and carrots. The yields reported by the North colonists indicated that these villages would have insufficient food for the winter. All other vegetables planted, such as radishes, and cucumbers, were eaten by worms or killed by frost and hail.

II. Economic Organization of the Doukhobor Settlements

The Doukhobor sympathizers who lived among the newly settled Doukhobors were disappointed to find little evidence of a communistic tradition in the settlements. In 1900, Bonch-Bruevitch, in reference to the Doukhobors, wrote sadly that one cannot force communism on people, but that it must have indigenous roots.[31] These roots did not seem to exist in the Doukhobor villages.

The Doukhobors were settled as group settlers. Following the precepts of Verigin, the Doukhobors constructed their villages with wide streets, and with less than 50 houses per village. Group settlement did not necessarily mean communal life: private tillage of the soil and ownership of livestock and equipment were possible, even though the Doukhobors lived in villages. These were the general economic implications of the mir system, to which the Doukhobors were accustomed prior to Verigin's call to communism in the 1890's.

The village remained the important unit of organization during the early years of settlement. Its importance was enhanced by the fact that Doukhobor population was scattered throughout the various reserves and that no central institution, such as the Orphan's Home,was created. An attempt was made in June, 1899 to link the villages of the North and South colonies by the holding of a common purse, storehouses and granaries, but due largely to geographic distance, it was short-lived.[32] Each villaged returned to holding individual debts and incomes, with which it met the more

pressing welfare needs of its inhabitants. As in Russia, village elders were chosen for each village, and a literate clerk was chosen to keep village records and to handle correspondence with the Immigration and Land officials. In the early months of settlement, the Doukhobor sympathizers who knew the English language handled the Doukhobors' written affairs and served as interpreters for the people.[33] Village settlement was the rule throughout the colonies. Only 10 families had left the villages to reside on their private holdings by the fall of 1899.[34]

A number of factors were instrumental in determining the degree to which the Doukhobors sought to fulfill Verigin's call to communism or lapsed into individualistic farming while living in the villages. Differences in wealth on arrival in Canada were important determinants. Doukhobors coming from less persecuted areas of Russia, who had some financial reserves, favored individual holding. Strength of leadership, namely the influence of individual Doukhobors in the various villages, and of agitators and reformer-sympathizers living among them, was a very important factor. Strong leadership was positively correlated to the strength of communist sentiment in the villages. Outside aid to the settlements, given to a village as a unit, was a third factor. The gift of a plough or oxen to be used in common encouraged communal work, at least until villagers had sufficient money to buy their own animals and equipment.

A fourth factor was simply that the historic basis for communism among the Doukhobors was virtually non-existant.

Aside from sporadic periods of communal life in response to outside persecution in the past, Verigin's letters were the sole basis for building a communal existence in Canada. Even then, Verigin's words, perhaps drawn from the social-intellectual strivings of a Populist author[35] whom Verigin read in exile, could not easily be understood by an illiterate people, who had always lived in villages but farmed individually.

It was evident in the alternative ways in which villages organized themselves that many Doukhobors realized that communal life meant something more than the mir life-style. It was also evident that they did not know its exact connotations.

The economic experience of the vast majority of the settlers was a brief attempt at a communal existence, followed by a return to individual farming. They continued to reside in villages, but the land was worked individually and profits from the land accrued to the individual. Approximately 5,589 Doukhobors had, by 1900, opted for this type of private farming.[36] Of these, 2,215 were practising individual tilling;[37] the rest indicated that they would farm privately as soon as their economic position would allow them to do so. Most of the private farmers were in the Prince Albert reserve, where the richer Kars Doukhobors had settled.

A minority of the Doukhobors continued to live in communistic fashion, and it was their varied interpretations that reinforced the fact that there was little historic communistic experience to fall back on. Only 1,605 Doukhobors

were classified as communist by January 1, 1900.[38] The degree of communism varied within these villages. Bruevitch classified some of them as collectivist (the means of production and equipment were shared, but the profits were divided among all) and others as true communist (the profits were placed in a village fund, and the means of production were held in common).[39]

Strength of village leadership was important: even some of the wealthiest villages practiced communism if they had strong leadership. An example of this was the Kars village of Terpennie,[40] in the South Colony, under the leadership of Pavel Planidin.

The Planidin family was one of the richer Doukhobor families. Pavel Planidin was a Doukhobor who had personally dedicated himself to the new way of life. He stopped drinking alcohol, smoking and eating meat, and was a strong advocate of communal life. While Planidin was still in quarantine on Grosse Isle on the St. Lawrence, he announced at a general meeting: "All those who wish to live in community fashion, come and join me".[41] A total of 154 people joined him.

The inhabitants of Terpennie held the means of production, including all animals, in common. By the summer of 1899, Terpennie was described as one of the most progressive villages. It had a population of 254, and owned 8 horses, 3 oxen, 1 cow, 3 wagons and 3 ploughs.[42] It was known throughout the colonies for its hospitality to strangers.

In contrast to Terpennie was the southern village of

Verovka, under Nicolai Fofanoff. Three-fourths of its population (174 people) were widows, orphans and the poor from the Caucasian village of Kirilovka. The village began with financial resources totalling 60 rubles, and by the summer of 1899, had acquired by wise management a horse, 2 oxen, a wagon and a plough. Its leader was described as follows:[43]

> Fofanoff himself is a very humble, shy and delicate fellow, who in no way exalts himself. He always tries to do a good work for another, without calling attention to himself, and he symbolizes the spirit of this village community.

Ivan Strelaeff and Repezoff of the communistic village, Blagodarenie in the South Colony became village leaders because of their management skills and literacy, as well as their convictions. Their position brought no special privileges, and great responsibility. The leaders supervised the purchasing of goods, handled all correspondence and secured employment for village laborers.[44]

At Blagodarenie, "...everything to the last needle was communistic". All earnings were placed in a common purse, administered by Strelaeff and Repezoff. Bruevitch admired Blagodarenie's economic organization, but admitted that the atmosphere there was tense. The residents had no patience with their less communistic brethren from other villages.

Emelian Konigin of Uspennie village in the North Colony was a leader who fought hard to preserve communal life in the face of "the natural process"[46] (movements toward individual farming). Konigin, who was over 60 years

old, had been an elder in the Caucasian village of Troitskoe. He was an energetic man and a strong believer of Verigin's precepts. 264 people joined Konigin in forming a communistic village.[47] After one month, despite Konigin's personal exhortations to continue the communistic way of life, 202 people broke away to form Troitskoe, a non-communistic village.[48]

Uspennie remained, under the leadership of Konigin. It was one of the poorer villages, having in August, 1899, only 2 oxen, 1 wagon, 1 plough, and a cow that it shared with another village.[49]

Nicolai Zibarov was the leader of Voznesenia in the North Colony. It was a village of moderate standing, having 2 horses, 2 oxen, 1 wagon and 2 ploughs.[50] While still in Winnipeg, Zibarov and his friend, Vasya Popoff exhorted all Doukhobors to renounce all pride, laziness and hatred, and to adopt the community way of life. Zibarov, like Planidin, invited all Doukhobors wishing to live in a true"Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" (a communal village), and to exist without debts, or property, to form a village.[51]

The strength of Zibarov's personal convictions helped to hold the community together. In 1900, there were signs of dissension. A number of villagers requested that harvested grain be placed in individual bins, rather than in communal storage. Zibarov and a number of his close followers threatened to leave the community and form a new settlement if this step towards private ownership was taken.

By 1900, it was evident that there was economic disparity among the various Doukhobor villages of the three colonies. A schism in terms of economic organization within the villages had also occurred. These two factors,---economic disparity and the individualist-communist trends in organization---contributed to an ideological split in Doukhobor ranks by 1900. They raised important questions for the Doukhobor people. Was a certain type of economic organization essential in the perpetuation of the Doukhobor way of life? Could one claim the spiritual tenets of the Doukhobor faith and ignore Verigin's economic precepts?

III. The Homestead Issues Emerge

A. The Doukhobor Majority and Land Ownership

The Dominion's objective, with regard to the Doukhobor colonies, was to settle the Doukhobors on the reserved lands, as quickly and as comfortably as possible, with minimum expenses. The general expectation was that these settlers would live in villages, according to the Hamlet Clause, but enter for and farm (cultivate) their quarter-sections separately. While communal work was necessary in the early months on the Canadian prairies, the government expected it to be replaced by private labor, as soon as a sufficient supply of livestock and equipment was available.

During their first two years in Canada, the majority of the Doukhobors did little to disappoint the Dominion's expectations. Large numbers turned to independent labor, and others lived in temporarily communal settings.

Homestead entry by the Doukhobors was delayed until lands could be properly surveyed, and the immigrants firmly settled. Five of the Swan River townships remained unsurveyed until the spring of 1900, making entry in those areas impossible until then.[52] The general conclusion, from correspondence between the Dominion and the Doukhobors, was that there was little opposition to the taking up of land. On August 3, 1899, L. Soulerzhitsky wrote on behalf of the North Colonists:[53]

> I do not know who is responsible that the people on Thunder Hill have not yet been told about conditions on which they can occupy land, but the fact of the matter is (sic) they do not know anything about it. In the meantime they

> are building in the direction of Swan River (11 villages, 1214 men) and in the northwest (sic) of Thunder Hill (2 villages, 188 men)... I should liketo know if (sic) Thunder Hill people could take land on the same conditions as the rest of the farmers in Canada.

The Doukhobors' willingness to abide by land law was further in evidence when Gregory Konegen, on December 8, 1899, signing himself as Secretary of the Committee of Doukhobors, at Swan River, addressed Smart with regard to the boundaries of the North reserve, and asked whether boys under the age of eighteen years could sign for homesteads.[54]

The North Colonist's good will regarding homestead entry led the Commissioner of Dominion Lands to authorize Herbert Archer, during the winter of 1899, to make entry for these immigrants.[55] He travelled around the Doukhobor villages and drew up detailed plans of homesteads to be taken up by the residents of these villages. On May 26, 1900 Archer reported from Voznesenia village that he had listed the names and land locations of those entitled to quarter-sections in ten of the Northern villages.[56] Earlier in May, J.S. Crerar, Dominion Land Agent at Yorkton, reported that several of the Cyprus villages in the North and South colonies had also completed their lists. Each of the Southern villages settled by Kars and Yelizavetopol Doukhobors contained farmers who had opted for individualistic work and desired homestead entry.

The Kars Doukhobors in the Prince Albert region frustrated the Land authorities not by their reluctance to sign for homesteads, but by their zealousness in choosing

choice quarters. In September, 1899, McCreary informed F. Pedley, the Superintendent of Immigration that:[57]

> There was a great deal of trouble with these people; they were a hard lot; each one wanting the same quarter-section and the only way it could be settled was by drawing lots and even then some of them would not abide by the lands given them in this way---so that Mr. Morrison had to use a great deal of diplomacy to get them settled at all.

By September, 1899, forty Doukhobors from Kirilovka village,[58] as well as twenty-nine from Bogdanovka and twenty-eight members of the Telegraph Coulee village had made homestead application at the Prince Albert Land Office, although none of them had paid the $10 entry fee.

The general impression to be gained in each of the colonies was that the Doukhobors who chose private labor over any attempt at communal life within the villages were willing to become private owners of the land. The first step toward ownership was homestead entry. They were willing to enter individually for their lands.

B. The Minority's Search for the "Fullness of Doukhobor Life" and Conflict With the State

The development of economic alternatives (individualistic settlers and communistic villages) within the Doukhobor settlements contributed to the growing feeling that a split in Doukhobor ranks was occurring. This was felt especially by the communal Doukhobors, who were trying to fulfill every precept of their leader. Nicolai Zibarov, the elder of the Northern village, Voznesenia, became the leader of those who felt strongly that a recommitment to the fullness of Doukhobor life was necessary.[59]

Before this recommitment could take place, it was necessary to outline what the basic tenets of the faith were, and whether they had economic connotations. The communistic minority, basing its conviction on the observance that a spiritual decline seemed to go hand in hand with movements toward economic individualism,[60] decided that the spiritual principles of Doukhoborism could not be followed without dedication to the communistic life-style.

The influence of a number of restless elements in the Doukhobor villages also underlay this decision. The settlers from Cyprus tended, from economic necessity, to be more communistic, and from the ravages of poverty and disease, to be more militant about their economic convictions. They were a group ripe for protest.

The Doukhobors from the communistic villages felt that they alone were fulfilling Verigin's directives with

regard to economic organization. The Doukhobors' socialist sympathizers, such as Alexander Bodyansky[61] and Dr. Vera Velichkina, were disappointed by the economic developments that they observed in the settlements, and were quick to provide ideological direction. Finally, outside guidance from Doukhobor supporters, such as Leo Tolstoy, who had seen admirable qualities in the Doukhobor life-style, was responsible for the realization that one could not be a Doukhobor unless he had renounced all claims to property.

Expressed in Doukhobor spiritual terms, the divisive issue was that brethren (the majority of Doukhobors) had fallen to the temptation of greed, individualism and property-holding, instead of striving for reward in the Eternal Kingdom. These Doukhobors had grown lax and had allowed temptation to sweep through their ranks.

If property-holding was the temptation, then the Dominion that offered it was the tempter. In this sense, the crux of the matter did not lay within the colonies at all, but with the ordinance of the state. Compliance to these ordinances signalled spiritual decline. Any return to the fullness of Doukhobor life, and communal life, would mean, as it did in Russia, a repudiation of "Caesar's laws". In particular, it would mean a repudiation of land laws.

The influence of the socialist agitators was instrumental in directing this reproach against the government. The Doukhobor sympathizers from the first months of settlement, viewed the Immigration authorities' treatment of the settlers with extreme criticism. They traced the plight of

the Cypriot settlers to insufficient government aid and improper care. Bonch-Bruevitch published his remarks on their treatment in his book, Doukhobori v Kanadskiikh Preriiakh (Doukhobors on the Canadian Prairies): [62]

> One became amazed at the carelessness and negligence of the Canadian Government, which, having sent into the wild prairie a large number of people who were acquainted neither with the region nor the language, did not trouble itself about the proper medical aid, or even about the organization of such aid to the settlement.

In August, 1899, Dr. Velichkina informed V. Chertkov and others abroad that the Cypriots were perishing in the Canadian West.[63] They were dying of fever and hen blindness. They had arrived too late to plant crops, and were wearing clothes made from flour bags. She described them as tuberculosis-ridden, with faces yellowed by malaria. Poor food, a shortage of medical supplies, and local hostility from farmers was their general Canadian experience. Although the Immigration authorities termed her letter a "gross exaggeration",[64] emergency supplies consisting of 2 carloads of oatmeal, 100 barrels of sauerkraut, 1000 bushels of potatoes, 500 bushels of onions, and medical supplies were sent.[65]

During the first season of railroad work, Bodyansky publicly accused Canadian capitalistic interests of exploiting the Doukhobor workers. He petitioned McCreary concerning the poor treatment of Doukhobors on the railroad lines, stating that they were crammed in, 75 men per car, when they were transported for work in Rapid City and Hamiota. The target of his attack was the economic system perpetuated by

the government.[66]

During the winter of 1900, Bodyansky took the initiative in trying to alleviate personally the hardships of settlement. He attempted to relocate the settlers in California, rallying them for the migration by promising employment in lumber camps and in railroad construction. Despite the severe winter of 1900, which might have encouraged such a move, only 108 men and two women, largely from the Cyprus villages followed Bodyansky southward.[67] By March, 1901, the "California craze" had died out.

Throughout 1900, the feeling that the communal Doukhobors were preserving the essence of the faith grew, especially within the more communistic villages of the North and South Colonies. Property-holding emerged as the divisive issue in the settlements, with the prompting of Bodyansky and other non-Doukhobor sympathizers.

A letter from Leo Tolstoy to the Doukhobors, on February 27, 1900, indicated Tolstoy's disapproval toward those who had seceded from the community, and toward those who had taken homestead entry. While Tolstoy's words would not carry as much importance as those of Verigin, he was revered among the settlers, as they knew that Verigin supported his views. He wrote:[68]

> ...The Christian teaching cannot be taken piecemeal; it is all or nothing; It is inseparably united into one whole. If a man acknowledges himself to be a son of God, from that acknowledgement flows the love of his neighbour; and from the love of his neighbour flow, equally, the repudiation of violence, of oaths, of state service and of property.

According to the Doukhobor minority, the laws of Canada had become a major obstacle in the establishment of the true Doukhobor way of life. In June, 1900, Bodyansky informed the government that the recording of homestead entry contradicted Doukhobor beliefs, as did the registration of births and marriages. In the light of these convictions, it was not extraordinary that one year later, on June 24, 1901, Bodyansky, still more openly and more militantly, urged the Doukhobors to stand fast against the government because it was led by forces of evil:[69]

> But the Evil One had confounded men and made him (sic) think that a life of liberty is not good, but good (sic) to be under authority, by written laws, by men's laws, invented by crafty wise men, certainly for their own profit. And so a man begins to oppress himself; puts on himself clogs, blocks himself in with taxes, dividing God's property, judging others, exalting self...

C. The Need for Homestead Entry

As property-holding was emerging as a major issue, of spiritual, as well as economic significance to the Doukhobors, homestead entry was quickly becoming a matter of concern to the government. Smart informed McCreary that entries for village residents should be made as soon as the villages were settled, preferably by April or May, 1899.[70] Surveying delays were the main reason that entries were not made at that time.

Doukhobor homestead entries were further delayed by an oversight on Crerar's part, in the Yorkton Land Office. During the winter of 1899, Archer had travelled through the colonies collecting names and selecting suitable quarters of land for eligible Doukhobors. These lists were handed in to Crerar, who shelved them and forgot about them until the Lands Branch in Ottawa referred to them, in 1902.[71] They were of little use by then, because the Doukhobors had firmly rejected individual homestead entry. By 1902, only 295 Doukhobors had signed for homesteads.[72] Most of the entries had been made in the Prince Albert Colony.

Two major reasons underlay the Department of Interior's concern to have the Doukhobors make homestead entry as quickly as possible. The first was that numerous irregularities had occurred in the administration of the Doukhobor lands and a number of Doukhobor villages had been built outside the jurisdiction of the land reserve. The second reason was that homestead entry would end the conflict that had developed between the ranchers, seeking free run for their cattle, and the Doukhobor farmers.

The "misplaced villages" resulted from unclear demarcations of reserve limits, from settlement on unsurveyed lands, and from sheer ignorance on the part of the local Land Agents. As late as March, 1903, the Agent at Prince Albert was not sure if the reserve in his vicinity covered 12 or 21 townships![73]

In May, 1900, three villages in townships 33 and 34, r. 32, w. 1 were discovered to be outside the bounds of the reserve. Archer, on behalf of two of the villages, Bogdanovka and Techomerovka, petitioned Sifton in June, asking that they might be included in the reserve. He stated that the Doukhobors had not been given any direction during settlement. An interpreter, hired by the Immigration officials, had told them "...that while they would not be permitted to settle in Manitoba, they might go West and settle anywhere in Swan River that they wished".[74] Now, they were located outside the reserve, and any landseeker who could make entry on their lands before them, would get their lands.

On July 20, 1900, 144 souls of Techomerovka and Bogdanovka again petitioned for the lands, pleading ignorance of the boundaries: "We are very sorry (sic) we did not know this before, as no one explained anything about it to us and now it is a year ago since we began to work the ground".[75]

Only homestead entry would protect Doukhobor lands outside the reserve, unless the Lands Branch was willing to enlarge the reserve to include these lands. Its decision was to require entry, rather than to extend the reserve.

Attention was drawn to the entry issue by the appearance of numerous irregularities in the administration of the Doukhobor lands. These irregularities can be attributed to careless administration rather than to the confusion of settling large numbers of non-English speaking settlers. They nevertheless increased the suspicions and the hostility of the communal Doukhobors toward the government.

The size and shape of the land reserve was severely altered by numerous changes and cancellations. In 1899, two townships (tw. 36, r. 30, w. 1 and tw. 36, r. 31, w. 1) were eliminated from the reserve because they lacked water and contained too much tree growth.[76] In addition, the large numbers of squatters entering township 30, r. 3, w. 1, and the eastern half of township 29, r. 2, w. 1 called for further changes in the land boundaries.[77] The overlapping of two reserve townships (tws. 30-31, r. 33, w. 1) with the Cote Indian Reserve was another unforeseen problem.[78]

Two months after the first Doukhobors arrived, the Interior was forced to withdraw three townships in range 29, w. 1 from the reserve, due to adverse public opinion. An outburst of petitions from settlers and squatters in these townships, which happened to be in the province of Manitoba, brought the issue to the attention of the Lands Branch. On January 30, 1899 A. J. Cotton of Trehearne notified McCreary that 35 homesteaders in township 35, r. 29, w. 1 "are going to stoutly rebell (sic) against the government if they allow Doukhobors to settle among them and there is not a Grit in

Trehearne but will (sic) turn their backs on the government".[79] The Morning Telegram in an appeal entitled "No Canadians or Britishers Allowed", urged the provincial government to protest against "...the action of the Minister...in thus arbitrarily appropriating it (tw. 35, r. 29, w. 1) for the sole use of his Doukhobor pets".[80]

Smart insisted that no change in the reserve lands be made without the consent of Khilkov and the Doukhobors. On February 8, 1899, the Doukhobors agreed to release the Manitoba lands in range 29, although according to Khilkov, only 28 homesteads were occupied in township 35.[81]

By March, 1899, eight suitable townships were secured by Khilkov and received government approval. These included tw. 33-30-w. 1, tw. 29-31-w. 1, tw. 33-31-w. 1, in the vicinity of Fort Pelly; tw. 31-6-w. 2, tw. 32-6-w. 2, tw. 31-7-w. 2, tw. 32-7-w. 2, and tw. 32-8-w. 1, north of Good Spirit Lake.[82] The latter five townships were not surveyed and arrangements to secure the odd sections would have to be made with the Manitoba and North Western Railway Company.

Irregularities in the Cypriot locations met with hostile reaction, providing fuel to the discontent that these settlers were already experiencing. It was discovered during the summer of 1900, that Doukhobor entries on odd sections in townships 27-28, r. 31-32, w. 1, were not to be allowed, which surprised even the local Land Agent, J. Crerar. He wrote:[83]

> ...this will some day cause a jolly good row... No it is in this locality that the disturbance is for moving to California and we have a list made out of some of the villages, alloting the homestead (sic) to some of these people taking in some odd as well as even sections.

Within their original reserve, the Doukhobors were able to select any and all lands except the two sections in each township reserved for school lands and the one and three-quarter sections reserved in each township for the Hudson's Bay Company. Outside these reserve boundaries, however, the odd numbered sections in each township were reserved for the railways. These lands were granted to various railways as a subsidy for railway construction.[84]

Smart from Ottawa informed Crerar that as these townships were reserved at the same time as the Prince Albert townships, they would be subject to the same rule: only the even-numbered sections would be available for Doukhobor entry. Archer and Khilkov, on behalf of the Doukhobors, stated that Smart's earlier statements had been to the contrary. Negotiations and concerns over these lands dragged on throughout the summer, while petitions from local settlers colored the situation. Finally in September, Archer suggested that the Doukhobors leave the four townships and move to townships 31 and 32, r. 7-8, w. 1, which were also a part of the reserve.[85]

The reaction of the Doukhobors in this area indicated that their conception of the issue had passed from a mere concern with the movement of a few villages, to the larger question of Doukhobors and their compliance with civil

law, and in particular, land ownership. In a petition dated June 22, 1900, Bodyansky informed the government, on behalf of the Doukhobors that the recording of homestead entries contradicted their beleifs---the Doukhobors' "conception of the truth".[86] Concerning the odd sections in the townships, the Doukhobors would move, if the government so desired, or if they could stay, they would, as long as they were not asked to place their "seal of ownership" on the land.

Trouble between the cattlemen and the Doukhobors erupted in the Good Spirit townships shortly after the Doukhobors' arrival. Crerar in 1899 had predicted this conflict and hard urged that townships 30, r. 5 and 6, w. 2 not be included in the Doukhobor reserve. The area was still populated mainly by ranchmen. In 1899, the Yorkton Land Office reported that hay permits exceeded net homestead entries by 36, for that year.[87]

The ranchers opposed Doukhobor settlement for two major reasons. The first was that sedentary farming meant fences, which interfered with the free running of ranch cattle. The second reason was that the ranchers felt that the Doukhobors'settlements retarded the building of schools and churches.

By the summer of 1900, hostilities between the Doukhobors and the cattlemen reached the point where ranchers were tearing down Doukhobor fences and reportedly driving their cattle into the Doukhobors' crops.[88] The Doukhobors applied for Herd Law, by which the cattle could be impounded and the ranchers charged for damage done. Immigration

officials discouraged such action, instead asking that the two Doukhobor villages nearest to the ranch areas move to new localities.

The individual complaints of the ranchers stressed that the Doukhobors were obstructing the building of schools and churches. It was true that the Doukhobor faith and village settlement made their colonies self-contained, and that the Doukhobors felt no need or desire to interact socially with their non-Doukhobor neighbours. Their educational needs, to the degree that the Doukhobors felt school learning to be important, were met by teachers sent out by the Quakers, who formed schools in the villages.[89] Robert Smith, of the Good Spirit Lake district protested in August, 1900 that 100 good British families were in danger of losing their homes to "the alien and servile Slav serfs of Europe (who are only one degree above the monkey for civilization, both in morals and honesty.)"[90]

In July the Commissioner of Dominion Lands came West to call a meeting of Doukhobors, Galicians, and ranchers in an effort to smooth out the difficulties. It was suggested to the Doukhobors that land entry would solve the problem: with concise locations of individual property, the ranchers would realize that there was insufficient free land for cattle grazing.

IV. Conclusion

As the Doukhobors prepared for their third year in Canada, it was evident that the Dominion was no longer dealing with the impoverished and indecisive settlers who had arrived in 1899. The worst of the economic hardships were over, and the settlements were growing on solid foundations.

Life in Canada had left its mark on the Doukhobors. It had demonstrated that the Doukhobors were not so cohesive a body as their sympathizers had described them to be. Within two years, the Doukhobor Community had split in matters of economic organization, and ideological conflict was in the making. Life on the Canadian prairies had demonstrated that the communistic tradition among the Doukhobors was weak. The majority of the Doukhobors, it seemed, would turn out to be independent settlers, who could claim Doukhobor ancestry and spiritual ties while homesteading privately. A radical minority which promised to be zealous in belief and uncompromising with the state, was also emerging.

The division of the Doukhobors into these two groups had major implications for Dominion-Doukhobor relations after 1900. Already homestead entry was becoming a major issue to the Lands Branch, and to the communal Doukhobors. The shape of the land crisis, building up to 1907, was emerging. By 1900, the earliest issue in that crisis---homestead entry---was already perceptible.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Smart to F. Pedley, January 20, 1899.

[2]Ibid, A. Kirlindh, Immigration Officer, to Pedley, February 6, 1899. He wrote:

> ...for though I have been travelling for some 25 years with Immigration...it has never been my privilege to meet with such a superior lot of people as these Doukhobors proved to be. During all the time I was with them I never heard one angry word passed nor unkind look given, but the greatest respect was manifested by all to each other, while in their habits nothing but cleanliness was exhibited and their endeavors to comply with every requirement and to render assistance where possible was most noticeable.

[3]Ibid, L. Geotte to Sifton, October 20, 1898.

[4]Ibid, Settlers of Whitemouth to Sifton, December 5, 1898.

[5]Ibid, Smart to Pedley, January 20, 1899.

[6]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 147.

[7]Ibid, p. 147.

[8]Ibid, p. 147.

[9]Ibid, p. 147. Woodcock states that V. A. Sukhorev, a Doukhobor historian, records that the Kars Doukhobors arrived with ₤ 20,000 and the Yelizavetopol Doukhobors with ₤ 10,00. (source: V.A. Sukhorev, Istoriia Dukhobortsev, Winnipeg, 1944, p. 111).

[10]The number of acres in the North Colony was determined by Bonch-Bruevitch's calculation that this Colony contained 25,599 desiatins of land, as of August 24, 1899. A desiatin equals 2.7 acres. Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 136.

Dominion Sub-Land Agent, Hugh Harley reported that three new towns were established in the vicinity of the North Colony, in 1899, after the Canadian Northern Railway built 60 miles of track through the Swan River District. Bowsman, Minitonas, and Swan River were begun. The latter had a

population of 300 within two months of its founding. 384 homestead entries were granted around Swan River for 1899 and 6 1/2 townships that had been recently surveyed, were made available for entry.

Canada, Sessional Papers, vol. 36, no. 10, Report of H. Harley, Sub-Land and Immigration Agent, Swan River for year 1899, p. 148.

[11]The number of acres in the South Colony was obtained from subtracting the North Colony acreage from the total number of acres reserved.

[12]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Khilkov to Smart, June 3, 1899.

[13]Ibid, Khilkov to Smart, June 10, 1899. By 1904, this reserve grew to include townships surrounding Blaine Lake, and stretched southward toward what later was called the Langham settlement (in 1907). See Appendix G, p. 266.

[14]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 146.

[15]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, McCreary Smart, February 15, 1899.

[16]James Mavor, My Windows, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 09-11.

They conducted their discussion in the manner which I afterwards found was the characteristic manner of the Russian village meeting. Each man who spoke shouted in a loud voice, and the affair bore the complexion of a contest in long power...Towards 5 o'clock the most vociferous of the orators began to get hoarse, and their voices became high and shrill. the clamor ceased without appar nt formal reason. One side had shouted the other down, and the defeated side became That was all. (p.9-10).

[17]Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 136.

[18]Ibid, p. 123.

[19]Ibid, p. 123.

[20]Ibid, p. 189.

[21]Ibid, p. 189. On January 30, 1900 Thomas Copland at reported to McCreary that the inhabitants of this village were suffering from indigestion caused by eating too much starchy food, and also from bronchitis. Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Copland to McCreary, January 30, 1900.

McCreary responded with an order of a carload of flour

and cornmeal for the village. Ibid, February 5, 1900.

[22]Sessional Papers, vol. 36, no. 10, Report of Hugh Harley...for 1900, op. cit., p. 149.

[23]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 161.

[24]The North Colony's total earnings are given in Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 167, and the amount raised from gathering seneca root is given in Sessional Papers, vol. 36, op. cit., p. 149.

[25]Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 167.

[26]Immigration Files, vol. 200, file # 84930, Smart to J. Bellows, June 23, 1900.

There is some disparity in the sums quoted, as having been used in the Doukhobor immigration and settlement. On October 28, 1899 Smart informed McCreary that $40,000 was spent, over and above the bonus money. Immigration Files, ibid, Smart to McCreary, October 28, 1899. McCreary later stated that the total amount spent, up to the spring of 1900, was $19,337.33 in excess of the bonus. Ibid, McCreary to Smart, April 24, 1900.

[27]In January, 1899, C. Speers, Colonization Agent bought 20 horses and 12 oxen for the colonies for $2,250.00. Ibid, vol. 183, file # 65101, McCreary to Smart, January 28, 1899. Livestock purchases were not approved of by Smart, who in subsequent correspondence, firmly stated that the Immigration authorities were not "...going to set up each man or each family in farming". Even keeping the Doukhobors in food supplies was going to exceed the bonus money. Ibid, Smart to McCreary, February 7, 1899.

[28]Immigration Files, vol. 194, file # 75049, McNicoll to Smart, May 11, 1899.

[29]Bonch-Bruevtich, op. cit., p. 190.

[30]Ibid, p. 190. Harvest yields for the Doukhobors' first year in Canada are found in Bonch-Bruevitch, ibid, p. 162-163.

[31]Ibid, p. 224.

[32]Vasili Potapov, from the communistic village of Radionovka in the South Colony initiated the movement,

inviting all Cypriot villages and the Swan River settlements to join. At a meeting of delegates at Kikhailovka on June 4, assent was given to the proposal, although, because of the great distance, the North villages decided to remain independent of the South unity. However, the Swan River settlements promised to aid the Cypriot villages whenever necessary.

In the North Colony, funds were held in common for two months, until it was evident that lethargy, absenteeism from work and the stealing of produce had developed. The Cyprus Doukhobors (1,000 in all) created a common treasury and common garden cultivation. The colonies soon returned to the independent village system. Ibid, p. 200-201.

[33]L. Soulerzhitsky served as secretary for the above meeting at Mikhailovka. Ibid, p. 201.

[34]Ibid, p. 194.

[35]It is known that Verigin read Tolstoy in exile. Woodcock, op. cit., p. 91. In his personal letters, he quotes from the Populist poet, N.A. Nekrasov. Peter V. Verigin, Pis'ma Dukhoborcheskogo Rukoviditelia: A. Tchertkoff (ed.), Christchurch, Hants, 1901, letter # 14, Verigin to Ivan M. Tregubov, December 12, 1895.

[36]This figure was obtained from Bonch-Bruevitch's statistics that by 1900, 2,215 Doukhbors were practising private tilling and 3,574 were living in temporary communes until financial resources would allow them to farm privately. Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 198 and p. 207.

[37]Ibid, p. 198.

[38]Ibid, p. 207.

[39]Ibid, p. 207-208.

[40]Ibid, p. 219-222.

[41]Ibid, p. 219.

[42]Ibid, p. 122.

[43]Ibid, p. 223.

[44]Ibid, p. 212. This is the only reference to these leaders. Only Repezoff's surname is given.

[45]Loc. cit.

[46]Ibid, p. 218.

[47]Loc. cit.

[48]Ibid, p. 218.

[49]Ibid, p. 136.

[50]Loc. cit.

[51]Ibid, p. 216

[52]...these people have not yet made entries for their homesteads, there being about 1,500 to 2,000 homesteads to be taken up. One of the reasons for the delay is that the surveys have not been completed, and until the lands are surveyed, it is, of course, impossible to grant entry.

Sessional Papers, no. 10, op. cit., Report of the Deputy-Minister of the Interior for Year 1900, sub-section "Doukhobors", p. xvii.

[53]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Soulerzhitsky to McCreary, August 3, 1899.

[54]Ibid, Konegan to Smart, December 8, 1899.

[55]Ibid, Archer to McCreary, February 9, 1900. Archer was also an English Tolstoyan, who came to Canada to aid the Doukhobors in settlement.

[56]Ibid, Archer to McCreary, May 26, 1900.

[57]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, McCreary to Pedley, September 1, 1899.

[58]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Thomas Copland to McCreary, September 7, 1899.

[59]Zibarov was one of the Batum exiles. He was one of the wealthier Doukhobors, who sacrificed his material well being to follow Verigin. He left behind 3 1/2 tons of wheat when he left his home village for the Batum valleys. Woodcock, op. cit., p. 104.

[60]Bonch-Bruevitch recorded that:

Already toward the end of 1899, I made acquaintance with some Doukhobors who...had come to the conclusion that all rites were useless, including even the Doukhobor rites; and that it is useless to go to Sunday meetings for these also are a ceremony. They had also become convinced that all men are made alike and born equals; that there are no 'chosen people', such as they had esteemed their own sect to be, and that Doukhoborism is far from being 'freedom' but represents shackles rather, and that a far freer life is possible. The proseleytes of this new movement were noted and subjected to the persecution of public opinion.

Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 234, translation by Woodcock, op. cit., p. 159-160.

[61] Alexander Bodyansky - was a Tolstoyan from Purleigh, Essex. He was described by Mavor as a man of "certain eccentric habits", which included going about bare-foot and hatless. He was a man of strong convictions, and took upon himself the task of voicing Doukhobor complaints to the Immigration authorities. The Immigration officials felt that he was an adverse influence among the Doukhobors,---actually the instigator of much unrest among them. In February, 1901 the Interior paid his fare back to England. He travelled from there to Switzerland, where he continued to send literature to the Doukhobors. He also inquired about resettling the Doukhobors in Australia.

James Mavor, My Windows, vol. 2, p. 22, and Immigration Files, vol. 237, file # 140124, Turriff to Pedley, February 13, 1901.

[62] Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 133-134.

[63] Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Velichkina to Chertkov, August 27, 1899.

[64] Ibid, Smart to Bellows, October 26, 1899.

[65] Ibid, McCreary to Smart, November 4, 1899.

[66] Bodyansky first made himself known to the Immigration officials by his comments on the railroad work, ibid, Bodyansky to McCreary, December 16, 1899. By the winter of 1899, McCreary felt that he had done more than his part in trying to settle the Doukhobors, and secure work for them on the railroads. He wrote:

I am about tired and sick of fighting with contractors and others in the interest of these people, and if they are not satisfied with my exertions, then I will wash my hands of the whole lot, as there are occasions when forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

Ibid, McCreary to Pedley, December 22, 1899.

[67]Ibid, Crerar to McCreary, May 28, 1900.

[68]J. P. Stoochnoff, Doukhobors as They Are: Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1961, p. 71.

[69]Immigration Files, vol. 226, # 119106, Old Man Alexander to Brother Doukhobor Alosha, June 24, 1901.

[70]Lands Files, op. cit., Smart to McCreary, February 24, 1899.

[71]Ibid, Archer to Turriff, May 20, 1902.

[72]Ibid, Reports of the Agents of Dominion Lands, April 11, 1902.

[73]Ibid, Prince Albert Land Agent to the Secretary of Dominion Lands in Ottawa, March 11, 1903.

[74]Ibid, Archer to Sifton, June 21, 1900.

[75]Ibid, Petition of Tihomerovka and Bogdanovka settlers to the Interior, July 20, 1900.

[76]Ibid, Khilkov to Smart, March 10, 1898.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid, James Sutherland of Yorkton to Smart, December 15, 1898.

[79]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, A. J. Cotton to McCreary, January 30, 1899.

[80]Ibid, excerpt from the Morning Telegram, February 6, 1899.

[81]Ibid, McCreary to Smart, February 8, 1899.

[82]Ibid, Smart to Khilkov, March 18, 1899.

[83]Ibid, Crerar to McCreary, April 7, 1900.

[84]Chester Martin, Dominion Lands Policy: Carelton Library, no. 69, 1973.

[85]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Turriff to McCreary, September 12, 1900.

[86]Joseph Elkinton, op. cit., p. 116.

[87]Sessional Papers, no. 10, op. cit., p. 13.

[88]Consolidated Ordinances of the North West Territories of Canada, ch. 81, section C, 1898. An ordinance for the Herding of Animals allowed any proprietor to seize animals who trespassed his land and did damage to cultivated land, grain or hay. The animal would be impounded, and money for the damage would be collected from the owner of the animal.

In October, 1900, five Doukhobors were taken to court by rancher, D.M. Carment and son. He claimed that the Doukhobors cut 49 tons of hay on his grazing lands (S.W. 34-28-r. 31, and S.W. 23-28-31), while Carments was left with only 29 tons. He charged them with trespass and larceny.

The outcome of the case was that the Immigration authorities were held responsible for this, because Crerar had erroniously allowed the Doukhobors to gather hay from these lands, as he thought they were a part of the Doukhobor holdings. Clements was awarded $50.00 by the Department of the Interior.

Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Stephenson, Inspector of Agencies, to Turriff, October 8, 1900.

[89]Immigration Files, vol. 195, file # 75785, Peter Verigin to the Doukhobors, February, 1901.

Verigin gave his educational views to the Doukhobors in Canada in this letter. He stated that literacy was in general, very useful:

...it would be a good thing if you could teach your children school knowledge in your own circle, and as much as possible in different languages, English, French, and German, and that you should not forget Russian as well.

The teaching ought only to take place in the circle of your own people, without the interference of the Government, not because this would be sinful (i.e. schools introduced by the Government) but in order not to take advantage of other men's services, because that would lay you under an obligation to them.

[90]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Smith to The Globe and Mail, July 17, 1899. This letter appeared in the August 5, 1899 issue of the paper.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WALLS ARE RAISED:
THE QUESTION OF HOMESTEAD ENTRY (1901-1902)

By 1902, it was evident that the "peculiarities" of the Doukhobors had extended to land-holding. While homesteaders on the prairies were generally eager to make homestead entry, most of the Doukhobors were reluctant to sign for their lands.

If the Doukhobors had made homestead entry as soon as they were settled, they could have, by 1902, qualified for homestead patent and become owners of the land that they tilled. In actuality, they had not even taken the first step towards land ownership.

The subject of Doukhobor homestead entry became of primary importance during 1901-1902. To the Doukhobors, it was an issue of economic and spiritual significance. To the Lands Branch, Doukhobor homestead entry meant efficient administration of public lands and the end of the cry of "Doukhobor favorites", which was frequently on the lips of other land-seekers. During 1901 and 1902, the homestead entry issue was not resolved, but it was clarified. The rapid settlement of lands around the Doukhobor reserve insured that the resolution of the homestead entry question was rapidly forthcoming.

I. Mounting Pressure for Homestead Entry

The Doukhobor settlers, by 1901-1902, were faced squarely with the question of homestead entry. One of the reasons for this was a changed demographic situation on the prairies. Demand for farm land had increased generally throughout the West. Lands in the Swan River area were rapidly being taken up: by 1902, only 300 homesteads near the railroad lines remained available for entry.[1]

Public pressure was made for Doukhobor homestead entry, so that the excess lands in the reserve would be opened to general settlers. Until the Doukhobors made entry, they had no more status than squatters, In fact, they were "preferred squatters", for whom a reserve had been established. Homestead entry meant that the Doukhobors would formally decide which lands they wished to hold, and no other settlers could interfere with their labor or settlement. The reserve could be opened after the Doukhobors made entry and then public entry could be made on these excess lands. Local settlers in the Doukhobo areas petitioned the Department of the Interior to open the reserve. Agents from as far away as Omaha, Nebraska found intending settlers interested in knowing "...how long these people will be allowed to hold this (land) off the market..."[2]

A further cause for entry involved the amount of money that the Interior had spent in settling the Doukhobors, in excess of the immigration bonus. This expenditure could only be justified to the Canadian taxpayers if repayment was forthcoming. The money had been spent with the promise that

a lien against the homesteads of those Doukhobors who secured advances would be taken as security for repayment. The liens had to be preceded by homestead entry.

The Doukhobors were also free of local improvement taxes until they would make entry for the land. Settlers in the Yorkton area complained of this, by 1901, to the Commissioner of Public Works in Regina.[3] The Commissioner admitted that entry should be made as soon as possible.

A fourth stimulus for entry was that educational provision for the Doukhobor children would not be made by the Territorial Government until the Doukhobors were established as homestead entrants. In the Good Spirit villages alone, there were 150 children roughly of school age.[4] The Legislative Assembly in Regina refused to provide any financial aid for education until the Doukhobors made homestead entry.

Pressure for entry came also from within the circle of Doukhobor acquaintances. The Quakers urged the Doukhobors to make homestead entry. They were made aware, by the Department of the Interior, that the Doukhobors had sent the government a petition, stating that they would not place a "seal of ownership" on the land. Copies of the petition dated June 22, 1900, were sent by the Immigration authorities to Maude, Khilkov, Chertkov and the Quakers, in the hope that their replies might placate the Doukhobors.[5] The Quakers attributed the Doukhobors' stand against homestead entry to the influence of "some of Count Tolstoy's friends", who lived in the settlements. They urged the Doukhobors to obey temporal law,

even as ancient Israel had obeyed the written law.

For three years the Doukhobors had occupied lands which other settlers were very eager to sign for. It was clear by 1902 that, in the face of the various inducements to make homestead entry, the Doukhobors would have to resolve their stand on the entry issue.

By the spring of 1902, only 295 Doukhobors had taken applications for homestead entry, despite the fact that the majority of the settlers had turned to private farming.[6] 281 of the entrants were in the Prince Albert colony.[7] 21 North Colonists had taken application for entry by October, 1902.[8] The 7 villages in the Good Spirit area were reported as "...happy, contented and prosperous, and appear to be willing to comply with homestead regulation".[9] The Yorkton Land Office recorded only 4 Doukhobor entries to September, 1902.[10] The Land authorities hoped that the remaining Doukhobors would follow the example set by their Prince Albert brethren.

A more forceful course in the handling of Doukhobor land affairs was adopted, with the intent that the Doukhobors would make entry. The decision to open the Doukhobor land reserve to public entry on May 1, 1902 reflected this new course.[11] The Doukhobors would have to make their entries before May. Public notices were issued to the local Land offices, stating that "The purpose for which the lands... have been reserved...is considered to have been fully served", and that general entry for unoccupied lands in the reserve

was to be accepted after May.[12] Land Commissioner Turriff, in an effort to encourage entry, offered to tour the colonies personally in early April.[13] Elkinton in the U.S. invited Peter Jansen, Mennonite and member of the Nebraska state government, to visit the Doukhobors and to persuade them to make entry.[14]

The new course also meant that stringent measures were adopted toward individual issues in the administration of the Doukhobor lands. The Land authorities no longer took the initiative in exchanging odd sections which were in the hands of railroad companies, but on which the Doukhobors had mistakenly settled. In March, 1902, Doukhobors located in a village on the north east quarter of 17-43-6, w. 3 were informed that they could buy the quarter for $3 per acre from Osler, Hammond and Nanton: the Lands Branch was not interested in getting the railroad company to relinquish its claim to this land by offering it lands elsewhere.[15] Smart agreed to this policy:[16]

> I am not inclined to go to any very great trouble in adjusting these matters for the Doukhobors until they show a better disposition to meet the Department in its endeavors to have entries made for land in the regular way.

A final inducement to entry was a major concession from the federal government to the Doukhobor people. The Minister of the Interior promised that the Doukhobor's communal cultivation would be recognized as improvements on the land, which were necessary for acquiring the titles (patent) to the lands. Earlier, Turriff had informed the

Doukhobors that individual cultivation was necessary,---land in Canada could only be occupied "in the ordinary way".[17] Canada had one land-holding system for all; settlement in villages was allowable, but cultivation had to be performed on each individual homestead.

The Doukhobors had continued, after Turriff's explanation, to press for communal cultivation. In March, 1901 a request was made by the village of Woscvesenovka, a Cypriot village of the South Colony.[18] The Doukhobors wished to live "like one farm", with block acres set aside for seeding, summerfallow and hay. Allusions were made to the "full liberty" promised on the first steamer. While the Doukhobors were willing to list the men eligible for homestead entry and to pay the $10 fee, they refused to make improvements on individual homesteads.

The concession of communal cultivation was granted in February, 1902. It was outlined in a letter from Sifton to these settlers on February 15, 1902. The letter proved to be a crucial document in determining Doukhobor claims to patent of homestead lands in 1906-1907. It was the outcome of an meeting between Sifton and Doukhobor representatives Ivan Ivin and Feodor Suchorukoff in Winnipeg, which was called to discuss the cultivation issue.

The correspondence concerned itself only with homestead entry, which Sifton defined as "...the right to occupy and cultivate the homestead; to grow and remove the crop therefrom; and no one has any right to interfere with the

fruits of your labors".[19] In return for homestead entry, the Interior promised the Doukhobors the right of village settlement and communal cultivation.

The letter stated:[20]

> It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for our own protection against outsiders that you should make individual entry for the land, and at the expiration of the three years you can do as you like with the same either conveying it to some person as trustee of the village, or conveying it to any community of persons as trustees for the villages or the Doukhobor community. Once the entry is made by an individual Doukhobor and by cultivating a certain portion of the land in the Reserve, he is entitled to the land, he can give the same to any person or any trustees that he may choose.
>
> ...And I have decided that those who will take their homesteads and accept of free land from the Government may live together in one or more villages, and instead of being compelled to cultivate each quarter section held by each Doukhobor, that the land around the village itself may be cultivated and the work which otherwise would be required on each individual homestead may be done altogether around the village.
>
> ...If, for instance, a village wants fifty homesteads around the village, I will be satisfied if the amount of improvements required on each quarter-section is done around the village, only for the whole fifty.

The letter stated that only those Doukhobors willing to sign for individual homesteads would be allowed to live in villages. After May, 1902, those who had not signed would have to leave the villages and "buy land elsewhere from some other person".[21]

The concessions offered to the Doukhobors in Sifton's letter were in many ways ambiguous. They dealt with entry, but there was no indication of how the concessions might affect claims for homestead patent, for which a 15 acre

minimum cultivation requirement per homestead was necessary. Were village settlement and communal cultivation real concessions? Since the former was guaranteed by the Hamlet Clause, it could hardly be termed a concession, but the latter was definitely a promise beyond existing law. In fact, the Hamlet Clause expressly stated that the Minister was not to waive the requirements with respect to cultivation, in cases of communal residence. Sifton, in waiving the cultivation requirement, was acting somewhat beyond his powers as Minister of the Interior. His action was, however, in keeping with general land policy under the Sifton administration. If results could be obtained by stretching the rules slightly, the rules would be sacrificed.

II. The Doukhobors' Response to Homestead Entry

The Doukhobor minority, which identified the true Doukhobor way of life with the renunciation of private property, played an active role in outlining the Doukhobors' stand with regard to land issues during 1901-1902. Most of the Doukhobor settlers seemed to accept them as their spokesmen, even though the majority of the Doukhobors had taken steps toward individual farming. It is possible that the knowledge that Peter Verigin was soon to be released from exile heightened excitement and unified the Doukhobors for action.

There were two important influences that united the Doukhobors behind the minority's ideology. The first was a "most mischievous book" that was circulating in the Doukhobor colonies during the summer of 1901, arousing resistance to secular law. It was a document prepared by Chertkov, circulated among the Doukhobors with Bodyansky's aid, and designed to teach the Doukhobors the English language and the "rules of citizenship". In catechismic form it encouraged opposition to the registration of vital statistics and the swearing of oaths:[22]

> ...we cannot promise anything. A promise is the same as an oath. Our religion forbids us to take an oath. Christ said, "Do not swear." A man must be free. A promise ties the conscience and actions of a man. Even in little things we want to be free.

The book went on to discuss Canadian racial policy and the oppression of Canadian minority groups. The holding of

private property was singled out as a major evil.

The second influence was a series of letters by Peter Verigin, which dealt with the personal habits of the Doukhobor people. These letters were directed to his Russian friends, but reached the Doukhobors through the efforts of Chertkov, who published the letters in 1901. Previous letters from Verigin to his people had been ambiguous with regard to the suitability of Canada as a home. He told them not to construct large buildings, and not to "immerse themselves in husbandry".[23] These vague suggestions that the Doukhobors might be moving on to a new home, were repeated in the letters published in 1901. Verigin's letters emphasized living off the land, in close harmony with nature, eating what nature provided. He urged vegetarianism, saying that all animals who eat meat are violent, and stressed spiritual concerns over the cares of physical work.[24]

> "Take up your cross and follow me", and to follow Christ, we must live as He lived, and we see, that Christ did not do physical work, and neither did the Apostles...Maybe Christ called the Apostles to that kind of life, and seeing (if He would have seen) almost half or all of mankind going (to follow Him) said..."No, this is alot (too much). What will you eat and what will you cover yourselves with?..." That the Apostles and Christ wore clothes and ate bread, that is natural, because bread and clothes were plentiful, and one has to say, that it was not possible to go naked right away, even for Christ and the Apostles.
>
> Remember when the Apostles walked through the land, they broke corn ears and ate them... Bread in such moderation should be from the Father for every man, whether he works or not: "the birds of the air do not plant or reap, and they are full". This is important not to be greedy, because, "where your riches are, there is your heart".

The Doukhobors who had been experiencing anxiety over the spiritual laxity exhibited by some of their brethren, were not slow to seize upon the doctrine of these letters. V. Ob'edkov and Ivan Ponomarov were apostles of this creed by the spring of 1902. They put into practice many of the suggestions in Verigin's letters. They accepted his renunciation of meat-eating, and even stopped using animals for labor. They began to rely less upon physical labor for daily bread, and talked of migration to the Kingdom of God, where nature would provide them with the necessities of life. By the fall of 1902, Immigration officials recorded that the "Zealots"---as they became known in the West-had attained a sizeable following in the villages of Terpennie (South Colony), Petrovka, Woscresenovka, Troudenia, Efremovka, Poziraevka, Verovka, and Terpennie of the North Colony.[25]

The Doukhobors' views on land-holding, and in particular, on homestead entry, were a strange blend of practical and specific concerns, and vague disatisfaction with the "aims and conceptions" of Canadian life. A major request was the desire for common cultivation, which first was made known to Land Officials in March, 1901,[26] and was repeated in subsequent correspondence with the Department of the Interior. The Doukhobors drew attention to their traditional system of land division, into summerfallow, seeded areas and hay meadows. This was the system that they wished to follow.

The Doukhobors did not respond to calls for homestead entry, even after the Sifton concession of February,

1902. They seized upon Sifton's point concerning land purchase. In March, 1902, they offered to buy lands at $1.00 per acre.[27] Trustees of the land would oversee the financial arrangement and the cultivation of each quarter, as provided in the homestead regulations. They asked only that the Doukhobors be allowed to live in villages. Pokrovka village repeated this desire in a militant petition, dated March 3, 1902:[28]

> ...we will not make entry for our homesteads in the usual way of each man signing his entry papers. As we will not sign our name or make our mark in any paper for land. But if you will let us have the land in one block for all Doukhobors we will pay for same (sic) at the rate of $10.00 for each quarter-section.

The stress that this petition placed on "for all Doukhobors" indicated that the Land officials hit a sensitive spot when they threatened to divide the Doukhobor people into entrants and non-entrants, and to allow only the former to remain on the lands. This posed an outward threat to unified Doukhobor existence, geographically and otherise. It also drew the Doukhobors toward the ideology of the minority. A firm stand had to be taken against homestead entry, which contradicted the Doukhobor faith and threatened to divide Doukhobor ranks.

IV. Emigration Plans, The Great Pilgrimage of 1902 and Its Relation to the Homestead Issue

The eastern colonies were especially unrestful during the summer of 1902. Ponomarov, Zibarov and Ob'edkov travelled throughout the villages of the North and South Colony, spreading the doctrine of Verigin's letters, and increasing the agitation that was mounting over the homestead entry issue, particularly in the Cypriot villages. Terpennie and oscresenovka became the centres of this radicalism.

This radical sector of the Doukhobors decided on an alternative to compliance with Canadian laws (and homestead entry). It was an alternative that was hinted at in Verigin's letters, and was outrightly stated by Bodyansky. It was one to which the Doukhobors had turned in the past. Immigration to new lands would provide an answer to the whole land problem, and would not necessitate a compromise with Canadian authorities.

Emigration was also desirable because the Doukhobors were dissatisfied with the land and climate of the prairies. Even in 1899, there were signs that the Doukhobors were losing hope in the agricultural potential of their new home, due to a very wet spring and snowstorms in May. Hugh Harley reported from Thunder Hill that "...the Doukhobors are all afraid...they say the place is too cold and will never grow any bread and they want to look for some place where it is not so cold".[29] In July, 1901, a 3-man delegation visited Commissioner Smith and admitted that even if such aspects of land-holding as

individual signing and the oath of allegiance (which was not an issue at this time) were foregone, the Doukhobors would not make entry.[30]

> ...they gave as a reason that they now find that the land is not suitable for their purposes; and in view of the fact that they have sold and may continue to sell their livestock, it would be manifestly useless to tie up an immense body of country for them which they will never use. They do not require land for grazing purposes and will not eat meat or fish, and what they now ask...is a small portion of land in some other part of Canada where they can raise a little grain, vegetables, and fruits, and for which they are willing to pay a reasonable rent.

While land grievances were the Doukhobors' major target, they complained about having to relate to the secular state in general. In August, 1901, they offered to pay for some Canadian lands, that, according to the Doukhobors, should be "liberated from all earthly rules".[31] Resistance entered other spheres of Dominion-Doukhobor relations. During the summer of 1901, three villages---Petrovka, Troudenia, and Poziraevka---provided statistics of birth and death to the Department of the Interior. In July, the three villages issued a petition (signed at Voscresenovka), stating that "...we now know that we have been written up in police-books, which we do not want".[32] They asked to be removed from the registers. Other villages in the North and South Colonies refused outright to register vital statistics.

The subject of Doukhobor emigration from Canada was raised many times during 1901-1902. In June, 1901, Joseph Elkinton was approached by Ivan Makhortov and S. Reibin with regard to the possibility of immigration to a fruit-growing

region in the United States. Elkinton exhorted the Doukhobors to remain in Canada, "...on terms of liberality, that I have no knowledge of ever having been exceeded by any government".[33] Bodyansky, who by 1902 was relocated in Switzerland, negotiated with a Mr. Hodgson of Victoria, Australia concerning Doukhobor immigration to that continent.[34]

The emigration plans culminated in a pilgrimage of the zealous Doukhobors, in October, 1902. The pilgrimage was the first of its kind in Doukhobor history, both in Russia and in Canada. It involved 1,800 pilgrims, largely from the Cypriot villages and the more communistic villages of the North and South Colonies.[35]

The march symbolized a total renunciation of all earthly concern and a millenial search for the Kingdom of God. In September, the pilgrim Doukhobors released all of their livestock, in a manifestation of their belief that man should not enslave any creature. The Immigration authorities rounded up the stock, and sold them at a public auction. The funds were placed in safe-keeping for the zealous Doukhobors. The pilgrims marched south, at an average of 18 miles per day, singing hymns. At Yorkton, the women and children were detained by the R.N.W.M.P., where they subsequently staged a hunger strike. The men reached Minnedosa on November 7, and were forcibly detained by the police.[36] They were loaded on a train, and were escorted by the police to Yorkton, and finally, to their villages.

Doukhobor observers and Canadian officials agreed that

the pilgrimage was sparked by the strife over homestead entry. Harley, from Swan River wrote:[37]

> I have a very strong impression that with some of the men and most of the women there is a good deal of this religious mania with them. But with the leading men I think it is a scheme to bring pressure to bear upon the Government so as to have them transported to some other place.

Speers, who traced their travel as far as Binscarth, felt that it was a call for changed conditions of land-holding. On November 7, Pedley spoke with 400 of the pilgrims, and concluded that discontent with land and other regulations underlay the march.[38]

From the Doukhobor viewpoint, P. N. Malov, in Doukhobors, Their History, Life and Struggle, 1948, stresses the repercussions of the pilgrimage on the land issue. He does not see the entry issue as a cause of the pilgrimage. The pilgrims, Malov states, felt that their act gained them time on the land question, although the decision not to open the land reserve on May 1, 1902, had been made by the Department of the Interior long before the activities of the summer and fall. In a special effort to induce entries, Dominion Land Agents withheld from general entry both the even and odd sections throughout the entire reserve in April, 1902, and offered these lands exclusively to Doukhobors.[39] When this effort failed, the opening of the reserve was postponed indefinitely.

Malov relates the march to advice given by Verigin, while the Doukhobors were still in Russia.[40] Ponomarov, one

of the prominent leaders of the pilgrims, had visited Verigin in his Siberian exile, and Verigin had stated that after one year in Canada, trouble would ensue. His advice to Ponomarov was to lead the people fearlessly, even though the task (the march) would be difficult.

Regardless of whether the land issue did indeed spark the pilgrimage, the important point is that the Department of the Interior believed that the entry issue was its major cause, and based its subsequent actions on this belief. No compromise was made concerning homestead entry as the march drew to a close. In fact, Pedley was adamant that concessions not be made in land regulations. The Lands Branch was quick to realize that the more communistic settlements had produced the pilgrims. To the Department of the Interior, this was proof of the dangers inherent in the communistic system which was perpetuated by these settlers, and more reason why homestead entry should be pressed.

V. Conclusion

By late 1902, the hope of the Department of the Interior lay in the example set by the Prince Albert Colony ("the Saskatchewan Doukhobors", as they were called), who had opted for homestead entry. On September 23, 1902, the Commissioner of Immigration published an article in the Manitoba Morning Free Press, which disclosed the Department's hopes and fears with regard to the Doukhobor colonies. The Prince Albert Doukhobors were upheld as industrious settlers, who abided by Canadian laws:[41]

> ...the Doukhobors on the Saskatchewan River have not been contaminated by the presence of an anarchistical people from Russia and the following list of homestead entries will show the result of three years' residence in Canada under normal conditions:
>
> The village of Petrovka - 58 eligible for homesteads- all entered.
> The village of Terpennie - 48 eligible for homesteads - all entered.
> The village of Ispennie (sic) - 60 eligible for homesteads - all except 3.
> The village of Spasovka - 51 eligible for homesteads- all entered.
> The village of Pomerewka (sic) - 29 eligible for homesteads - all entered.
> The village of Hawrelovka - 63 eligible for homesteads- all except those in a township now being surveyed.
> The village of Troitska - 45 eligible for homesteads- almost all.
> The village of Tombovka - 31 eligible for homesteads- all entered.
>
> In practically every Doukhobor village there are some of the villagers who can already make themselves well understood in English. The tradesmen of all the towns with which they do business welcome their trade, which is an immense item in the business community...the only assistance the government has given the Doukhobors is that given to English and other settlers in Manitoba and the North West by way of advance of seed grain etc. protected by lien upon the homestead. No such assistance was given to the Doukhobors except they

had a homestead, and in every case the amount loaned had been repaid with interest.

The Department of the Interior had tried, in 1901-1902, to induce Doukhobor land entry, but without success. An important concession had been offered by Sifton, but even this had brought no results. There was no indication, in 1902, that the concessions would be considered by the Doukhobors in the future, and that the Sifton letter to the Doukhobors would play a momentous role in determining Doukhobor land claims in a few years. It seemed that the efforts of the Lands Branch to promote homestead entry in the colonies had only antagonized the settlers and created a deeper schism between a radical minority, and a more or less passive majority.

The pilgrimage had startled the Land authorities, and had provided proof that communal life was a hindrance to the peaceful socio-economic development of these settlers. Homestead entry would be more zealously pressed upon the Doukhobors in 1903.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Sessional Papers, vol. 37, no. 10, 1903, Reports of the Western Agents, p. 117.

[2] Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, M.V. Bennett to Pedley, December 13, 1901.

[3] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Arthur Sifton to Turriff, March 25, 1901.

[4] Immigration Files, vol. 195, file # 75785, Lee Kidd to C. Sifton, March 11, 1901.

[5] Ibid, vol. 226, file # 119106, John Bellows to Smart, September 19, 1900.

[6] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Reports of the Agents of Dominion Lands, April 11, 1902. The total figure was arrived at by adding the number of applications received from Doukhobors by the various Agents.

[7] Ibid, Report of the Prince Albert Dominion Land Agent, April 11, 1902.

[8] Ibid, Report of Inspector N. G. McCallum, October 28, 1902.

[9] Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Pedley to Sifton, October 25, 1902.

[10] Ibid, Crerar to Pedley, September 23, 1902.

[11] Ibid, Public Notice of the opening of the reserve, December 3, 1901. Notice was given in both English and Russian.

[12] Loc. cit.

[13] Ibid, Turriff to Smith, January 15, 1902.

[14] Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Memorandum from Portier to Pedley, February 17, 1902.

[15] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Turriff to Smith, April 4, 1902.

[16]Ibid, Smart to Turriff, April 4, 1902.

[17]Ibid, Turriff to Voscresenovka, April 10, 1901.

[18]Ibid, V. Potapoff to Smith, March 23, 1901.

[19]Ibid, Sifton to Ivan and Feodor Suchorukoff, Delegates from the Doukhobors of the Thunder Hill Colony, February 15, 1902, p. 6.

[20]Ibid, p. 2-3.

[21]Ibid, p. 4.

[22]A. Maude, A Peculiar People: Archibald Constable Company, London, 1905, p. 221, See Maude for more information on what this book contained.

[23]Ibid, p. 208. Maude is the only person who records that Verigin even wrote to his followers in their first years in Canada.

[24]Translated from Reibin Simeon, Trud i Mirnaya Zhizen: San Francisco, 1952, p. 47-48 and p. 52-54.

[25]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Pedley to Sifton, October 25, 1902.

[26]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, V. Potapoff to Smith, March 23, 1901.

[27]Ibid, Petition of the Doukhobors of the North Colony to Commissioner Smith, March 4, 1902.

[28]Ibid, Pokrovka Village petition, March 3, 1902.

[29]Immigration Files, vol. 183, # 65101, Paul Mazvren to McCreary, May 5, 1899.

[30]Lands Files, vol. 754, # 494483, Smith to Pedley, July 11, 1901.

[31]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Gregorie Verigin (etc.), Doukhobor Declaration, undirected to any specific person. The signers of this document claimed that 14 other Doukhobor villages were of like mind.

[32]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Petition of villages Petrovka, Trougdenia (sic), and Poziraevka, July 7, 1901.

[33]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Joseph Elkinton to the Doukhobors, June 6, 1902.

[34]Immigration Files, vol. 226, file # 119106, Smith to Pedley, March 14, 1902.

[35]Pedley reported to Sifton on the unrest in the villages. The following villages of the North and South Colonies were affected:

Terpenie (sic) - all 190 people marched
Patrovka - 86/175 gone; 20 more going
Waskeamovka (sic) - 8 families gone
Trozdenie (sic) - one-half gone
Efremovka - 2 families gone and 8 men
Pozariovka - most gone from a total population of 115
Verovka - most gone
Terpenie (sic) - 80 gone out of 280
Voznesenie - only Zibaroff (Zibarov) gone

In none of the villages affected was there a shortage of food or fuel. Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Pedley to Sifton, October 25, 1902.

Earlier Speers reported to Pedley that: I may say that this strange infatuation is confined principally to the Cyprus people, who when they came to Canada were accompanied by socialist agitators and troublesome persons. Ibid, Speers to Pedley, August 11, 1902.

[36]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 180.

[37]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Harley to Smith, October 25, 1902.

[38]Ibid, Pedley to Smart, November 7, 1902.

[39]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Turriff to Burpe, April 11, 1902.

[40]Malov, op. cit., p. 77.

[41]Immigration Files, vol. 183, file # 65101, Manitoba Free Press article, "Has Confidence in Doukhobors", Commissioner of Immigration, September 23, 1902.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SUMMIT OF BUILDING (1903-1904)

Introduction:

The resistance to homestead entry and the pilgrimage coincided with another important event---the release of Peter Verigin from exile. His release pointed to the direction from which a solution to the homestead impasse might appear. As early as July, 1900, the Canadian authorities sought aid from the "leading men in Siberia",[1] in modifying the Doukhobors' ideas on property and secular law. There were indications that the Siberian exiles were not in sympathy with the radical sector. Ivan Konkin in Olekminsk wrote to Chertkov in England, asking "When will the Almighty Father send them clear sight...?"[2] The Siberian exiles wrote a chiding letter to Simeon Vereschagin of Terpennie village because the zealous Doukhobors, in September, 1902, let loose all of their livestock, (released them from the bondage of man) while brothers starved in Russia.[3]

Late in 1902, the Department of the Interior held two important hopes with regard to the Doukhobor colonies. The first was that Peter Verigin, recently released from exile, would sensibly tie together the loose ends of Doukhobor affairs upon his arrival in Canada. The second hope was that the communistic system, which some of the Doukhobors were strictly adhering to, would be undone. A rancher in the

Doukhobor areas, Robert Smith summarized the outlook of the Lands Branch: "...the crux of the Doukhobor question is the village system..."[4]

The Doukhobors, awaited Verigin's arrival, with even greater anticipation. The pilgrims felt both prepared for it and responsible for his release from exile. The remainder of the Doukhobors, who had stayed in the colonies and labored, were anxious for personal directive in their affairs, especially with regard to the land.

The new year dawned with the realization that the pressing land issues in the Doukhobor colonies, in particular the entry question, would have to be settled. Doukhobors and Canadian land officials awaited the direction that would come from the Doukhobor leader, who was scheduled to arrive soon.

I. Peter the Lordly in the West

Peter Vasilevitch Verigin arrived in Canada on December 18, 1902. He was described by the Commissioner of Immigration as a "man of good intelligence and sound judgement", whose influence, the Commissioner hoped, ..."will doubtless have a steadying effect upon these people".[5]

Verigin's presence seemed to spell optimism for the future flow of Dominion-Doukhobor relations. A rational and eloquent leader, quite different in dress and manner than his followers, had arrived to take the helm of Doukhobor affairs.[6] In England, where Verigin had made a brief stopover, he had impressed public audiences with both his well developed philosophy and his dignified speech. Upon his arrival in Canada, the Manitoba Free Press stated that "...his whole expression (is) that of a man who has suffered much, and has triumphed over everything through the force of kingly courage and constancy".[7]

Verigin's arrival in Yorkton on December 23 was greeted by solid support from both the settled and pilgrim Doukhobor factions. He was able to calm the Zealots, expressing in his earliest meeting with the people at Otradnoe, his appreciation of their efforts, while stressing the benefits of communal life and sedentary labor. Vasya Pozdnyakov records his treatment of the others: "...he thanked the non-Libertines for the joyful welcome they arranged for him, and for their labor and assiduity,...the non-Libertines were very satisfied with them (Verigin's words) and were glad to see Verigin as dressed as

they were".[8] Maude later sarcastically recorded that "A practical victory was thus given to the 'bad' Doukhobors while to keep things balanced, flattery was given to the 'mad' ones".[9]

His influence in quelling the spiritual zeal of the pilgrims was best illustrated by the fact that one of their leaders, Nicolai Zibarov, became one of three closely trusted aides of Verigin. The few that continued to adhere to Zealot principles were, during the summer of 1903, handled by police authorities. This handful of radicals who refused to submit to Verigin's authority emerged as the nucleus of the future Sons of Freedom. In 1904 they numbered 50 people out of a total population of 8,000.[10]

A new era of material prosperity began for the Doukhobors when Verigin arrived. The security of strong leadership and the impact of Verigin's shrewd business skills manifested themselves in the creation of a centralized and efficient agricultural business. The finances of the North and South Colonies were administered by a Central Office, which was located at the tiny railroad depot, suitably named Verigin. A Doukhobor Trading Company was set up to handle the buying and selling aspects of community life, and dealt directly with the Eastern factories. The magnitude of its economic dealings was revealed in the size of its total receipts for 1903 of $166,901.00 and total expenditures of $212,876.00[11]. Among the expenditures was a purchase of thirteen sections of land near Verigin station, through which

the projected railway ran. The Canadian Northern would have to purchase land from the Community for a town site, and the right of way for line construction.[12]

Other expenditures indicated Verigin's economic emphasis. Purchases of land and capital consumed $114,734, while spending for the personal upkeep of the people was a mere $86,908.[13] By fall, the Doukhobors had purchased 4 steam thrashers, 4 gristing mills and 500 horses. Speers reported on their purchases:[14]

> They purchased the best horses in the country. They bought 20 horses in one lot for $4,044.00. 15 in another for $2,626.00 and 2 for $440.00, also 4 high class stallions for $2,450.00. They paid cash for all this stock which amounted to about $10,000.00...the district is well equipped with a better class of horses than can be found in any other community.

Centralization was the key to their economic progress. Communal life was the rule in all of the Doukhobor areas. The Prince Albert Colony presented problems in this. Many of the Doukhobors there had opted for individual farming and wished to continue it. Verigin did not wield the same authority in the Prince Albert unit as he did in the eastern settlements. His economic plans dealt mainly with the North and South Colonies, who were obedient to him. His intention was to resettle the obedient Doukhobors from Prince Albert in the Yorkton-Swan River area.

Verigin's leadership did not undo the village structure of life that had been set up on the Doukhobors' arrival in Canada. The Doukhobors continued to reside in villages (as the vast majority had done up to 1902, even if they were

engaged in private farming of their lands). The centralized system of buying and selling, and the creation of the Verigin Central Office meant that something similar to the Orphan's Home could relieve the village structures of some of their economic responsibility. The Doukhobors lived together and worked as village units, utilizing common labor and capital, under the direction of the Central Office.

II. The Doukhobors Take a "Stake and Interest": Homestead Entry is Made

The Canadian authorities were more impressed with the positive influence that Verigin exerted on the issue of homestead entry, than they were with the success of his economic pursuits. In England, Verigin had made some remarks on the Doukhobors' view of property-holding to the Tolstoyans:[15]

> We desire that we should be allowed to live freely, not harming our neighbours...Every person should have as much land as it is within his strength and ability to work. We desire that this land be communal (not belonging to any individual) and that no one should force us to act contrary to our conscience.

The first two months following Verigin's arrival were occupied with the issue of landholding. At least two important meetings of Doukhobors and land officials were held before a final decision was reached on February 10, 1903. The Doukhobors would sign for homestead by means of proxy entry. A 3-man committee consisting of Peter Verigin, Pavel Planidin, and Z. Zibarov would make entry for all eligible Doukhobors.

The records of these meetings cast some light on the terms of agreement on homestead entry. The first meeting was held on January 7, 1903, in the village of Poziraevka with village representatives in attendance. Crerar was present on behalf of the Lands Branch. According to Crerar, the land issue was discussed in the light of the existing Dominion Land act. Sifton's offer of communal cultivation was not brought up. Crerar plainly stated that no concessions were

possible:[16]

> He (Verigin) asked me if the Minister could not change something in the Act for the benefit of the Doukhobors such as not having to sign or affirm. I had to tell him there was no hope in making any change.

The subject of patent was also discussed and Crerar read the terms from the Land Act. The general outcome of the meeting was that Verigin seemed willing to pursue homestead entry. According to Pavel Biriukov, Verigin's feeling was that the people should enter for the lands "without further delay".[17]

> ...They must be deeply grateful to the government in its attitude towards themselves. For four years they behaved like guests and the government suffered them this without taking their land away, as it would be justified in doing so, but was very tolerant to (sic) them. Some of you see some kind of danger in doing what the government demands but I do not see any danger. Canada is a land of freedom and cannot be compared to Russia. If danger did arise, then we would meet it like we always did before, but again I repeat, there is no danger now.

It is probable that Verigin realized that entry was not equivalent to a "seal of ownership" on the land, and that the decision to farm the Canadian prairie could be reversed at a later date. In the meantime, entry would pacify the Land officials and the Canadian public.

A subject of future consternation was touched upon in the second major meeting on February 10, 1903, at Terpennie village. The mentioning of an oath of allegiance by Crerar and Harley caused an outburst of inquiries and confusion that surprised the Canadian officials. Both Crerar and Harley recorded their impressions of this meeting. Harley wrote:[18]

> Mr. Crerar and myself was (sic) firm and very plain with them. We found it a good deal harder to have them to consent to become British subjects than to take up the land. They wanted to learn all about the laws of our King and what they would have to do. We discussed this matter for a long time. Then would you believe it (sic) they asked for two weeks more time to think over the thought of being a British subject.

According to Simeon Reibin, the Land officials did clarify that the Doukhobors could affirm (utverdat') rather than swear (klyanyat') the oath of allegiance, although Reibn's credibility is somewhat tarnished by his dating of this event to February, 1904 rather than 1903.[19]

The final decision at this meeting of the North and South Colonist representatives was to make homestead entry. Each Doukhobor eligible would sign a power of attorney allowing a 3-member committee to make entry for him. From the perspective of the Lands Branch, the Doukhobors were treated as ordinary settlers, subject to the same homestead conditions as the general public. The previous concessions of communal cultivation offered by Sifton in February, 1902, were not mentioned.

The Doukhobors were uncertain about their status as homesteaders. Letters from Archer, who was in the colonies, to the Lands Branch, indicated that Archer assumed that the Doukhobors had received special conditions for homesteading. In January, 1903, he put forward a question concerning Doukhobor entries, considering that they were special settlers:[20]

> ...the Yorkton Land Office only has forms applicable to land entry when the applicant

> makes affidavit that the land is for his exclusive use and benefit, that he will reside on it and cultivate it, etc. This is not applicable to the Doukhobors and I shall be glad to know if other forms will be substituted or whether this passage will simply be struck out. Also shall entry be made as for land improved upon in cases where the land applied for has been broken by the village and otherwise where no plowing has been done, or will one form suffice for all and if so, which?

The reply confirmed that the Doukhobors would be treated as general settlers. "It is not the intention to prepare any special forms for use by the Doukhobors in acquiring homestead entries. They must make their entries in the same way as other settlers and the ordinary forms must be utilized."[21] Later in 1908, Frank Oliver, the new Minister of the Interior stated that:[22]"...they made entry in the way that I have mentioned on the ordinary forms, and these forms were accepted, and their entries stood in the book against those lands subject to the ordinary homestead conditions".

Future conflict over homestead patent requirements can be traced directly to the entry negotiations. The Doukhobors were under the impression that Sifton's communal cultivation concession was still valid for their entries. The Doukhobors' awareness that ordinary forms meant ordinary conditions could not be assumed.

A triumphant article graced the pages of the Free Press on March 2, 1903. In a newstory entitled, "The Doukhobors Will Homestead", the newspaper indicated that the land issue had at last ended:[23]

> Henceforth the Doukhobors will have no other aim but to settle in Canada and become Canadians.

> The erstwhile pilgrims will at once proceed to get out naturalization papers and...will at once become merged in the Canadian people...There are still matters to be adjusted, but the main question was that of land entry. The Doukhobors will locate on the land. They will each put up $10 entry fee. They will have a stake and interest in the country. They have given up all idea of moving out of Canada...The questions of schools and vital statistics have yet to be dealt with, but there is not the slightest doubt but that these things will, in due course, be settled satisfactorily as the land question has been.

Entry proceeded throughout March and April through the working of the Committee composed of Verigin, Planidin and Zibarov. It was decided that in regard to the $10 entry fee, money remaining from the pilgrims' stock round-up would be applied to the amount owing. The balance was payable, without interest, to March 1, 1904. $8,742.25 from the stock fund was applied to the fees; a balance of $20,120 remained outstanding.[24]

By the spring of 1903, over 2,000 eligible Doukhobors had taken entry. A total of 281,660 acres were entered for by Doukhobors in the Yorkton-Swan River area, while in the Prince Albert region,141,140 acres were homesteaded by Doukhobors.[25] The Lands Branch could, with some relief, consider the Doukhobor problem at least temporarily settled. The rapid settlement of lands around the reserves no longer posed a threat to the Doukhobors, or threatened embarrassment to the government which had arranged for the Doukhobors' arrival.

III. The Opening of the Doukhobor Reserve

Public petition warranted an opening of the Doukhobor reserve as soon as the Doukhobors completed entry. Approximately 31 percent of the total area of the reserve available for entry (with the subtraction of the Hudson Bay and school lands) remained after the Doukhobors had entered for their lands.[26] Inquiries from the Kamsack region, from Mennonite settlers in the Rosthern district, and from the Verigin area catalyzed movements for opening the excess lands in general settlement.

The Lands Branch expected that the opening would occur in the summer of 1903. The Doukhobors were shocked by this proposal. They had assumed that all remaining quarters were to be held for their sons for future entry.[27] They complained that they had not made the best selections possible, as they had felt that the entire reserve belonged to them.

The Lands Branch reluctantly consented to maintain the reserve until December 1, 1903, enabling the Doukhobors to exchange quarters for more desirable ones, and to reserve homesteads for males of age seventeen. Two townships (tw. 36, r. 30-31, w. 1) were reserved for 87 Doukhobors still in Siberia, an indication of the good faith of the Lands Branch in the influence of the "Siberian" Verigin.[28] By November 24, 1903, Verigin and Reibin, his translator-secretary, completed application for 407 homesteads and the cancellation of 37 entries; in addition, 177 homesteads were

reserved for the 17 year old boys.[29] The Dominion Land Agent in Prince Albert reported that all Doukhobors eligible for lands in this region had completed entry. They numbered approximately 429.[30]

The Doukhobor lands were now relatively old lands, at the center of settlement. Railroad branch lines had pushed westward and northward, and settlement followed them. John McTaggert of the Yorkton Lands Office reported 5,794 homesteads taken in 1903, in contrast to 1,075 of the previous year.[31] The rush for lands was partially connected with the construction of the north-western branch of the C.P.R. which extended past Sheho and the Quill Lake areas. Many of the settlers entering the West were those from the U.S. who had sold their own improved lands for as much as $50-70 per acre, and could buy choice railroad lands in the West for seven or eight dollars per acre. In 1902, the C.P.R. sold 1,362,478 acres, while the sales for 1902 and 1903 combined were more than twice the total sales of the previous ten years.[32]

Demand for the Doukhobor lands was especially high at Prince Albert, which was relatively close to the Mennonite colonies. Approximately 100 Quaker families also wished to settle in this area.[33] An inspection of these lands followed and in February, 1904, the Prince Albert reserve was partially opened. An indication of local impatience concerning these lands was the coverage that the opening received in the Saskatoon newspaper. The Government was commended for "...at last opening fire on the Doukhobors".[34]

Doukhobor homestead entries outside the reserve boundaries served as an indication to the public that the reserve was no longer needed. 66 of the 429 entries made in the Prince Albert area were outside of the reserve boundaries.[35] The Inspectors' opinion was that the reserve had outlived its usefulness: "It looks like the old saying 'That you can't play in my yard but I'll do as I like in yours'."[36]

The Inspectors warned that if the reserve was not opened, squatters would cause serious trouble. Squatters in the Prince Albert region had been told that they were occupying the land at their own risk, as the Doukhobors were subject to the same rights as ordinary settlers. At the same time, their settlement was not entirely discouraged if they were on lands unentered for; the general policy by the summer of 1904 was to have the squatters file application for the quarters, and these applications would be noted by the local Agent of Dominion Lands. The "noted" entry had no legal status, but acted as a consolation to landseekers, a personal assurance that they would have the first chance to obtain land when the reserve opened. The total number of "noted" squatter entries in Prince Albert in October, 1904 was 54.[37]

It was late 1904 before the exact boundaries of the reserve were established and irregularities, such as misplaced village sites and even-odd section controversies were cleared away. The opening was scheduled for December 15, 1904. The Land Agents were asked to report on the number of vacant quarters and to provide lists of squatters. Their

reports, issued October 14, 1904, placed the total acreage of the three reserves at 773,415 acres, of which 448,615 were in the Yorkton-Swan River regions and 324,800 were around Prince Albert.[38] In the Yorkton area, 100,640 acres were opened for general entry, while in Prince Albert, 143,280 acres remained after the Doukhobors had entered.[39] These lands were opened for public entry on December 15, 1904, at the Dominion Land Offices, on a first come - first served basis of personal application.

IV. The King Bee's Operations

With the opening of the Doukhobor reserve and the positive steps that the Doukhobors had taken with regard to entry, it appeared that the major problems of Doukhobor land settlement were over. The Doukhobors were legal land-holders and the local settlers were satisfied with the relatively large percentage of unclaimed land that was opened for entry.

A single obstacle hindered the complete settlement of the land issue by the Lands Branch. It was the communistic system perpetuated by Verigin.

Investigation into the settlement of the Doukhobor lands revealed that the Doukhobor holdings were characterized by more irregularities than the Lands Branch had realized. Many of the controversies (e.g. "misplaced" villages, and even-odd disputes) were traceable to the maladministration of the local Agents of Dominion Lands. The solution, nevertheless, rested with the settlers themselves. If the Doukhobors, who made entry, abandoned their communal land-holding system, and moved out onto their farms like other settlers, the Department could deal with each homesteader individually and in the ordinary way. The Department was very reluctant to sanctify communal land holding, since such land holding was regarded as economically inefficient and destructive of individual initiative.

The conclusion that communism was a stumbling block was reached from an observance of internal Doukhobor affairs, as well. Through the centralization of capital, the creation

of the Trading Company, and the communal toil of the people, the Doukhobors had become, by 1904, one of the largest agricultural-industrial enterprises in the West.[40] The Doukhobors posed a threat to the individualistic, free-enterprise character of the West, and their economic isolation from the local communities did not endear them to regional business interests.

Worse still was the fact that by 1904, Verigin's "good influence" was wearing thin. The conviction that he was maintaining a theocracy at the expense of the Doukhobors' personal liberties grew. Shortly after Verigin's arrival, sporadic reports began to reach the Immigration and Land authorities concerning his autocratic behavior among his people. While the positive fruits of Verigin's presence, in terms of homestead entry and financial well-being, were evident, his policy of centralization promised strife with the Land authorities. Verigin's desire to consolidate the Doukhobors in the North and South colonies called for the migration of the Prince Albert Doukhobors to these eastern regions, where they would choose lands. Although his plans were made prior to the decision to make homestead entry in February, 1903 (so that these Doukhobors could make entry in the Swan River-Yorkton area if they wished to do so) the uprooting of the Saskatchewan Doukhobors, which the Interior had painstakingly planted, did not please the Land authorities. Commissioner Smith felt that the project was undertaken "...with the view to make one large community, of which

no doubt he would be the King Bee".[41]

A Mennonite minister, Reverend Hermann Fast, reported that, by the summer of 1903, Verigin's call for migration was being answered by the youth. It appeared that the 177 homesteads that Verigin reserved for the 17 year olds in the North and South Colonies were in actuality to be for the minors of the Saskatchewan Colony who would be willing to move.[42]

> Displaying to the Saskatchewan Doukhobors the great allotment of land given by the Government near Yorkton and Swan River, he tries to persuade the Doukhobors of the Saskatchewan to sell their land and desert their homes in order to join their brethren of Yorkton and thereby to give Verigin a full control over one masse of conglomerate settlers. Many have already signed their names under his scheme, especially the young people, whom he understands to attach to him by loosing all restraint. For instance, the young lads of 13 and 14 are promised to have homesteads reserved for them in the Yorkton district to incite their parents to follow them and move to Yorkton. We know that the Government refuses the applications of parents to reserve homesteads for their sons under 18 years of age. Why should the Doukhobors be given preference to other Canadian parents who are honest enough not to give a false statement of the age of their sons.

Later in 1906, when the question of minors holding entry arose, Verigin explained that he had not known the true ages of the boys, as the mothers had fabricated their ages, for fear of the boys being subject to military duty.

Until 1904, complaints against Verigin's behavior were largely from individuals outside the Doukhobor community. In mid-September, the Yorkton Enterprise published an article, describing Verigin as an immoral leader who encouraged the "worship of man".[43] Henry Lewis, the editor, was forced in the

next issue to retract these statements and to publicly apologize for them. Hermann Fast did not confine himself to economic remarks: "He (Verigin) is a good economic resource man, but as far as the Word of God goes, he is an "infidel", will not adopt any type of educational practice, (sic) himself holds concubines"...[44] Crerar, observing Verigin in the course of land negotiations, was amazed at the control that Verigin exercised over the people. "He travels in state (sic) two young maidens about 18 years of age travel with him on each side of him and two or three footmen following after; the best team of horses in the whole colony is at his disposal".[45]

Clashes between Verigin's communal Doukhobors and those Doukhobors desiring to farm independently were also emerging by 1904. It appeared that Verigin, in an effort to halt movement away from the Community, had in the process of making exchanges in the fall of 1903, cancelled the homestead entries of potential Independents. Notices of cancellation for the 40 homesteads involved were sent out to the entrants, but they

Verigin Post Office, presumably by Verigin.

It was the policy of the Land Offices to cancel an entry for which a cancellation notice was issued, 60 days after the date the notice was mailed and no reply was made. A single defence (by Andrew Kalmakoff on NW 10-32-6) was filed.[46] The remaining homesteads were cancelled due to "no response".

In November, 1904, E. Clark, a Justice of Peace in the Swan River area, petitioned the Minister of the Interior on behalf of the Doukhobors striving for independence:[47]

> They say that as soon as they leave the Community, Peter Verigin applies to have their homesteads cancelled and they never get the notice. They say it is sent to Peter Verigin consequently at the expiration of two months they lose their lands. Now these men contend that they have done their duties as much as the ones left in the Community and then ask that they may have justice done to them. It would be better in case of any Doukhobor cancellations that the notice be sent to someone who can notify them and let them have fair play. There is a good deal of persecution going on (sic) those who have left the Community. Some going out have considerable acreage ploughed on their homesteads which they claim and it causes great disatisfaction with the Community and again those with no improvements get them cancelled and that causes trouble on the other side.

The concern of the Department of the Interior over this issue was revealed in the promptness with which an inquiry was launched in all of the Dominion Land Offices possibly involved. The cancellations were made at the Yorkton Land Office, and investigation revealed that three-fourths of the entries were cancelled due to "no response".[48] Although it was never proven that Verigin had tampered with the mail, it was local knowledge that foul play had been involved, and a number of Doukhobors requested that their mail be sent to the Kamsack Post Office rather than to the Verigin Depot.

Those Doukhobors desiring independence were reacting against Verigin's centralized economy and communal life-style. Pozdnyakov wrote that centralization characterized even the smallest details of everyday life:[49]

> During the few following years the system of centralization was reinforced. All the orders were printed in headquarters (sic) of Verigin and each village was getting a copy of them. It was exactly said in each order what to do and how to do it: how much cattle to keep and

> how to feed it; how to plough and what to sow; how to build houses and even how to dress oneself. Thus, by one order, was simplified (sic) the children's dress. All the boys and girls below 13 had to submit to a new rule. The boys got long shirts, instead of trousers, and girls had their hair cut---and they were all very afflicted by that.

Doukhobors desiring to withdraw from the Community suffered both social-spiritual ostracism and the economic problem of how to remove their contributions from the Community. Clark reported in November, 1904, that he had eight cases of assault in a 10 day period, "...on account of disagreement with regard to houses in villages, goods and lands".[50]

Another problem in regard to Communists and Independents was the procedure to follow when a Doukhobor, who had taken entry for the land on which a village was located, desired to farm independently. A case which attracted the attention of the House of Commons was that of Mr. Schukin versus the Doukhobor Community. In 1902, Crerar had informed the Doukhobors that they could make entry for any land in the reserve, and Mr. Schukin made entry for the land on which he resided. After Verigin arrived, the land was chosen as a village site. When Schukin chose to hold the land independently in 1904, the Community declared that there were 25 houses, and one mill on this property, as well as 100 cultivated acres of land.[51] R. Buchanan of Good Spirit Lake reported the battle that went on between Schukin and the Community:[52]

> Sugan (sic) was ploughing on his farm when a number came down to him with their team and ploughs. They gave him ten minutes to get out of the field.

> He unhitched his horses and took them to the stable and they pitched his plough into the fence. Please do the best you can for him.

Settlement was finally reached in June, 1905, when Schukin agreed to give 40 acres of land to the village.[53] Investigation showed that there were not nearly as many houses as reported by the Community, and half of them had been built after Schukin had obtained entry.

V. The Irregularity of Village Sites

The question of village sites emerged not only in the disputes between Communists and Independents, but also in the larger sphere of ironing out the irregularities that characterized Doukhobor settlement. It is necessary to examine Dominion policy re Doukhobor village sites from the time of settlement in order to fully understand how the sites presented problems in later years.

According to James Mavor, village sites in 1899 were chosen on the basis of the proximity of cultivable land. "Temporary" villages, located on unsurveyed land, had a tendency to become permanent villages. In the early years, the Department of the Interior was willing to negotiate for exchanges of land with the railroad companies, in order that the village locations would be a part of the reserve land. It was felt as early as 1902, that the village site property should not be homesteaded, but should be reserved for future sale to the village community at a proposed price of $3 per acre.[54]

In the exasperation of persuading the Doukhobors to make entry, the spring of 1902 brought a new hard line policy in handling these types of irregularities. The Department would no longer "favor" the Doukhobors with regard to ownership of the sites; they would have to handle their own negotiations in the future. When it was found in 1903 that three villages in townships 33 and 34, r. 4, w. 1 were located on lands held by the C.No.R., the Doukhobors were

encouraged to approach the railroad company themselves for the land exchanges.[55] There is no evidence that the exchanges were successful.

It was discovered that a number of village sites were located outside the reserve areas. Mossiavka, Kerelovka, and Nova Slavyanka were outside the boundaries, while in January, 1903, Archer found that three or four villages in tw. 29-r. 1-w. 1 and the south half of tw. 3-r. 1-2. 1 had cultivated land on odd sections, which belonged to the Saskatchewan Land Company.[56] Two villages in the Prince Albert area,--Poziraevka and Tambovka were also built on odd sections.[51] While in this latter area, the Department could at least point out that these settlers had been admonished not to settle on the odd sections, one can scarcely blame non-English speaking settlers for settling on the wrong land when in many cases, the lands were not surveyed.

A part of Verigin's centralization policy included attempts to purchase the village sites in 1903. $3.00 per acre was offered for the eight village sites in the Saskatchewan district. Five sites were purchased.[58]

By 1904, all of the 43 villages in the eastern part of the province (21 in the South Colony, 15 in the North, and 7 in the Good Spirit area) had been entered for by individuals.[59] A request was made by the Community to have these village sites turned over to the Trustees of the villages; in December, 1904, the Lands Branch agreed to have these standing entries cancelled and re-entries made by the Community.

These lands would, however, be considered as Government property, held for the use of the Doukhobors. Re-entry was subsequently made by Verigin on December 13, 1904, for the villages involved, which further enhanced his reputation as a blanketer of lands.[60]

> ...it seems...undesirable that one man should make a bunch of entries in that way for these communities, especially holding the position which he appears to do in the Doukhobor community. It tends to keep in their minds the idea that the lands are being entered by the community as a body, and not for the individual.

By the spring of 1904, there were strong indications that only a detailed inspection of the Doukhobor lands could clarify the demands of the Doukhobors, and the cancellation and the blanketing accusations that had been directed against these people. It was the desire of the Lands Branch to have a major report on all lands in the reserve made during the summer of 1904, beginning with four townships in the Kamsack area (tw. 27-28, r. 31-32, w. 1) which had attracted sufficient attention through petition. In February, 1903, 24 settlers in these townships petitioned the Prime Minister for the fulfillment of their British rights to have their own schools and churches.[61] 40 settlers reiterated these demands on August 11, 1903 in a petition to Sifton.[62]

Some of the changes with regard to the reserve lands had not even been recorded in the Lands Branch files. Two townships (34-30-w. 1 and 36-30-w. 1) containing 5 villages were omitted from the lists of lands drawn up in February, 1903.[63] The Doukhobors discovered also that they were not in

possession of the odd sections of 29-01-w. 1 and the south half of 30-01-w. 1. This was important because throughout all of the townships of the North and South Colonies reserved in December, 1898, the Doukhobors were allowed to settle on both the even and odd sections. When additional lands were added to the reserves in the spring of 1899 (e.g. allotments for the Cypriots), these lands were under the same ruling as the Prince Albert lands, i.e. the Doukhobors were to settle only on the even sections. Archer warned that trouble would ensue if the Doukhobors were not in possession of these odd sections.[64]

> I sincerely hope Crerar is mistaken, for if such a very serious blunder has been made by the Interior, the effect will be very bad. I need not point out that this land, including odd sections, has been shewn as Doukhobor reserve on every plan made in connection with the settlement, and is so designed in a list I had from your office rather more than two years ago.

The Land Branch's hopes for an inspection of these lands, under the direction of a Mr. Thomas McNutt were not realized until the succeeding year. McNutt maintained that work was far too much for one man to complete, except in a span of four or five years. His suggestion to organize a rapid inspection, utilizing the services of a larger staff, was accepted, but not implemented until after the reserve opened.

VI. Conclusion

The opening of the Doukhobor reserve in December, 1904, signalled the close of an era in Dominion-Doukhobor relations. The settlement of the old issue of entry and of a Doukhobor reserve in general seemed to indicate that after five years of Canadian life, these settlers were at last committing themselves to permanent settlement, and participation in the local socio-economic movement. As the Free Press stated, "They will have a stake and interest in the country", similar to other settlers.

The Dominion's hopes with regard to the Doukhobor colonies were partially realized with the coming of Verigin. Homestead entry was made. The Community was prospering materially under Verigin's direction.

The Land Branch's desire that the communistic system would be replaced by individual farming was in no way accomplished. The Doukhobors were even more economically centralized than before Verigin's arrival. There was also evidence that the Veriginite system was perpetuated by force. A sizeable number of Doukhobors, desiring independence from the Community, made their complaints known to the Lands Branch.

Homestead entry was only a single step in the direction of Doukhobor landowning. The Lands Branch could hardly consider Doukhobors affairs sensibly completed simply because homestead entry was made. The communistic system still continued. The numerous irregularities in the administration

of the Doukhobor lands, and the general suspicions of Verigin's control of the colonies indicated that this system would create future problems.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Immigration Files, vol. 226, file # 119106, McCreary to Smart, July 10, 1900.

[2] Ibid, vol. 183, file # 65101, Ivan Konkin to Tcherkov (sic), July 11, 1902.

[3] Ibid, Evan Tregouboff to Semeon V. Vereschagin, undated. According to the files organization, it would appear that the letter was written sometime between July and October, 1902.

[4] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Smith to Sifton, November 15, 1902.

...the crux of the Doukhobor question is the village system, as long as the Doukhobors are allowed to live in villages they will not be Canadianized...If you have got the Doukhobors each on his own homestead like the Galations (sic) I am of the opinion from practical experience of (sic) the Doukhobors that they will be a different people.

Smart's reply to Smith's letter was the following:

You are aware, perhaps, that there has been for years provision in the Dominion Lands Act for numbers of settlers to join in villages and hamlets similar to the system adopted by the Doukhobors, and although on general principles this is a very unsatisfactory thing yet it is not so easy to do away with it when it is once established.

Ibid, Smart to Smith, November 28, 1902.

[5] Sessional Papers, vol. 38, no. 10, 1904, Report of the Commissioner of Immigration, J. Obed Smith , July 1, 1903, p. 98.

[6] "He was dressed impeccably and expensively in a short blue gabardine coat, and his trouser were encased in close-fitting grey leggings, piped with black cloth; from a silken cord around his neck hung a silver watch and a gold pencil, and a large fountain pen was secured in his coat pocket with loops of black cloth."

This is a description of Peter Verigin on arrival in Canada. Woodcock, op. cit., p. 185.

[7] Ibid, p. 185.

[8] Peter Brock, "Vasya Pozdnyakov's Doukhobor Narrative", op. cit., part II, p. 405.

[9]Maude, op. cit., p. 228.

[10]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 194, Woodcock writes: "...though there were several other attempts at pilgrimages and nude demonstrations during 1904 and 1905, they involved only tiny groups of people, and the Sons of Freedom movement did not at this time extend beyond a few dozen individuals." (p. 198).

This tile, Sons of Freedom, was adopted by a small number of pilgrims who continued to dissent from the main body of Doukhobors after Verigin arrived. In the spring of 1903 they wandered through the villages, preaching that what Verigin really wanted his followers to do was the exact opposite of what he told the government and Doukhobor body (e.g. enter for homesteads, live peaceably in communal villages). They felt his real call was to resist any temptations that the world offered. On May 11, 52 Freedomites (Svobodniki) staged a nude march through villages of the North Colony. Their desire to live "in the manner of the first man Adam and Eve" resulted in convictions of indecent exposure, and the sentencing of the pilgrims' leaders to 3 months imprisonment. Alex Makhortov was a prominent leader of the group. Woodcock, p. 194-196.

[11]Koozma J. Tarasoff, In Search of Brotherhood: Vancouver, 1963, vol. 2, p. 293.

$60,000 was borrowed by the Doukhobors from a Canadian bank. The Commissioner of Immigration reported: "the fact that they were able to borrow this money without security affords abundant proof of the high standing which these people have amongst financial and business men". Sessional Papers, vol. 39, no. 10, 1905, p. 71.

[12]James Mavor, My Windows, op. cit., p. 30.

Shortly before my visit Peter had purchased on account of the Doukhobors a large area, about ten thousand acres of land, immediately to the east of the Doukhobor allotted lands. The projected railway ran through this property. It was necessary for the promoters---the Canadian Northern Railway Company---to purchase the right of way, and it was also expedient to purchase land for a town site. When Verigin was approached about this, he offered to sell the company forty acres for their town site and the rail way station, on condition that the station should be placed, not in the centre of this area purchased, but on the edge of it, in order that the growth of the projected town should take place on the Doukhobor property as well as on that purchased by the railway.

[13]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 90.

[14]Immigration Files, vol. 184, file # 65101, Speers to Scott, April 13, 1903.

[15]J. Wright, Manuscripts, p. 152.

[16]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Crerar to Smith, January 8, 1903.

[17]Wright, op. cit., p. 157

[18]Lands Files, vol. 754, # 494483, Harley to Smith, February 14, 1903.

Crerar wrote:

The first question that came up was the land question and taking up (sic) their homesteads. Mr. Harley went fully into the land and homestead laws and explained to them what course they would have to pursue in making their entries as well as the duties they would have to perform to get Patent for same (sic) also explaining to them they would have to become British subjects before they would be granted a Patent for their homesteads. This was for some time a sticker with them also (sic) that they must obey all our laws same (sic) as other people.

...in fact I got a little hot at them at the way (sic) they were acting and I simply told them we were not children and be made (sic) fools of; that we had enough nonsense and we had now come to business. See (sic) them stare at me that I would talk to their great leader that way...

Ibid, Crerar to Smith, February 12, 1903.

[19]Reibin, op. cit., p. 67.

[20]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Archer to Turriff, January 7, 1903.

[21]Ibid, Keyes to Archer, January 27, 1903.

[22]Canada House of Commons Debates, vol. 5, 4th session, 10th Parliament, Session 1907-1908, Mr. Oliver, June 5, 1908, p. 9953-9954.

[23]Immigration Files, vol. 184, file # 65101, Manitoba Free Press, March 02, 1903.

[24]Ibid, List of Monies Gathered from Pilgrims' Cattle Fund, undated. The total amount raised from the public sale of the pilgrims' cattle in the fall of 1902 was $16,034.25. Expenses incurred in shipping back the marchers and

resettling them was $7,292. The remainder, $8,742.25 was applied to the homestead fees.

[25] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483. Statement showing the area of land reserved for the Doukhobors in the Swan River-Yorkton area and Prince Albert area, the total acreage homesteaded and the balance open for settlement, fall, 1904.

[26] Ibid, this percentage was obtained by dividing the total amount of land open for homesteading, 243,920 acres by the total number of acres in the reserve, 773,415 acres.

[27] Ibid, Turriff to Burpe, July 22, 1903.

[28] Immigration Files, vol. 184, file # 65101, Smith to W. Scott, June 13, 1903. re 87 exiles in Sibera:

I need not point out to the Department the good effect it will have on a large number of these people if we can secure the release of these men from exile...if the men in exile are even in a limited degree of the same temperment as Verigin himself after his 18 years' exile...I think the Department could not do better in the interests of these people as a whole than bring these 87 men from Siberia.

[29] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Smith to Scott, November 24, 1903.

[30] Ibid, C. W. Speers to Cory, June 13, 1904. This figure was obtained by adding the entries within the reserve- 363 - to the entries outside the reserve - 66.

[31] Sessional Papers, vol. 38, no. 10, Report of John McTaggert, Dominion Land Agent at Yorkton, July 18, 1903.

[32] Martin, op. cit., p. 85.

[33] The Saskatoon Phoenix, February 12, 1904, page 01.

[34] Loc. cit.

[35] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, C. W. Speers to W. Cory, Acting Commissioner of Dominion Lands, June 13, 1904.

[36] Ibid.

[37]Ibid, Report of the Dominion Land Agent at Prince Albert, showing lands available for entry, and noted squatters, October 10, 1904.

[38]Ibid, Statement showing the area of lands reserved for the Doukhobors in the Swan River-Yorkton areas and Prince Albert districts, the total acreage homesteaded and the balance open for settlement, fall, 1904. Altogether, the reserved acreage could have yielded over 7,750 homesteads.

[39]Ibid.

[40]The Doukhobor holdings included grain elevators, flour mills and brick works, as well as agricultural capital.

[41]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Smith to Smart, January 30, 1903.

[42]Ibid, letter of Hermann Fast to Smart, August 24, 1903. Fast was a German Mennonite Minister who had lived in Russia; he had lived for two years in the vicinity of the Doukhobors around Rosthern, and gave to Smart his first-hand impressions of Verigin as a leader.

[43]Immigration Files, vol. 184, file # 65101, Yorkton Enterprise, September 15, 1903.

[44]Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Fast to Smart, August 24, 1903.

[45]Ibid, Crerar to Smith, February 12, 1903.

[46]Ibid, List of Doukhobor entries cancelled, January 19, 1905.

[47]Ibid, E. Clark, J.P. to Sifton, November 26, 1904.

[48]Ibid, List of Doukhobor entries cancelled, January 19, 1905.

[49]Pozdnyakov, op. cit., p. 407.

[50]Ibid, E. Clark to Sifton, November 26, 1904.

[51]Homestead File # 915268, Ivan Schukin on NW ¼ 23-31-6-w. 2. Simeon Reibin declared that there were 25 houses, 1 mill and 100 cultivated acres on this quarter. October 19, 1904.

[52] Ibid, R. Buchanan to Greenway, April 18, 1905

[53] Ibid, June 14, 1905. J. Kennedy, Homestead Inspector reported in July, 1905 that there were only 45 acres cultivated on this quarter and 12 of the 20 houses on the property were abandoned.

[54] Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, Turriff to Smith, March 4, 1902.

I think it would be much more satisfactory if 40, 80, or 160 acres on which the village stood was sold to the representatives or trustees of that particular village...We will give them permission to purchase whatever area they wish up to 160 acres to each village at the current rate of $3.00 per acre.

[55] Ibid, Keyes to Crerar, January 30, 1903.

[56] Ibid, Archer to Turriff, January 7, 1903.

[57] Ibid, Request of the Doukhobors to buy the Quarters on which villages were located, March 17, 1903.

[58] Ibid, vol. 756, Gerhard Ens to Oliver, March 24, 1908. Evidence of this was a request from the Doukhobors in the Prince Albert area in 1908 that the money paid for the village sites to the Canada Territories Corporation be returned to them.

[59] Ibid, vol. 754, Peaker at Yorkton to Greenway, December 13, 1904.

[60] Canada House of Commons Debates, May 23, 1905, Mr. Lake, p. 6415.

[61] Ibid, vol. 754, Petition of settlers of tws. 27-28, r. 31-32, w. 1, to Wilfrid Laurier, February 20, 1903.

[62] Ibid, Petition of 40 settlers of tws. 27-28, r. 31-32, w. 1, to Sifton, August 11, 1903.

[63] Ibid, Smith to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, March 5, 1903.

[64] Ibid, Archer to Turriff, January 7, 1903.

CHAPTER SIX

YOU LABOR IN VAIN:
THE CRUCIAL TRIALS AND THEIR RESOLUTION (1905-1906)

Introduction:

Two crucial requirements remained before the land issue could be truly closed. These tests were vital, if Doukhobor land-holding was to become landowning. Both involved the requirements for land patent, and the degree to which the Doukhobors had become ordinary settlers, subject to the ordinary homestead conditions.

The first requirement was the cultivation of 15 acres per individual homestead, which was the improvement requirement necessary before patent could be given. The Doukhobors had cultivated communally around their villages, rather than on each individual homestead. Could the communal cultivation be substituted for the 15 acre requirement for patent? The cultivation requirement would become a major issue in 1906, and the determinant of the amount of land that the Doukhobors could actually own.

The second crucial requirement was Canadian citizenship, and particularly, the naturalization oath. It proved to be the culminating issue in the whole spectrum of Dominion-Doukhobor relations pertaining to land. It would determine if the Doukhobors were to be landowners at all.

These issues were on the horizon in 1905. They would

test whether the Doukhobors' "stake and interest" would be subject to the same laws as that of their neighbours. These issues would have to be resolved in an atmosphere which was charged with the urgency of general land hunger and with the impatience of dealing with settlers, who "...after nearly eight years of rich opportunity, fostered by an indulgent Government, planted in some of the richest spots of the generally rich North West..."[1] could not decide whether to become landowners. The years 1905-1906 would, with these trials, draw to a conclusion the Doukhobor homestead question.

I. General Settlement in the West (1905-1906)

By 1905-1906, it seemed as though the homestead rush in the West would soon become a phenomenon of the past. It was estimated by the spring of 1906 that only 10 million acres of surveyed land, or 75,000 homesteads, remained available for homestead entry.[2] From a total of 90 million acres (including railway, homestead, school, Hudson Bay, script, and Company lands) 70 million acres had been taken up by the public, from the opening of Western settlement to the spring of 1906.[3] The Report of the Deputy Minister of the Interior for the year ending June 30, 1905, placed total homestead entries at 30,819---an increase of 4,746 over the previous year.[4]

The trend of diminishing supply of lands and ardent demand for them was reflected in the price of lands sold by the C.P.R. and the Hudson Bay Company. In 1900, the C.P.R. received an average price of $3.04 per acre; in 1905, the price rose to $5.32, while in March, 1906 these railway lands were selling for $7.14 per acre.[5] Hudson Bay lands were being sold for an average price of $9.00 per acre in the spring of 1906.[6] Commissioner John McDougall reported in the winter of 1906 that, "Within three years or less most of the land contiguous to the railroad and available for homesteading has been taken up and is now occupied by thriving settlements. Everywhere land values have appreciated in rich measure and prices for land are from 200% to 500% more than they were five or six years since".[7]

Settlers continued to pour into the West, as the construction of railway branch lines opened new areas to settlement. Smith, the Land Commissioner, reported from Winnipeg in 1906 that lands north of that settlement had been opened by the building of a Canadian Northern mainline. Towns were appearing roughly every ten miles along the route. "It is noticeable that the new settlers arriving are of a class that are sure to succeed, and land which has been passed over for years, as being second or third class, is now eagerly taken up by practical farmers."[8]

The fulfillment of the requirements for homestead patent emerged as a crucial issue across the prairies. In the face of diminishing supplies of surveyed homesteads and the continued in-flow of settlers, a homesteader who did not fulfill the requirements for patent could easily be replaced by a waiting landseeker who would eagerly comply with the regulations. Homestead regulations were stringently applied in the Land Offices. The high rate of entry cancellation for 1905 indicated that entries were being closely watched, and cancelled if they were found in default. The Yorkton Land Office reported 1,385 cancellations for 1905.[9]

This concern for proper homestead procedure and the requirements for the granting of patent brough a general purge of past homestead irregularities. 15,000 entries which had been granted prior to June, 1902 and for which patent had not been granted, nor cancellation issued, were cleared.[10] These stagnant entries had held back about 2.5 million acres of land

from genuine settlement. Two abuses which landseekers complained of were the blanketing of homesteads and what was known as gopher farming. These were serious obstacles to the true settlement of a region, as they often tied up lands closest to the railways, so that settlers were forced to take up lands 30 or 40 miles from the nearest railway line.

The blanketing of homesteads involved the practice of speculation, especially in railway lands. Quarters were purchased and allowed to sit idle until land prices rose. Connected with blanketing was also proxy entry: entries were made for friends or relatives, who never came out to the prairies. These lands were held back from sincere landseekers.

Gopher farming, where homesteaders made only minimum improvements, or fabricated them, in order to get patent, was the second target of criticism. Homesteaders who had no sincere desire to work the land, would take entry and receive patent, with the intention of selling the land in the future. Accusations were levelled especially at bachelors, who exhibited no signs of "progress, family life, or civilization" and performed their homestead duties in the winter by "... cooking rabbits and oatmeal, sawing wood, smoking tobacco, and very often staying in bed both night and day".[11]

The strict attitude that was adopted after 1905, toward homestead regulation abuses was partially attributed to the appointment of Frank Oliver as Minister of the Interior. Oliver, who succeeded Sifton in 1905, was a fiery shopkeeper, turned journalist, turned politician, whose long

experience in the government of the North West had thoroughly acquainted him with the needs of the West.[12] He was dedicated to protecting the interests of the North West and settling it with the "right kinds of settlers".[13] Oliver was a man of stubborn will, whose administrative insight could at times be labelled parochial. He soon took a personal interest in providing a just settlement in the case of Doukhobor homesteading.

New homestead regulations went into effect in April, 1906.[14] Proxy entry was eliminated. Henceforth all entries had to be made in person at the Land Offices. Homestead inspectors were assigned to inspect each quarter-section for which entry had been granted before September 1, 1905, and for which patent had not been granted. Lack of cultivation or other improvements resulted in automatic cancellation of the relevant entry at the Land Office. Landseekers no longer had to file application for cancellation on the land. Cancelled entries were made available for re-entry, and land maps illustrating available quarters were on display at the Land Offices for the benefit of the public. These maps were revised daily to show any changes in the supply of lands.

It was within this context that complaints about the Doukhobor holdings, centering around the cultivation issue, turned into a full-scale investigation of the Doukhobor lands in 1905-1906. Public demand called for the strict application of homestead regulation for all settlers. If investigations showed that the Doukhobors were not fulfilling the law, they would have to face homestead cancellations just like other homesteaders.

II. The Need to Define the Doukhobors' Requirements for Patent

Were the Doukhobors to be treated as ordinary settlers with regard to homestead patent? This question was raised many times during 1905 and 1906. The Doukhobors' only claim to exemption from ordinary homestead requirements was the concession of communal cultivation which Sifton offered to them in 1902.

It was evident that the Doukhobors were improving their lands communally. Their cultivation was generally within a 6 mile belt around each of their villages. While the homesteads nearest the villages were almost entirely cultivated (160 acres), those on the fringes of the holdings were untouched, or utilized for pasture.[15]

The outlying homesteads were subject to occupation by squatters and were the subject of inquiry by landseekers, who could see that the ordinary improvement requirement of 15 acres per homestead was not being fulfilled on these lands. 38 squatters occupied uncultivated Doukhobor homesteads by 1906.[16] In the Yorkton-Swan River areas, squatters included a Reverend H. Urness, who made an ill-fated attempt to settle 35 immigrants on Doukhobor holdings near Buchanan.[17] A mere 4 squatters were recorded by the North West Mounted Police in this area by the summer of 1906.[18]

Inquiries into these eastern lands continued on a full scale. The Scandinavian Canadian Land Company in early March, 1905, requested information on the opening of the land

in the "Doukhobor reserve", as they wished to locate settlers in the Swan River, Kamsack and Canora areas.[19] 51 farmers in the Marcelin area petitioned the Minister of the Interior on May 10, 1905, for the cancellation of Doukhobor homesteads upon which cultivation duties had not been performed.[20] The Assistant-Commissioner of Dominion Lands stated that "The Department is constantly receiving entries as to these lands and there is much complaint in respect to the failure of these settlers to fulfill the conditions."[21]

The cancellation of 7 Doukhobor quarters in 1905, in response to public application for homestead inspection indicated that the Lands Branch was treating the Doukhobors as ordinary settlers, subject to ordinary conditions. The response of the Doukhobors to these cancellations, and to the threatened cancellation of an additional 20 homesteads showed that the Doukhobors believed that the communal cultivation concession was still valid for them.[22] Verigin protested the cancellation on the basis of the 1902 letter, and when this did not help, he paid a personal visit to Deputy-Minister Cory. Although orders were subsequently issued from Ottawa, that within the old reserve boundaries no further Doukhobor entires were to be cancelled due to lack of cultivation, no definite decision was made regarding the Doukhobors and the patent requirement.

During 1906, when the patent question was being resolved in Ottawa, the general observer on the prairies could only see the most pressing problem. The Doukhobor lands were

occupied by two classes of people, which appeared to be outside the law. There were the Doukhobors, whose uncultivated holdings indicated that they had failed to meet the demands for patent, and hence should not hold the land, and there were the squatters, who had no right to occupy another man's land, but were awaiting the cancellation of the Doukhobor holdings.

The need for a final resolution of the question of the Doukhobors and homestead law grew as public opinion became more vocal. The editorial sections of local papers carried tense articles, some sympathizing with the Doukhobors but most taking the side of the squatters. Public opinion, it seemed, would influence the final decision. The Saskatoon Phoenix stated on August 1, 1906 that "The squatters have sense enough to vote, too".[23]

III. Internal Developments within the Doukhobor Settlements (1905-1906)

From the economic perspective, the Doukhobors were showing every sign that they wished to preserve a firm stake on the Canadian prairies in 1905. Total expenditures for the 44 villages scattered throughout the North and South Colonies reached $249,963.21, while receipts totalled $189,782.90.[24] The Community owned 16 steam ploughs and 11 threshing machines; 6 flour mills and 5 saw mills were included in its capital outlay, as well as a brick works at Verigin station, and a cement plant at Yorkton.[25]

Investigations in 1906 placed the number of Doukhobor villages at 61, throughout the Yorkton, Swan River and Prince Albert regions. The total communal population was 7,852, cultivating 790 homesteads.[26] Verigin had made an attempt during the period of homestead entry in 1903 to equalize the villages in terms of population size, with each village having approximately 40 homesteaders. His desire to consolidate the Doukhobors geographically resulted in the movement of 150-200 young Prince Albert Doukhobors to the Swan River-Kamsack area, where they proceeded to erect three new villages. This movement of the youth eastward further complicated the settlement of the homestead question.

Verigin managed after 1905, to preserve the communal system fairly intact. Two major forces from within Doukhobor ranks worked against his objective. The first was the Doukhobors who had broken away from the Community, referred

to as Independents.[27] They numbered 849 by 1906.[28] One-fourth of these Independents lived in the Prince Albert district.

Only 25 families in the entire Yorkton-Swan River area had actually been naturalized by the summer of 1905.[29] Statistics are not available for the Prince Albert settlers, but there is some evidence that large numbers of Doukhobors were complying with Canadian law with regard to both homesteading and naturalization. Homestead Inspectors during the fall of 1905 described the Independents:[30]

> ...these people have become anxious to attach themselves to particular locations...they are among the very best material out of which to make good citizens...they are superior to most of the foreigners finding homes in our land in intelligence, industry, aspirations and work accomplished...and finally...they are rapidly absorbing Canadian sentiments, and dropping notions peculiar to them at the of their advent.

The Independents, many of whom removed themselves from Community life with opposition from the rest of the Doukhobors, carried few pleasant memories of the Veriginite system. They were a major source of information about the Community for Homestead Inspectors and investigators from the Lands Branch.

The movement toward independence was strengthened by the arrival of some Doukhobors who had been in exile in Yakutsk until mid-1905. One of the Yakutsk brethren, Vasya Pozdnyakov, left a description of these Doukhobors, and of the reception they received upon reaching the Canadian prairie.

He described them as an individualistic people, who believe that "...every man could work out his own salvation

without the community".[31] They were neither vegetarians nor staunch communists, and looked upon Verigin as a Doukhobor administrator rather than as a Divine leader. They were told on arrival to "...go ask Peter Verigin for forgiveness and ask if you can be admitted to (sic) community".[32] Their refusal to do so resulted in an order from Verigin to withhold bread from them, and if this did not alter their views, they were to be expelled from the Community. A small number of Yakutians joined the Community, while the others remained central figures in the movements toward independence. Vasya Pozdnyakov and 39 other Doukhobors moved to California, and publicly denounced the Veriginite system on the prairies.[33]

A second major force from within the Community was the Sons of Freedom element, which grew out of the pilgrimage movement prior to Verigin's arrival. In the spring of 1903, the zealous migrants again attracted attention with a nude walk through 16 Doukhobor villages. Their numbers were small in comparison to the mass march of the fall of 1902. Only 52 men, women and children participated in the second pilgrimage.[34]

Verigin's reaction to the spring march was indicative of the way in which he handled later outbursts of this nature. He appealed to the Canadian authorities and made no attempt to intervene in the subsequent sentencing of these Doukhobors. When determined Freedomites attempted, in the summer of 1903, to destroy the canvas of a binder, Verigin pressed charges of arson. The men were given a three year jail term for this. Woodcock examined Verigin's rationale in pressing charges:[35]

> Not only were the actions of this small group of zealots embarrassing to him when he was trying to weave a diplomatic course in his relations with the Canadian authorities, but their assaults on machinery dealt a blow at the very program of modernization by which he sought to make the Community economically successful. If their example spread, he would be faced with disunity and chaos within the Community, and those who hated his communistic experiments would be encouraged. He probably felt that the short-term effect of his severity was its justification, for, though there were other attempts at pilgrimages and nude demonstrations during 1904 and 1905, they involved only tiny groups of people, and the Sons of Freedom movement did not at this time extend beyond a few dozen individuals.

By December, 1904, the Canadian authorities traced the Freedomite outbursts to four leading figures: Metro Svetlikoff, Temofy Leonow, Alexy Machortow (Makhortov), and Nickolaj (sic) Kuchtinow.[36] It was felt that deportation of these men might finally solve the whole Freedomite question, as imprisonment did not bring changes in their behavior. Alleged torture in the jails and the death of several Freedomites in Stoney Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba in 1905 added an element of martyrdom to the Sons of Freedom cause.

Inspectors of the Doukhobor colonies stated that few Doukhobors were affected by the "peculiar religious notions" of the Freedomites and those affected were not approved of by the majority of the settlers. The McDougall Commission, whose findings would produce an ultimate decision on the Doukhobor homestead question in 1906, placed the Freedomite factor in the colonies at ten percent.[37]

McDougall traced the cause of these outbursts to the isolation of the Doukhobors in settlement, and "...positive

isolation in this peculiar communism and sect".[38] From the Canadian viewpoint, it seemed that only a breakup of the community would settle the Freedomite issue. The struggle of the Independents to free themselves from Verigin's communist system led to the same conclusion. J. K. Johnston of Yorkton, who had observed the Doukhobors for many years, wrote: "A blow at Verigin station is worth many blows elsewhere...."[39]

IV. Verigin, The Perpetrator of Homestead Abuse

The Land authorities, by 1905, held strong suspicions that the Doukhobors were guilty of abusing homestead regulations. Irregularities in the Doukhobor holdings were reported by neighbouring settlers. These irregularities included the movement of Doukhobor entrants to new locations beyond the accepted "vicinity" of their lands, minors filing entry on lands, and insufficient (and communal) cultivation on the Doukhobor holdings.

The Land Branch's major concern was not with the individual Doukhobors' non-compliance with homestead law, but with Verigin's singular influence in this field. The Doukhobor entries had been made by proxy under Verigin's guidance. Obedience to Verigin's policy of centralization had resulted in the movement of Prince Albert youth to the eastern settlements. Later, 1906, Verigin asked Oliver to cancel their entries around Prince Albert and to allow them to enter for lands around Kamsack.

The unity of the communal body gave it a bargaining power that could only come from sheer numbers. Obedience to Verigin insured that his words could readily become acts, and Doukhobor hints of migration, which continued in 1905-1906, were not idle threats. A further leverage was granted to them,when, in November, 1905, the Russian authorities promised the Doukhobors liberal conditions if they would return to Russia.[40] Free passage from Canada, three times the amount of land that they had previously held in the Caucasus,

and absolute liberty of religion were offered. During 1905 and 1906 when the homestead question was getting extremely hot, resettlement seemed to be a viable alternative for the Doukhobors. This accounts for the fact that while the McDougall Commission was busy settling Doukhobor homestead matters, their leader was touring the Niagara region and later Russia and Bulgaria.

The individual Doukhobor, it seemed, did not know his personal rights, especially as they pertained to land. The impression gained from the Independents was that Verigin's communism was being imposed on the Doukhobors.

Many of the suspicions were confirmed by two investigations of the Doukhobor lands during 1905. The first was launched by C. W. Speers, General Colonization Agent during the summer.[41] Speers, acting on instruction from Frank Oliver, travelled around the Doukhobor villages and recorded his impressions on cultivation, proxy entries, the movement of Doukhobor entrants and Verigin's theocratic hold on the people. The second investigation was undertaken by a team of Homestead Inspectors who completed their work in October and November, 1905.[42] Their major task was to record cultivated acres and the number of eligible homesteaders. In addition, the Inspectors took census, recorded the amount of stock and machinery owned and buildings constructed, and established crop returns for 1905.

The general feeling from the reports by Speers and the Inspectors was that irregularities indeed existed in the

Doukhobor holdings. It seemed that proxy entry had allowed the Doukhobors to pad their entries. Speers was quick to calculate that 44 villages, with 40 homesteaders in each village, would total 1,760 homesteaders instead of the recorded 2,383. Even if the lands reserved for the Siberians and for the 17 year old Doukhobor males were counted, there were still, according to Speers, "...too many Popoffs and Malows" on the records.[43]

The Inspectors reported that the settlements had a total of 2,229 eligible entrants.[44] There were 61 Doukhobor villages (not 44, as Speers had thought). 84 homesteads were being held for Doukhobors still in Siberia.

Fears that Doukhobor minors had taken entry to increase the Doukhobor holdings were substantiated by the Inspectors' reports. They showed 114 irregularities with respect to ages of entrants in the Doukhobor listings, with 30 other irregularities.[45] Verigin's explanation that the mothers had lied about the ages of their sons so that they would not be eligible for military duty, did not settle general suspicions that the Doukhobor leader had manipulated entry for the Community's gain.

Speers and the Inspectors pointed out that Verigin's rule of the Doukhobors was detrimental to the Doukhobors' participation in Canadian life. A part of Speers' mission had been "...to see that no member of the community was intimidated nor suffering in any way from any hardship from the fact that he may have decided to secede from the

community and establish himself along independent lines".[46]

Both investigations concluded that the Doukhobor populace was being held in a state of general ignorance with regard to landholding rights:[47]

> The individual homesteader has never been impressed with his rights as settlers, (sic) nor his independence as an individual. Peter Verigin and the Community have controlled all earnings, all revenues, all incomes from all sources, and this ruling has been considered absolute. All entries for homesteads subsequent to April, 1903 have been made by Siemon (sic) Reibin, Secretary to Peter Verigin, and one of the Doukhobor Committee, who speaks English...I would...recommend...that the individual homesteader be impressed with his own independence as an individual homesteader, and also his individual rights, and that some kind of receipt or the interim homestead receipt be given to him personally, point out his location.

The accusation of insufficient Doukhobor cultivation was not confirmed. Speers, who did not measure cultivation, suggested that the cultivation per village totalled about 600 acres---the equivalent of 15 acres per homestead. The Inspectors measured the cultivated acres and concluded that sufficient communal cultivation had been done on the holdings. Later, James Mavor, in an appeal on behalf of the Doukhobors on April 13, 1907, stated: "The Report of the Government Inspectors in 1905, (has shown) that already more than sufficient duty had been done...".[48]

It was not the responsibility of Speers or the Inspectors to determine if communal cultivation was allowable in the case of the Doukhobors. The Lands Branch informed the Inspectors that the Doukhobors were allowed to cultivate communally. This was not, however, the final

decision on the issue.[49]

> For your information it may be stated that under the present arrangement those Doukhobors who have secured homestead entry may live together in one or more villages and instead of being compelled to cultivate each quarter-section held by each Doukhobor, the land around the village itself may be cultivated and the work which would otherwise be required on each individual homestead, may be done altogether around the village.

The Inspectors suggested that individual cultivation would increase the Doukhobors' awareness of their status as individual land-holders. Their advice was to accept the common cultivation done, but to require a certain amount of cultivation on each individual homestead. "...it would be the means of acquainting each member of the Community with the lands held by the Community, and curiousity would then impel them to discover the possessor of each parcel".[50]

The outcome of the investigations was that new policies affecting the Doukhobor holdings were adopted in January, 1906. They dealt with several categories of Doukhobor land-holders, and were designed to foster independence within the settlements.

In January, when the Doukhobors completed payment on 1,179 entries, the Land authorities chose to had over the interim homestead receipts to each entrant personally. He was "...impressed with a full knowledge of his true relationship to the Government and his individual independence as a citizen of the country".[51] This act would also be a final check to see whether Reibin's list of entrants coincided

with that of the local Agents in the Land Offices.

Entries were cancelled immediately if it was found that the person for whom entry was made was not in Canada (the Siberian exiles).[52] These lands could be taken over by a member of the Community, if improvements had been made on the lands. All entries made in the names of Doukhobors under age 17 were cancelled, with the same above mentioned condition of transfer to a Community member. In the case of males who were between the ages of 17 and 18, three months was given in which they could make legal entry.

V. The Sifton Concession is Raised

Until 1905, the Lands Branch did not regard the Sifton concession of communal cultivation as an integral part of the original agreement between the Doukhobors and the Lands Brnach. The binding agreement, the Land authorities revealed in 1905, was a letter from Commissioner Turriff to the Doukhobors on February 17, 1901, which stressed individual cultivation. "The Government is quite willing that they (the Doukhobors) should reside in villages, but the cultivation must be done on the individual homesteads".[53]

The reason that the Turriff letter was mentioned at all was because Peter Verigin had referred to the right of communal cultivation when some Doukhobor entries were cancelled due to lack of cultivation. It was necessary to clarify the original agreement pertaining to homesteading and the Turriff letter was one of the earliest documents. The Doukhobors were not informed that the Lands Branch had decided that this correspondence defined the Doukhobors' rights and obligations.

After Peter Verigin's visit to Deputy-Minister Cory concerning communal cultivation, the Sifton concession was looked at more seriously. It was odd that the Lands Branch in Ottawa did not have record of this letter. In April, 1905, Commissioner Smith of Immigration reported from Winnipeg that he had located a copy of this correspondence.[54] Originally, in 1902, copies had been sent to all of the Land Agents in the Doukhobor areas and to the Doukhobors as well.

The concession, henceforth, was considered, if not fully accepted. Orders were issued from Ottawa that no further Doukhobor entries should be cancelled due to lack of cultivation.

The Lands Branch personnel were confused as to whether the Hamlet Clause, itself allowed communal cultivation. Smith remarked that Sifton's letter simply demonstrated that "...these people appear to be granted full privileges under the Hamlet Laws of the Dominion Land Act".[55] Speers in his summer tour of the colonies suggested that communal cultivation for the Doukhobors was possible because of this Clause. "I beg to intimate that there is a clause for concession giving these people the right to cultivate in block, as evidently their (sic) homesteading under the Hamlet clause".[56]

During 1905 and 1906, the Doukhobor settlements were unofficially treated as though communal cultivation was allowed. Speers and the Inspectors who visited the villages were under the impression that it was allowed. The Doukhobors were thus led to believe that their method of cultivation was acceptable for land patent.

The final decision on the cultivation issue rested with the office of Frank Oliver, the Minister of the Interior. By the spring of 1906, there were signs that Oliver was of the personal opinion that the Doukhobors should be subject to ordinary homestead conditions.[57]

> ...all entries other than those hereinbefore mentioned whether made within those tracts or

> elsewhere by members or adherents of the Doukhobor sect are to be dealt with in all respects as ordinary homestead entries.
>
> No promise of patent can be made nor can patent be issued unless the requirements of the Dominion Lands Act have been fulfilled. This is not a ruling but a statement of the law as it existed when the Doukhobor reserves were set apart and as it still exists.

Speers had mentioned the clause for common cultivation, and the Inspectors had been told that communal tillage was allowed. Yet Oliver seemed to disregard the findings of the two investigations and to contradict their conclusions. It was evident that a clear and permanent decision was necessary to define the Doukhobors' obligations for patent.

VI. The McDougall Commission: The First Itinerary's Work and Recommendations

In 1906, a Doukhobor Commission was appointed with powers to investigate the Doukhobor lands thoroughly and to find a means of solving the questions affecting the Doukhobor holdings. At the head of the Commission was Reverend John McDougall, a Methodist minister widely known for his work among the Indians, and in particular, for his part in negotiating Treaty Number 6 with the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Indians in 1876.[58] His quick and efficient manner insured that the Doukhobor homestead question would be resolved without delay. Inspectors Gibson and McCallum,and Samuel Maber, later a personal secretary to Oliver, and two interpreters, Professor Sherbinin and Michael White of Langham were also appointed to the Commission. In addition, Dr. Cash, the Member of Parliament for Mackenzie, accompanied the Commission as it toured his constituency.

The task of the Commission was clearly outlined by the Department of the Interior. It was to tour the Doukhobor villages, take census, record homestead entrants and their whereabouts, inspect areas under cultivation, and note amounts of stock and machinery held by the Doukhobors. It was also to "...discuss with the Doukhobors present their experience with and attitude towards this country, the Government, and things in general".[59] Finally, it was to make recommendations upon which a final decision on Doukhobor land issues would be based.

The first investigation by the Commission lasted from August 15, 1906 to November 25, and covered a total of 1,200 miles.[60] The Commission began its studies in the Good Spirit area, moving north and west to Buchanan, and then eastward to Canora, Verigin and Pelly. Kamsack and the Swan River areas were toured in a northern sweep, after which the Commission moved to the Langham communities and to Prince Albert. It relied strongly on the findings of the Inspectors of the previous year, but checked their accuracy as well.

There is no indication that the Commission was received with ill feeling by the Doukhobors. This may mean that either the Doukhobors were unaware that the Commission's findings would practically be a final statement on the patent issue, or that these settlers hoped to emigrate from Canada. On October 15, 1906, Verigin met with Oliver in Winnipeg and made no mention of the Commission's work.[61] He was primarily concerned with the cancellation of the minors' homesteads, the obtaining of lands for those who had migrated from Prince Albert, the purchasing of village sites. Verigin also wanted a personal letter of recommendation from Oliver, which Verigin could take with him on a trip to Russia during the winter of 1906.

The McDougall Commission submitted its official report on November 25, 1906, It dealt with economic, social and religious aspects of Doukhobor settlement, and contained extensive statistics on the Doukhobors' material existence.

At no point was the cultivation concern separated from the issue of communism, which the Commission concluded,

was at the root of all difficulties with these settlers. "Abject communism", which resulted in "extreme passivity and lethargy" was the major problem.[62] The Commission compared the characteristics of the Independents with those of the Communists. Differences in attitude toward the government, homesteading and naturalization separated the two groups, as well as general response to work and leadership. Statistics were produced to show that the Independents, numbering 849, were economically more productive than the Communists, of whom there were 7,852.[63]

McDougall reported that a strong communistic organization was being perpetuated among superstitious and illiterate people, by the strength of one-man leadership. This organization hindered economic production. Communist homesteaders (1,949 in all) had partly cultivated 790 homesteads, or 42,523 acres of land.[64] This cultivation amounted to 21.8 acres per entrant, or 5.4 acres per capita of the total Communist population.[65] This represented about 10 percent of the total area entered for by the Doukhobors. "Omnipresent in the minds of settlers and business men and transport officials was this stupendous lot of reserved land constituting as it has a most serious block and impediment to the natural and righteous growth of the country."[66] The Communists owned 5,017 cattle, 1,057 horses and 2,858 sheep.[67]

The Independent population held 211 homesteads, of which 6,906 acres had been cultivated, or an average of

32.7 acres per entrant.[68] Almost one-fourth of the Independent Doukhobors lived in the Prince Albert area. 197 of them lived in the eastern settlements.

McDougall reported that the Communists presented severe problems with regard to land ownership and fulfillment of the requirements for patent.[69]

> ...Also the very large area these Communists entered upon and have held up to this present time, being 311,840 acres, and which they have made no effort towards the ownership of and state frankly that they are absolutely areless towards, is surely most direct evidence of the effect of this kind of communism...
>
> Another peculiarity which your Commission took notice of was that, with one exception, these Doukhobors have always picked the easiest places for the clearing of a few willows and thus making their fields and farms symmetrical they have not done. Go around,---take it easy ---seems to have been their policy all through their occupancy of land in Canada. This lack of enterprise we did not charge to their laziness but to their intense communism, ---"Why grub and clear for other men?"

The Commission reported that the Communists were responsible for the migration of entrants to Swan River and Yorkton. The Independents informed McDougall that "Verigin so ordered the people to move".[70] The pilgrims were also drawn from the communistic ranks, although this radical element comprised only 10% of the total Doukhobor population.

The Commission concluded that the real obstacle to a just settlement of the Doukhobor land question was not slothful Doukhobors, or settlers ignorant of the Land Act, but rather an economic system that kept the very people in bondage. The bitterness with which the Independents

reported on their communist brethren did little to present communism in a favorable light.[71]

> The "Independents", who are the few among these Doukhobor people numbering only 849 as against the 7,852 in Community, have had a most strenuous time in existing in the presence of the strong majority of their friends and kindred, who would fain keep them in communism. Accepting their version, corroborated by outside and general testimony, those Independents have been systematically boycotted, and persecuted and robbed by the Community. According to their statements, years of labour and shares in plant and stock have been kept from them, and in short, Mr. Verigin and all the Community influences has been against their independence. However, your Commission found that in the face of all this and with the fact in view that their movement is comparatively new, these Independents have made a better showing than the Community. Some few have secured patents for homesteads and all are moving towards this desirable condition.

The decision of the Commission was that the Doukhobor lands were still the property of the Crown, and thus subject to entry cancellation and re-entry, if such action was warranted. A report by the Commission,---"The General Settlement Attitude Towards the Doukhobors in the North West"[72]---dealt specifically with the homestead issues, and outlined the criteria for the cancellation of the Doukhobor homesteads.

The criteria for cancellation was insufficient cultivation on the individual homesteads, and non-residence within the accepted "vicinity" of the land. The Commission recommended that the entries of all Community Doukhobors and of all holders of village sites be cancelled.[73] These settlers would then be given a 3 month period in which to re-enter for the lands, on the condition that re-entry meant

the future fulfillment of ordinary homestead conditions, including residence within a 3 mile vicinity of the land. Thus, the settlers would be allowed to live in villages, as long as they were within the 3 mile limit. Regular cultivation would have to be done on the individual quarters.

In addition to the cultivation problem the Commission reported a second major obstacle to Doukhobor land ownership. Re-entry and subsequent ownership, the Commission recommended, should only be permitted if the Doukhobors became naturalized Canadian citizens. To become naturalized the Doukhobors had to swear or solemnly affirm an oath of allegiance.

Many of the Doukhobors firmly refused to become naturalized. Their refusal had direct historical experience, ---in 1894, when Tsar Nicholas II had requested that Verigin swear an oath of allegiance, Verigin had refused on the grounds that it was a sin to swear (by heaven or earth). A simple affirmation of the oath was not mentioned to them in 1906.

Prior to the Commission's tour, the naturalization question had remained in the background of Dominion-Doukhobor relations. Doukhobor opposition to the oath was occasionally mentioned, but naturalization was never regarded by the Lands Branch with the same gravity as the cultivation issue. The early controversies over the oath issue left the impression that it was quite secondary, in relation to the entry question or cultivation, even to the Doukhobors.[74]

McDougall, however, reported that there was growing opposition to naturalization, particularly among the Communists.[75]

> It was always the same case that your Commission thus met. They could not (sic) they would not naturalize. In vain we told them that our Government had promised them exemption from militia service, that Quakers and others had lived for many years in Canada and had never been called on to give military service. They insisted that if they naturalized and became citizens then they would be compelled to go to war. This they would not do, as some told us "Would die first". When we continued to reason with them they repeatedly told us "We do not want to own the land,---all we want is to be permitted to make a living thereon". And this was the invariable answer of the Leaders and representative men of these strange people on the question of land ownership, dependent as it is upon naturalization.

Cultivation, residence, and naturalization were the decisive points. McDougall did not place much emphasis on the Sifton concession of communal cultivation. It was given, he felt, to ease homestead entry in 1902-1903. Patent was based on ordinary conditions. "...While certain privileges such as hamlet occupancy and block cultivation and exemption from military service were said to have been given to them, yet in the fulfilling of homestead requirements and the application for patents for ownership these people were even as others and subject to the same law governing each case."[76]

The Commission recommended that any Communist who would not proceed toward naturalization and proper residence on his homestead or in the vicinity of it, and who would refuse re-entry, be resettled on reservations of Dominion

land, to be formed around the existing Doukhobor villages. These reservations would be strictly for the Doukhobors' use, but not for their private ownership. They would consist of 17-20 acres of land per capita, depending upon the quality and locality of the land.[77] These lands would be set aside for the Doukhobors' use without charge.

McDougall recommended also that Independents, who had fulfilled the requirements pertaining to cultivation and residence, receive their patents, if they agreed to naturalization. If any Independents refused to be naturalized, their homestead entries would be cancelled by June 1, 1907, and they would also have to resettle on the reservations.

These recommendations, with minor modifications, became official policy early in 1907.

VII. Official Policy Toward the Doukhobor Holdings, 1907

The final decision on the Doukhobor homestead question was that the Doukhobors were subject to ordinary homestead conditions. The Doukhobor entries were to be cancelled as McDougall had recommended, and the Doukhobors were to choose if they wished to comply with regulations pertaining to cultivation or residence, or to live on government reservations. Oliver recommended that the reservations consist of 15 acres per village resident.[78]

On December 28, 1906, McDougall was appointed the Commissioner of Investigation and Adjustor of Land Claims, for the Doukhobor lands.[79] He was empowered to recommend the cancellation of homestead entries to the local Land Agents, who would make the actual cancellation. He was also empowered to receive application for re-entry, to issue receipts if homestead fees were paid, and to administer the naturalization oath. Entry fees paid by Community members were to be credited against re-entries made by either Independents or Communists.

The criteria for the cancellation of the homesteads was "...non-compliance of the entrant with the condition as to residence, or as to cultivation, or as to both conditions".[80] In the final decision, the Sifton concession was not treated as a binding agreement. Oliver gave it lengthy consideration (five pages of a fifteen page Memo to Council prepared by Oliver dealt with interpretations of Sifton's letter), but he concluded that the Doukhobors were

ordinary settlers, availing themselves of the Hamlet Clause.

Attention was drawn to the least edifying details of Doukhobor homesteading, lack of cultivation, communal cultivation, mobility of entrants, lack of naturalization, fictious entries and the entry of minors.[81] Irregularities in village sites were cited to show the Doukhobors' negligence in settlement. Many villages were entered for by individuals, 2 villages were located on railway lands, and 5 were on lands owned by the Community. In addition, 3 new villages were being erected to meet the needs of the resettled youth of Prince Albert.[82]

The final decision was designed to strike a blow against the communistic system which government officials regarded as the real cause of all the Doukhobor problems.

> The concessions hitherto made by the Department appear to have strengthened the spirit of communism against that of individualism or independence. It would seem therefore that the time has come to set clearly before the people the disadvantages of communism and the advantage of indpendence by only giving homestead rights to those who are prepared to comply with homestead conditions. 83

The Doukhobor homestead question was settled according to the requirements for homesteading outlined in the Dominion Land Act. Both McDougall and Oliver devoted much thought to the Sifton concession, and from different angles of reasoning, arrived at the same conclusion. The concession was not valid for the Doukhobors.

McDougall misdated the Sifton letter, as an agreement reached after homestead entry was completed.[84] He

tried to show how the Doukhobors had failed to meet these conditions for patent:[85]

> 5. Later, the Government, by the action of the then Minister of the Interior, enlarged the privilege unto these people and made it possible for them to cultivate in block, and all other conditions being fulfilled, this cultivation in block was to be taken as equivalent for that necessary on each homestead.
>
> 6. Again, these Doukhobors failed to meet these much easier conditions, and, with few exceptions, did not go on to the fulfilling of the requirements of the homestead laws governing the North West in Canada.

The necessary cultivation had been done, as McDougall himself had recorded that 21.8 acres per entrant had been cultivated. It was general knowledge that only 15 acres per entrant were sufficient improvement for patent. It is possible that McDougall was considering that the Doukhobors had cultivated 5.4 acres per capita (population of 7,852), although no homesteader was compelled to make improvements on a per capita basis (i.e. depending on the size of his family).[86]

Oliver insisted that the Sifton concessions were not binding, but at the same time he sought to prove that the Doukhobors had failed to meet even the most liberal constructions of Sifton's letter. Sifton had made no allowance for settlers who lived outside the vicinity of their homesteads. This was a fair comment, aimed at a small percentage of Doukhobor entrants.

Oliver interpreted Sifton's letter to mean that the Doukhobors could have "...up to fifty homesteads..." around

each village.[87] There were, within a 3-mile vicinity of each village, 105 homesteads (after subtracting the Hudson's Bay and School Lands). This was twice the number of homesteads that a village of 50 entrants was entitled to have. Sifton's letter, in fact stated:[88]

> If, for instance, a village wants fifty homesteads around the village, I will be satisfied if the amount of improvements required on each quarter section is done around the village, only for the whole fifty.

At no point was fifty homesteads given as a ceiling number, as Oliver contended in 1906.

Oliver's point was to illustrate that the Sifton document did not sanction the holding of lands more than 3 miles distant from the village, as even within the 3 mile limit, the Doukhobors were over-supplied with lands. He stated that if the lands beyond the 3 mile area were cancelled, 690 entries with 8,661 acres of cultivation would be cancelled, while within the 3 mile limit,1,259 entries with 33,862 acres of cultivation would still be maintained.[89] These calculations remained mere words, for when cancellation came, all of the Community holdings were cancelled, regardless of the 3 mile limit.

The new ruling of the Doukhobor lands signalled that from the perspective of the Lands Branch, the Doukhobor homestead question was solved. The many years of bickering, uncertain interpretation of the law and fiery public concern were ended. The crisp ruling of the Lands Branch supplanted the vague rights and obligations of these settlers that were outlined in their correspondences with the Dominion from

1898-1905. It explicitly outlined the requirements for landowning:[90]

> The only Doukhobor entries that are properly held are those held by men who live either on their land or in a village within three miles of it and who cultivate their own land for their own use, and who have either already become, or intend to become, Canadian citizens or British subjects.

The Doukhobor settlers would have to resolve their stand on property-holding. They could choose to abide by the new policy---to reorganize their villages, and become Canadian citizens and landowners. They could also refuse to obey the ruling on cultivation, residence and naturalization, and not own a single acre of land. The Doukhobors would have to resolve their stand in the light of their faith and the Canadian circumstances. 1907 would prove to be a crucial year for the Doukhobors.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]Lands Files, vol. 755, file # 494483, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 8.

[2]Canada House of Commons Debates, vol. 2, 1906, discussion on the administration of Dominion Lands, Mr. Ames (Member of Parliament for Montreal, St. Antoine), May 10, 1906, p. 3107, 70 million acres subtracted from 90 million acres, left 20 million acres. Of this remainder, 10 million acres constituted odd sections, retained until railroad companies could complete their selections.

[3]Ibid, p. 3107

[4]Sessional Papers, vol. XL, no. 11, 1906, Report of Deputy-Minister Cory of the Department of the Interior, for the year ending June 30, 1905, p. xxiii.

[5]Debates, vol. 2, 1906, Ames, op. cit., p. 3109.

[6]Ibid, Hudson Bay lands sold for an average price of $5.02 per acre in 1900, and 1905, for $6.50 per acre, p. 3109.

[7]Lands Files, vol. 755, # 494483, The Report of the McDougall Commission: The General Settlement Attitude towards the Doukhobors in the Northwest , p. 1.

[8]Sessional Papers, vol. XL, op. cit., Report of the Commissioner of Immigration, J. Smith, July 1, 1905, p. 105.

[9]Ibid, Report of J. Peaker, Agent of Dominion Lands, July 17, 1905, p. 29.

[10]Debates, vol. 2, 1906, Ames, op. cit., p. 3111.

[11]M. D. Fredericksen, The Land Laws of Canada and the Land Experience of the U.S., Canora, Saskatchewan, 1907. This pamphlet emphasizes the gopher farming and blanketing abuses.

[12]Frank Oliver was the proprietor of a Western journal, The Bulletin. He represented Edmonton in the North West Council from 1883-1888, and in the North West Assembly from 1888 to 1896. From 1896 to 1911 he represented Edmonton in the House of Commons. From 1905 to 1911, he held the post of Minister of the Interior and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.

[13]W. S. Waddell, "Frank Oliver and The Bulletin", Alberta Historical Review, vol. 5, no. 3, summer, 1957, p. 11. Oliver's Immigration Act of 1906 featured selective immigration,---unlike the policy of his predecessor. Oliver personally toured the British Isles, Europe and the U.S. in search of the diligent settler, who would build up the West.

[14]Sessional Papers, vol. XLI, no. 10, 1906-1907, Report of Jas. E. Peaker, Dominion Land Agent, July 17, 1906, p. 36.

[15]None of the Inspectors or other investigators who studied the Doukhobor settlements in 1905-1906 described where the Doukhobors had cultivated land. It is known that a major complaint was that cultivation was not done on each homestead entered for, and McDougall in the fall of 1906 complained that the Doukhobors' farms were not symmetrical. Cultivation was done around the Doukhobor villages.

[16]Lands Files, vol. 755, # 494483, J. Gibson to Commissioner Greenway, August 20, 1906.

[17]Ibid, Report of C. Junget, Staff Sargeant of the R.N.W.M. Police, August 11, 1906.

[18]Ibid, that is, in the Buchanan-Yorkton area.

[19]Ibid, Scandinavian-Canadian Land Company to the Department of the Interior, March 2, 1905.

[20]Ibid, Petition of 51 farmers of Marcelin to the Minister of the Interior, May 10, 1905. The farmers were under the impression that a Doukhobor reserve was still in existence:

...that the land held by the Doukhobors as homesteads outside of the reserve alloted to them be open for cancellation where they have not fulfilled their homestead duties, (sic) they may have some rights on the land that was given to them as a reserve but should have no special privilege outside of that (sic) more than any other homesteader.

[21]Ibid, Burpe to Cory, September 23, 1905.

[22]Ibid, Peter Verigin to Alexander Moffat, Acting Commissioner of Immigration,

...the land entried (sic) for Doukhobors, are cultivating (sic) by them hard as (sic) they possibly can, but they are cultivating as I aforsaid conjointly and near

villages. We hope that the ploughing will reach all further homesteads which are simply entried (sic) for names of Doukhobors. At present we are keeping our cattle there. On some homesteads are hay middows (sic) where Doukhobors are cutting hay also for their common interest.

[23]The Saskatoon Phoenix, "Squatters Go in Large Numbers", August 1, 1906, p. 04.

[24]Koozma Tarasoff, op. cit., p. 305.

[25]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 202.

[26]Lands Files, vol. 755, # 494483, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 7. 790 homesteads were the homesteads with actual cultivation on them,-not total numbers entered for.

[27]The Lands Branch defined the Independent Doukhobors as those, who "...although residing in the villages, cultivated their own homesteads and either had become, or expressed their intention of becoming British subjects and acquiring patents for their lands in the ordinary course." Ibid, Memorandum for the Information of Council, by Frank Oliver, December 1, 1906, p. 10.

[28]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 11.

[29]Ibid, Report of General Colonization Agent, C. Speers to Oliver, September 7, 1905, p. 11

[30]Ibid, Report of Inspector McNab to Oliver, February 24, 1906, p. 5.

[31]Peter Brock, part 2, op. cit., p. 408.

[32]Ibid, p. 408.

[33]Ibid, introduction to the "Narrative".

[34]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 194.

[35]Ibid, p. 197-198.

[36]Immigration Files, vol. 184, file # 65101, Speers Scott, December 28, 1904.

[37]Lands Files, vol. 755, file # 494483, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 10.

[38]Ibid, p. 10.

[39]Ibid, J. K. Johnston to the Minister of the Interior, March 11, 1907. Rumors that Verigin had "introduced Russian methods" on the prairies resulted in a widespread condemnation of his behavior. An extract from the Yorkton Enterprise on February 22, 1905 was ominously prophetic of Verigin's future:

The manner of the death of the Grand Duke Sergius ought to act as a warning to Mr. Verigin, if it is true that he aspired to fill the role of Grand Duke Peter to the Doukhobors.

[40]Immigration Files, vol.184, file # 65101, F. Stevens, British Consulate at Batum to Marquess of Landsdowne, October 9, 1905.

[41]Lands Files, vol. 755, file # 494483, Speers to Junget, August 16, 1905.

[42]Ibid, Keyes to Thomas Young, October 11, 1905. The Inspectors included R. E. Leech, from Brandon, Manitoba, J. Seale of Dauphin, and Forest Rangers, Thomas Young and J.B. White. At the head of the investigation was D. McNab, a Homestead Inspector.

[43]Ibid, Report of C. Speers to Oliver, September 7, 1905, p. 10.

[44]Ibid, Speers to McNab, January 23, 1906.

[45]Ibid, McNab to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, February 24, 1906.

[46]Ibid, Speers to Oliver, September 7, 1905. Speers asked Sergt. Junget to establish a police patrol in the Doukhobor communities to make sure that Verigin was not forcefully holding back any Doukhobors who desired to farm independently.

[47]Ibid, p. 9.

[48]Ibid, James Mavor to Sir Wilfred Laurier, April 13, 1907.

[49]Ibid, P. Keyes to Thomas Young, October 11, 1905.

[50]Ibid, McNab to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, February 24, 1906.

[51]Ibid, Speers to Commissioner Greenway, January 26, 1906.

[52]Ibid, Oliver to Greenway, March 7, 1906.

[53]Ibid, F. Dixon to Greenway, July 6, 1905.

[54]Ibid, Smith to Cory, April 4, 1905.

[55]Ibid, the Hamlet Clause, however, clearly stated that communal cultivation was not possible.

[56]Ibid, Speers to Oliver, September 7, 1905, p. 10.

[57]Ibid, Oliver to Greenway, March 7, 1906, p. 3.

[58]Reverend James McDougall - was a well known clergyman, author and public servant. He was ordained to the ministry in 1872, and was land Commissioner for the Doukhobors and Indian Commissioner as of 1910. He also worked on a revised translation of the Cree Bible for the use of the Plain Cree Indians. He was instrumental also in organizing the first Calgary Stampede. There is no indication in historical records, why McDougall was chose to head this investigating body.

[59]Lands Files, vol. 755, file # 494483, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid, Interview of Peter Verigin with Frank Oliver, October 15, 1906.

[62]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 6.

[63]Ibid, p. 11.

[64]Ibid, p. 7

[65]Ibid, p. 8.

[66]Ibid, Report on the General Attitude Towards the Doukhobors, December 12, 1906, p. 2.

[67]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 7.

[68]Ibid, p. 12

[69]Ibid, p. 11.

[70]Ibid, p. 10.

[71]Ibid, p. 11-12.

[72]This Report presented a brief overview of the general settlement of the West from 1898 to 1906. Its basic statement was that the Doukhobor lands were still the property of the Dominion, and as such, subject to cancellation for failure to comply with existing land law. Ibid, Report on the General Settlement Attitude, December 12, 1906.

[73]Ibid, Statement of the Doukhobor Case, December 12, 1906. The recommendations were also contained in the first Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906.

[74]Ibid, vol. 755, Interview of Peter Verigin with Frank Oliver, October 15, 1906.

Mr. Verigin says in regard to naturalization, besides many other reasons, the chief reason was that very many of the Doukhobors, found that the climate was pretty cold here, and as they wish to raise a little fruit, because they are vegetarians, and use no flesh at all, they had intention to look, though in Canada, for a little warmer place, as they hear there is some free land in British Columbia, and, at present, they have no fruit at all.

[75]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1905, p. 9.

[76]Ibid, Report on the General Settlement Attitude, December 12, 1906.

[77]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1905, p. 6.

[78]Ibid, Memorandum for Information of Council, December 1, 1906, p. 13.

[79]Ibid, Cory to McDougall, December 28, 1906.

[80]Ibid, Keyes to the Agents of Dominion Lands at Yorkton, Regina and Prince Albert, December 21, 1906.

[81]Ibid, Memorandum for Information of Council, December 1, 1906, p. 2-3.

[82]Ibid, p. 11. The three villages were Gromovoe (S.W. 33-34-31, w. 1), Archangelskoe (N.W. 16-35-31, w. 1) and Perihodnoe (S.E. 7-35-31, w. 1).

[83]Ibid, p. 13.

[84]Ibid, Statement of Doukhobor Case, December, 1906. McDougall recorded that:

> 4. After much effort on the part of the Government, between two and three thousand entries were made on homestead lands by these Doukhobors, but in the large majority of the entries nothing more was done by the entrants towards becoming legitimate claimants for patent for these lands.
>
> 5. Later, the Government, by the action of the then Minister of the Interior, enlarged the privilege unto these people and made it possible for them to cultivate in block... Page 1.

[85]Ibid, p. 1.

[86]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, November 25, 1906, p. 2.

[87]Ibid, Memorandum for Information of Council, December 1, 1906, p. 6.

"Hon. Mr. Sifton's letter contemplates that there may be up to fifty homesteads around each village."

[88]Ibid, vol. 754, Sifton to the Delegates of the Doukhobors from the North Colony, February 15, 1902, p. 3.

[89] Ibid, Memorandum for Information of Council, December 1, 1906, p. 7.

[90] Ibid, Circular to the Doukhobor People, presented by the Second Itinerary of the McDougall Commission, January, 1907.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NEW HORIZONS: LOST LAND AND RENEWED HOPE (1907)

Introduction:

1907 was the crucial year in the Doukhobor land crisis. The new policy implemented by the Department of the Interior forced the Doukhobors to decide whether they wished to become land-owners, or to renounce their lands because of their beliefs. Land-owning suggested a compromise with secular law, while the conditions for land-owning meant a radical change in the Doukhobors' life-style and economic organization. If the Doukhobors refused to take the land, they still had to make some crucial decisions about their future livelihood.

To the land authorities, 1907 promised to bring relief from a problem which had hindered the efficient administration of this portion of Dominion Lands for nearly a decade. For the Doukhobors, it held the final clarification of their attitudes toward land-owning, and the resolution of the conflict between homestead law and their faith.

I. The Implementation of the New Policy toward the Doukhobor Holdings

A. The 1907 Itineraries of the McDougall Commission

The policy adopted lated in 1906 was implemented by two itineraries of the McDougall Commission during 1907. The first itinerary which visited the Doukhobor villages in January, recommended the cancellation of entries that were in error in respect of cultivation or residence, and informed the Doukhobors of their landholding options. The second itinerary for 1907, which began its rounds in February, took Doukhobor re-entries and created reserves for the Doukhobors who refused to obey the rulings on cultivation, residence and naturalization.

The Commission began its work in the Langham area. A Circular was presented to the elders of each village, which explained that the Dominion was "rearranging its own lands":[1]

> ...The Government of Canada is the majority of the people of Canada, and when the majority of the people say that the Doukhobors must not be allowed to hold land without cultivation any longer, the Government must obey and must cancel the entries on lands that are not properly held, so that they may be properly held by other people. The only Doukhobor entries that are properly held are those held by men who live either on their land or in a village within three miles of it and who cultivate their own land for their own use, and who have either already become, or intend to become, Canadian citizens or British subjects.2

Entries that were improperly held were cancelled. Individual cultivation, proper residence and naturalization

were requirements for all re-entrants. Settlers desiring to make re-entry were to do so within the succeeding three months, either at the local Land Offices, or with the Commission when it would make its next round of the villages. The Commission explained that a reserve of 15 acres per person would be created for the Doukhobors who refused to comply with the regulations. This land would be "held by the Government for the protection of the community Doukhobors during the pleasure of the Government".[3]

The first visitation of all Doukhobor villages was completed in less than one month. Despite intense cold, "by persistent and energetic action",[4] the Commission fulfilled its mission. One horse perished from the constant strain in the draft.

In the Prince Albert area, 339 entries were recommended for cancellation.[5] In the Yorkton region, 2,048 entries were recommended for cancellation.[6] A total of 2,503 entries were cancelled by the time of the Commission's final round in 1907.[7] Only 136 entries - those of Independent Doukhobors - were left standing.[8]

The second itinerary began its rounds on February 15, 1907, with the return of McDougall and company to the Langham area. Its object was to take Doukhobor re-entries, to administer the naturalization oath, and to create reservations for the Doukhobors who would not comply with the policy described in the Circular handed out by the previous itinerary.

The gains for re-entry were meager. In 4 Langham

villages visited, only 14 Independents were naturalized.[9] A reserve of 30 quarter-sections was created for 318 Communists. In Prince Albert, which was toured in early March, no re-entries whatever were made, and 14 reservations were created for the Communists.[10]

A similar experience awaited McDougall in the eastern part of the province. In the 8 Good Spirit villages,770 Doukhobors were placed on a reservations totalling 73 quarters, 18 new entries were made, and 23 Doukhobors were naturalized.[11] A total of 65 naturalization applications were eventually made in this area.[12] An inducement for this was the fact that the 15 acre allotments of this sandy soil could scarcely raise two head of cattle. As the itinerary drew to a close late in April, a total of 8,175 Doukhobors had been placed on reservations.[13] 235 re-entries had been made, and 1,618 homesteads were freed for public entry.

By December, 1907, a total of 384 Doukhobor entries were taken, and a communistic population of 8,175 had opted for the alternative of a government reservation.[14] A reservation of 766 quarters was established by Order in Council on December 7, 1907.[15] The reserved lands, which were scattered throughout the Doukhobor areas, included the lands upon which villages were located and lands within a 3 mile belt of the village. According to the Order in Council, the reservation was designed to include as much of the Communists' cultivation as possible.

B. The Doukhobors' Response

It was evident from the meager number of Doukhobor re-entries that the majority of the Doukhobors did not agree with the land policy outlined by McDougall. The Doukhobors' earliest impression of the Commission was that John McDougall was not acting on behalf of the Government at all, and was not sponsored by it.[16]

McDougall reported in January, 1907, that the Doukhobors were reacting to his Circular in a positive manner. The Doukhobors, he reported, seemed thankful.[17]

> The Circular Letter and our explanation seemed to strike the people as most reasonable and judging from yesterday's experience the Doukhobors will be most philosophical in their acceptance of your ultimatum which I told them will be final.
>
> The members of the various colonies have been made (on their own confession) to understand that the official letter in English and Russian is an "ultimatum" and that all conditions therein are final: that when we come around again, they must at once tell us decidedly as to their position; if re-entry, then naturalization, residence, and cultivation without fail; if Community, then we will proceed at once to lay out the Reserve as stated in the document, and this land business will be settled so far as the Doukhobors are concerned therein.

His impressions in the Yorkton-Swan River areas were similar: "On the whole the Doukhobors seem to think the Government is dealing kindly with them. They thus express themselves. Some few criticize the present action but soon find they have no case and are generally hushed up by their fellows".[18]

The Doukhobors' response was, in actuality, a

confused and uncertain one. Their leader was not present to guide their decisions. Verigin left for Russia in October, 1906, with Reibin and P. Makhortov, and did not return until four months later, when the Commission's work was well under way. The purpose of Verigin's travels at a time when the Doukhobors were facing the most crucial period in the homestead issue is not known. Peter Malov, a Doukhobor historian, states that Verigin withdrew from his people at this time because he felt that the Doukhobors were too dependent on him. Verigin wanted them to arrive at an individual decision on the homestead question.[19]

The Doukhobors were also aware that they might be resettling in a new area of Canada, or even in a different country. Doukhobor sources support the hypothesis that Verigin was seeking to relocate his people. Simeon Reibin stated that Verigin toured the eastern coast of Canada and visited fruit farms in Nigeria and Minnesota in search of suitable land. His inquiries about land prices in New York and Philadelphia suggested that a Doukhobor migration was being considered.[20] While in Eastern Europe, he toured Bulgaria and inquired about available lands in the Altai region.

The Doukhobors understood the homestead cancellations to be a wave of persecution caused by their refusal to swear the oath of allegiance. Their position, they stated, was comparable to an ox twice-flayed: "And if one begins to take our land...we will be compelled to again prepare for the

same sufferings and persecutions through which we had to go in Russia on account of our belief".[21]

In their opinion, sufficient cultivation has been done, and only a few entrants lived outside the vicinity of their homesteads. They stated to Oliver that they had always been under the impression that they had been given the right to cultivate communally. The exact amount of cultivation done in their settlements gave the Doukhobors only passing concern. To them it was so evident that they had fulfilled their aspect of homestead law that they did little but draw attention to their agricultural statistics. 150,000 bushels of wheat and 100,000 bushels of oats were sold in the previous year by the Community. "If we do not cultivate the land (sic) where do these crops come from?"[22] They cited the instance of women hitching themselves to the plough in their early years in Canada as an example of their respect of hard work.

The Doukhobors clearly expressed the belief that the oath issue had caused the loss of their lands. They appealed to the "full liberty" promised to them on their arrival in Canada, as well as to Scripture and the Doukhobor faith.[23]

> We asked John McDougall if he believed in Christ. He answered: "Yes!" We asked him if he was acquainted with Christ's teachings: he answered that he knew them.
>
> "Does Christ in his teachings forbid to swear, i.e. the use of an oath?"
>
> "No, he answered, he does not!"
>
> We asked the interpreter to tell him that he

> did not know Christ's teachings. He became confused and, with a flushed face, he answered that in the Gospel it said: "Yes, yes or no, no". (For whatsoever is more than these cometh from evil.)
>
> We say that we cannot, conforming ourselves to those teachings, take any oath, and if the Government of the people wants to protect us in the free exercise of our faith we declare that our very creed is to live in accordance with Christ's doctrine and that we cannot otherwise conceive the faith: believe (sic) in Christ as in the Son of God, and live and act against his teachings.

The Doukhobor wished to approach the oath in the same manner that they had approached homestead entry. Their desire was to have a three man committee take the oath for the entire body. In February, a committee composed of S. Riebin, F. Markhoff, and E. Konkin went to Ottawa to personally discuss the cancellation of the homesteads with Oliver.[24] No agreement was reached. Oliver would not allow a three man committee to take the oath for all.

Verigin returned to Canada in February, 1907. He was strangely silent on the landowning issue. His silence may be attributed to the fact that any strong advice or personal ruling at this crucial time would be sure evidence to the Commission of the very dictatorship that it was trying to eliminate. Verigin's statement on the oath issue was simply, "Whether you will take the oath or not,---every man must act according to his conscience, but what must be

first in our lives, we must rely on the will of God, in order to live within His law".[25]

In May, a meeting of village representatives was called at the village of Terpennie to resolve the homestead issue. Some Doukhobors sought a compromise, urging that perhaps 50 men could take the oath, and the lands could be saved.[26] The entire body, however, was swayed by a few words from Verigin:[27]

> Brothers and sisters, for myself I speak thus: if we take the oath, even by having some elderly ones take it, we would even by this, separate ourselves from Christ's teaching of 2000 years. But you must see for yourselves.

The final decision was that, in order to be faithful to Doukhobor ideals, the lands would be sacrificed. The Doukhobors resolved that they did not want to swear the oath of allegiance, regardless of the cost.

C. The Public Response: A Chronic "Koff"

The activities of the McDougall Commission could not escape the notice of the Canadian public. In general, the activities drew approval, especially in the West. Two Members of Parliament, McCraney and Cash, had long pressured for action against "these favored children of the Department of the Interior".[28]

The editorial sections of local western newspapers indicated that the public was supporting squatters' claims on the Doukhobor lands. On March 25, 1907, the Winnipeg Telegram carried an article "How Doukhobors are Agitating Country", which hotly supported American-Norwegian squatters against Doukhobor claims around Buchanan:[29]

> The Department of Immigration knows better than any one else that somebody, they know who, got a good haul out of the treasury of Canada, which was cheerfully paid. A chronic "koff" almost became epidemic in this country then, and there is a peculiar value attached to a "koff" or a little "off" to one's name today. Such attachments make it easy to get in "on the ground-floor" in the land scramble, since yet it is only Russians who need apply.

The Doukhobors, in their petitions to the Government, traced the new policy toward their lands to the agitation of local merchants and ranchers. The Government they felt, had taken the side of these groups. The merchants had never appreciated the Doukhobors' economic independence from local communities and their bulk purchases from factories. The ranchers' concern was that these farmers erected fences that stopped the free run of their cattle.

A single non-Doukhobor came to the defence of the

Doukhobor people. Early in April, 1907, Professor James Mavor, who had aided the Doukhobors during their immigration to Canada, wrote several letters of protest to prominent members of the Liberal administration and, in particular, to Oliver.[30] He fully supported the Doukhobors regarding the Sifton concession of communal cultivation. He added that while "Mr. Sifton may or may not have been entitled to give this permission but he was at all events the responsible Minister of the Crown at the time and the honor and faith of the government is unquestionably involved in carrying out the undertaking which he gave".[31] He disputed strongly the reported lack of cultivation on the Doukhobor lands. The Inspectors of 1905 had shown that sufficient cultivation was done, and "some of the land which it appears Mr. Oliver has marked out for confiscation is now in cultivation".[32] Mr. Sifton and the late Mr. McCreary, Mavor believed, would never "...have approved of so gross a breach of faith as this which Mr. Oliver proposes to perpetrate".[33]

Public opinion hostile to the Doukhobors was strengthened by another accusation that was thrown at the Veriginite system, during Verigin's absence. Herbert Archer, previously a friend of the Doukhobors, warned the Lands Branch that Verigin was trying to swindle it of valuable timber in two townships (tw. 36-30-w. 1 and tw. 36-31-w. 1).[34] Verigin proposed that the Doukhobors homestead these two townships, but Archer felt his real desire was to take the valuable timber located on these lands. His estimate was that

there were about 7 million feet of lumber there:[35]

> I think I see the light, but concerning Peter and his people I have been so often a voice cyring in the wilderness that I am not sure yet it will not appear as moonshine to some. At any rate I will outline the scheme as I see it. Peter Verigin's motto since his arrival here has been "We will promise the Government anything, but what we will do is another matter" (I can get your affidavits covering this utterance made 3 1/2 years ago concerning naturalization). That he has acted up to it brilliantly, consistently and successfully who can say who has followed Doukhobor history? Very well; he wants these two townships turned over to the Community in order to evolve smiling wheat fields from worthless bush. That is the implied "promise" to the Government...For some reason or another Peter Verigin seems to "have it in" for these Saskatchewan Doukhobors. By his orders (not by their wish) they have been brought here from good farms and dumped down on homesteads belonging to the young men of the colony where they are in a position of partial dependence on the rest of the Community.

It was later discovered that the area contained little timber, and consisted of poor soil and scrub brush. Archer's much publicized statements, nevertheless helped to solidify local sentiments adverse to the Doukhobors.

D. Resettlement of the Lands and the Adjustment of Land Claims

A reservation of Dominion land, consisting of 768 quarters, or 122,880 acres of land was officially created in December, 1907.[36] 1,618 homesteads, or 258,880 acres of land was freed for general entry, which was scheduled to commence on June 1, 1907.[37] Before these lands could be open for general entry, the McDougall Commission had to settle land claims and disputes arising between Doukhobor re-entrants and Communists, and to make decisions concerning squatter's claims.

The final count in December, 1907 placed 8,175 communistic Doukhobors on the reservation. A total of 384 entries were made by Doukhobors and 270 applications were made for naturalization. The Doukhobor population was split into approximately 1,000 Independents (men, women and children) and over eight thousand Communists.

Doukhobors desiring re-entry were allowed to make exchanges if they felt the lands that they already had signed for were unsuitable for their use. Keen competition among these Doukhobors for the most fertile land caused the Commission to withdraw from exchange three quarters near Buchanan village. The lands were later sold at general auction for $19, $17, and $5 per acre.[39] A total of 70 entries were exchanged for entries on better lands.[40]

There was conflict between the Communists and re-entering Doukhobors over the division of moveable property.

Sub-agent J. P. Barschel at Canora reported that Independents complained that they did not receive equitable shares upon leaving the Community.[41] Cases of theft were brought before Mr. Barschel.

Further problems between Communists and Independents arose from the Lands Branch's decision to allow the Communists to crop all lands that they had brought into cultivation for the 1907 season. Independents who moved out to their re-entered lands had no income for that year. The Independents were urged to move out onto their homesteads as soon as possible, to cut down the amount of friction caused by Communists and re-entrants occupying the same village.[42] The Independents, unlike ordinary settlers entering for the Doukhobor lands, were not required to pay for improvements on the land.

Squatters on the Doukhobor lands were served eviction notices late in the fall of 1906, but not all of them left the lands. The Lands Branch was forced to recognize that improvements had been made by these unauthorized settlers, who had foreseen the Doukhobor losses of land. The McDougall Commission decided that an equitable solution was to reserve all quarters affected by squatter's claims, from general entry for ten days from the opening of the particular township involved, for the settling of squatter's claims.[43] Squatters had a ten-day period in which to come forward to provide sworn evidence of their improvements and occupation of the lands. Only those squatters whose names were entered

on records prior to December 1, 1906 were considered.

The strong demand for the lands called for serious deliberation on the fairest means of accepting entry. Oliver, who had taken a personal interest in solving the Doukhobor homestead problem, met personally with McDougall in Edmonton in May to discuss the question. The final decision was to advertise the lands thoroughly throughout the West in the local newspapers, and to open the lands to personal entry at the main local Land Offices, with no more than one township being opened in each land district in one day.[44]

All quarters not affected by squatter's claims were made available for re-entry. Rushes for these quarters were anticipated and hence a policy of fair play was established: the landseekers were to line up against a rail outside the Land Office. As they reached the Office counter they were to be given a ticket, and upon presentation of the ticket, were allowed to make entry for the land.[45]

E. The Land Rush of 1907

The rush for the Doukhobor lands began on June 1, 1907. It was vividly described by the Land officials both in Yorkton and Prince Albert. The towns were filled with landseekers for days prior to the opening of the lands. Would be entrants camped out on the streets, and extra detachments of the R.N.W.M. Police were called in to supervise the largest land rush experienced in these areas.

In Yorkton, jockeying in the entrant lines caused the police to turn a fire-hose on a crowd.[46] A number of entrants were brought before judges for inciting the crowd to resist the police who were trying to keep order, and a counter-charge of police brutality was laid by one landseeker.[47] A single woman, Mrs. Ferguson of Wadena made entry, after being chivarously allowed to leave the night line-up, to rest, and return to her place in the morning. Don Matheson of Yorkton, who had personally witnessed the land rush described it as a "...case of shove and push, like being in a rugby game for hours".[48]

McDougall at Prince Albert, who was aided by Agent Cook and staff, reported that the opening of these lands was truly "survival of the fittest".[49]

> Will power and physical endurance in conjunction, won the homesteads. The rush on the first morning was strenuous and exciting and a very clear demonstration of the present value of farm lands in this part of the North West but (sic) excepting the smashing of some glass in the door, everything passed off in good shape.

Entries continued throughout the month of June with

the same intense competition. The opening of a choice township between Verigin and Canora, on June 14, brought out 400 people, who sought entry on the 84 quarters available.[50] The last available township was opened in Yorkton on July 6, 1907. 917 entries in all had been made at the Yorkton office.[51] From the 1,618 homesteads that had been put up for general entry, only 469 remained.[52] The unentered lands were mainly in the Swan River district, and were generally unsuitable for settlement. Only 6 Doukhobors relented during the June rush, and re-entered for lands.[53]

The individualism and drive displayed by the Canadian entrants was in stark contrast to the character of the Doukhobors who had previously held the lands. McDougall reported from Prince Albert that he was "...delighted with the class of men and women, to whom these lands have been given in entry. They impress me for the most part as genuine homeseekers and I will expect a strong development in the settlement, because of the quality of these new settlers".[54] Fifty percent of the entrants were British, or Canadian, twenty-five percent were Galician and the balance were of other ethnic backgrounds.[55]

The new entrants were to fulfill absolutely the provisions of the homestead regulations. If applications for cancellation were filed on their lands, and cultivation was found lacking, entries would be cancelled immediately, without the 60 days grace in which to full the requirement.[56] The Lands Branch, it seemed, would take no chance on a

second cultivation debate.

New entrants were also to pay for the value of improvements on their lands to the Land Office. Perhaps this was compensation for the Dominion's labors in resettling the Doukhobors, or an ingenious way of collecting the $21,000 that Immigration officials had spent in the original settlement of these peoples. Re-entering Doukhobors were not required to pay for any improvements on their lands.

The events of 1907 did not necessitate any movement or resettlement for the communal Doukhobors. The McDougall Commission fixed the populations of the villages and allotted 15 acres per person for the reserve lands. These Doukhobors continued to cultivate and reside in the regular pattern. The Independents, numbering approximately 1,000, began to move out to their lands or into the 3 mile vicinity of them, shortly after they made re-entry.

II. The Doukhobor Reservation (1907-1918)

A. The Doukhobors' Response to the Reservation System

Doukhobor ranks exhibited clear divisions after the reserve settlement. There were over 1,000 Independents and 8,000 Communists. In addition, a small group of Freedomites emerged from the communist ranks, bent upon renouncing all material concerns and migrating to a warmer clime.

Some of the Independents were already engaged in private farming. Others were in the process of moving unto their homesteads or into the vicinity of their holdings. In order to minimize conflict in the Communist villages, the Independents were urged by the Land authorities to move out to their lands as soon as possible, even if the villages were within the vicinity of the homesteads.

The Communists were chiefly occupied with negotiating for changes in the reserved allotments. They were concerned that 15 acres per person was far too small an allotment. From these acres had to come pasture land and residence space, as well as farm land. Petitions were sent by the Communist Doukhobors at Good Spirit Lake, asking that they be allowed to move to vacant lands around Verigin, because their lands were unfertile. Their petitions were dismissed as attempts to consolidate the communists. The Prince Albert Communists, 1,130 in all, sought to move to Verigin also, but McDougall warned Oliver that this would "...be most prejudicial to themselves and strongly against the well being of this country as a whole".[57] Only 31

colonists from Prince Albert were allowed to move, and these only because members of their families had moved in the previous year.

James Mavor, in his letters of protest in 1907, prophesied that the new land policy would result in the arousal of the "fanatical element" among the Doukhobors.[58] The settling of the homestead question provided an excellent culture in which unrest could grow. In the Doukhobors' opinion, they lost their homesteads because they fought for their principles of faith, regardless of the cost. In the face of material loss, they held firm. Zealots found willing adherents on the Doukhobor reserves after 1907.

Pilgrimages were reported among the people in the Verigin area by the early summer of 1907. Michael White, who was sent to investigate the unrest, reported that about 64 pilgrims, calling themselves "free men" (Svobodniki) had gathered in the village of Hlebodarnoe.[59] Their exact aims were unknown. The majority of the Doukhobors were not affected by the pilgrims. In August, 70 of the wanderers headed towards Winnipeg, stating that they were going to meet Christ in a warmer land.[60] They were joined in Winnipeg by a Tolstoyan watch-maker from New York, B. Sachotoff, who was later blamed by the press for the entire march.[61] Immigration officials recorded their stops in Winnipeg, Lake of the Woods, and Fort William, where they staged a nude parade on New Year's Day, 1908.[62]

The pilgrims settled in Fort William. 80 Freedomites in a single, two-storey house caused much discomfort

to the citizens of the town and brought further embarassment on the Government responsible for their immigration to Canada.[63] 19 of the men were finally arrested. It was May, 1908 before the remainder of them were forcibly returned to Yorkton by train, and placed on a school section near Orcadia.[64]

The action of the Freedomites caught the public eye, and swayed general opinion against the Doukhobor settlers. The Freedomite element was a small and isolated one within the Doukhobor numbers, but the Canadian public was better informed on their activities than on those of the Communists and Independents. Commissioner John McDougall submitted his views on the pilgrims to the Winnipeg Free Press:[65]

> Re the "Wandering Doukhobors" allow me to suggest that the general public give these foolish people as little attention as possible. Their own people are much ashamed of them and would, if they could, entirely repudiate these nomads. The ordinary Doukhobor is a very sane person whether "communistic" or "independent". These wanderers should be allowed to starve back to their reserve where there is plenty of honest work for them.

Oliver, himself urged that the pilgrims be treated as ordinary vagrants or offenders: "The whole trouble with the Doukhobors has occurred because they have been given extra-ordinary treatment".[66]

On the reserves, there was evidence of an internal movement of village populations, which had no basis in the McDougall policy. Land officials, sent to examine the reserves, reported in August that many Doukhobors in the Langham area had intentions of moving to the Yorkton-Verigin

area. Migration was reported in most of the Doukhobor villages. By January, 1908, 323 settlers moved from Prince Albert to Verigin.[67] The remaining 583 Communists around Prince Albert were settling in two villages---Karilovka and Bodanovka.[68] Similarly, the Doukhobors around Buchanan formed two villages where previously there had been six.[69]

The Doukhobors' actions were perplexing to the Lands Branch authorities. It was clear that migration of villagers to other villages would warrant readjustments of the reserve area. On the other hand, the Doukhobors were attempting to cultivate as much reserve land as possible during the 1907-1908 season.

Underlying the Doukhobors' economic activities was the fact that the Doukhobors were no longer interested in long-range compliance with the Lands Branch's ruling on reserve holdings. Their goals was no longer a prosperous agricultural existence on the prairies. A sense of anticipation, akin to the excitement felt when the group immigrated to Canada, prevailed on the reserves. Verigin did not openly state that a widescale migration was in the making, but his advice to the villages hinted broadly of this. He stressed unity and strict frugality. He urged also that great energy be expended in the last cropping of the old land for the 1907 season, in order to increase crop income. In the meantime, lands were examined in British Columbia, Oregon and California.[70]

During 1907, all of the Doukhobors' debts were paid, including a $300,000 deficit of the Central Office.[71] The

Doukhobors' strenuous endeavors were evident to outsiders. Poultry and livestock were sold in each village, with only 5 oxen left per village.[72] All saleable goods were sold. Luxuries such as tea and sugar were temporarily given up by Community members, and all money was saved for the future. Inspectors reported in 1908 that:[73]

> The frugality of the subsistence of the community Doukhobors is striking. There is great dearth of milk and butter and eggs in all their villages. They have comparatively few milk cows, a considerable number of their cattle have been sold last winter and all their poultry. They have also given up the use of tea which was their standard beverage. We mention the above because they are important items in Doukhobor diet. This condition has obtained since last winter and may be due to financial stringency in their affairs or to voluntary action on their part or to both causes. There have been no reports of actual lack of food among them. Their crops this fall have been fairly successful.

Each village engaged in breaking new cultivation during 1908, in an effort, it seemed to increase crop income. New breaking averaged about 200 acres per village.[74] In addition, ten acres of land were purchased near Yorkton, and a second brick factory was constructed. The personal holdings of the communal Doukhobors by 1908 included 14 square miles of land purchased around Verigin, two brick factories, some houses in Yorkton, and a few buildings at Verigin station.[75]

B. The Migration of the Communal Doukhobors and the Termination of the Reservation

In the spring of 1908, the Doukhobors' plans for migration materialized. Peter Verigin and Doukhobor delegates, after carefully examining lands in British Columbia, purchased 2,700 acres of land at Waterloo, British Columbia.[76] The Doukhobors' dreams of fruit farming would at last become a reality. By December, 1908, their holdings included 2,700 acres at Grand Forks, 2,200 acres at Pass Creek and 1,100 acres near Slocan Junction.[77] These lands were registered in Verigin's name---an indication that he wished to maintain tight personal control of the Community.[78]

The emigration of the Doukhobors from the prairies was a gradual one. In 1909, 800 Doukhobors left to build homes on the British Columbia holdings, and to begin to break the land.[79] It took several years to clear the land, and an additional three years before fruit was produced. The migration continued slowly from 1909 to 1912. A total of 5,000 Doukhobors followed their leader westward.[80] By 1912, 70,000 fruit trees had been planted, and lumbering operations in the Kootenays were under way.[81]

The reservation provided a temporary home for the Doukhobors who were planning to head West. The lands were subsequently adjusted to equal 15 acres per person. The first readjustment occurred in January, 1908, hastened by the numerous internal migrations within the reservation and a high demand in the Prince Albert area for re-entry. Full

quarters were granted to applicants where there was sufficient land, and legal sub-divisions where there was not enough land. Doukhobors from the locality were allowed first priority of entry.[82] Second priority went to Doukhobors in general, and the remainder went to the Canadian public. There was always more than sufficient demand from among the Doukhobors for re-entry.

By the summer of 1908, there remained only two village reservations in the Prince Albert area,---Large and Small Horelofka.[83] Reservations around six other villages were terminated, causing 65 quarters to be opened for re-entry.[84] Although the populations of these two villages had increased, their reservation areas were not increased proportionately. The Doukhobors had to bear losses for their internal migrations. Readjustments were also made in the Buchanan area during the fall of 1908. Fractional quarters were received by re-entrants as land supplies no longer equalled demand.

The migration westward spelled an end to the reservation system. The Veriginites who were staunch communists made their way to British Columbia, leaving the reservation to their more individualistic brethren. Without the cement of strong leadership, the communal life gave way as adjustors continued to tour the villages and take re-entries.

The fractional divisions of land for Doukhobors desiring to become independent farm owners continued until 1918. Adjustors of the reservation lands proved at times to

be overzealous in their work. Far less than the 15 acre allottment per communal Doukhobor was left because adjustors eliminated the lands of those Doukhobors intending to move to British Columbia. In the Canora-Kamsack area, only 50,950 acres were reserved for a population of 3,648, which meant a shortage of 3,770 acres.[85] In Swan River, there was a shortage of 1,090 acres for a population of 2,910 and in the Good Spirit area, there was a shortage of 1,425 acres for 755 people.[86] The total shortage in all of the areas,--Kamsack, Good Spirit, Swan River and Prince Albert--amounted to 7,910 acres.[87]

The reservation system was terminated by an Order in Council[88] on July 6, 1918, by which all remaining unpatented Doukhobor lands were divided and sold, first priority being given to the Doukhobors, for $10 per acre. Any lands remaining after the sale were reserved for soldier settlement, and any lands unsuitable for the latter, were sold by public auction at $3 per acre.

The Doukhobors did not make any claims for compensation for the lands lost in 1907. They estimated that approximately $682,000 worth of cultivation, clearing and crops were lost by the cancellation of the homesteads.[89] In 1912, the Doukhobors, with the aid of James Mavor, laid compensation claims for 50,000 acres of cultivated reserve land that was left behind after the completion of the westward migration. They requested $200,000 as compensation.[90]

Correspondence concerning the compensation continued from 1912 to 1914, but no money was forthcoming. By law, the Dominion was not obligated to pay for improvements on cancelled homesteads or for improvements made on a reserve, which was willfully abandoned by its occupants.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Lands Files, file # 494484, vol. 755, McDougall to Oliver, February 8, 1907.

[2] Ibid, Circular to the Elders and the People of the Village of _____, Explanatory Circular of the McDougall Commission, January Itinerary, 1907.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, May 14, 1907. This report discussed the activities of both the first and second itineraries.

[5] Ibid, vol. 755, McDougall to Oliver, February 8, 1907.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid, vol. 756, Report of the McDougall Commission, Second Itinerary for 1907, May 14, 1907, p. 2.

[8] Ibid, Reports and Maps Relating to Lands Held Under Homestead Entry by Doukhobors and the Disposition of Same, October 14, 1907.

[9] Ibid, telegram of McDougall to Oliver, from Langham, March 1, 1907.

[10] Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, March 7, 1907.

[11] Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, March 20, 1907.

[12] Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, March 22, 1907.

[13] Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, Second Itinerary for 1907, May 14, 1907, p. 4.

[14] Ibid, P.C. 2624, December 7, 1907.

[15] Ibid, This Order in Council was possible because of Sub-clause (h) of Clause 90 of the Dominion Land Act, which stated that the Governor in Council could make such orders as were necessary "to meet any cases which arise and for which no provision is made in the Act".

[16]Ibid, vol. 755, Petition to the Minister of the Interior and All People in Canada From the Christian Community of the Universal Brotherhood (sic). The Doukhobors in Canada, undated (but according to the chronological ordering of the papers in the Lands Files, probably written during February, 1907). The Doukhobors wrote:

Though we doubt that McDougall be sent by the Government, we nevertheless want to make this declaration to the Government and to the people.

The petition that followed stressed that the oath was responsible for the Doukhobors' loss of the lands, for sufficient cultivation had been done. They also blamed local business interests and ranchers for turning the Government against the Doukhobors.

[17]Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, February 8, 1907.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Malov, op. cit., p. 96. On December 7, 1906, the Montreal Herald reported that Verigin was in Russia recruiting 10,000 workmen for employment on the Grand Trunk Railway. They were to be paid 40 rubles per month and have lodging provided by the railway company. Immigration Files, # 65101, Montreal Herald newsclipping, December 7, 1906.

[20]Reibin, op. cit., p. 89-92. Verigin was told by the Quakers that lands were being sold in Philadelphia for $50 to $75 per acre.

[21]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 755, Petition to the Minister of the Interior and All People in Canada, undated (February, 1907), p. 6.

[22]Ibid, p. 2.

[23]Ibid, p. 4.

[24]Ibid, Report of the Interview between the Honorable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior and certain representatives of the Doukhobors, February 25, 1907.

[25]Reibin, op. cit., p. 110.

[26]Malov, op. cit., p. 98.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 755, McCraney to Oliver, December 19, 1906.

[29]Ibid, Winnipeg Telegram clipping, March 25, 1907.

[30]Ibid, Mavor to Oliver, April 13, 1907. Copies were forwarded by Mavor to Laurier, R. Cartwright, Aylesworth, and Fisher. He also submitted a Memorandum on Doukhobor Affairs, to Oliver on April 15, 1907, which was a 8-page outline of the Doukhobor-Dominion agreements pertaining to settlement.

[31]Ibid, Mavor's Memorandum on Doukhobor Affairs, April 15, 1907, p. 5.

[32]Ibid, p. 6.

[33]Ibid, Mavor to Oliver, April 13, 1907.

[34]Ibid, Archer to Oliver, December, 1906. The exact date of this correspondence is not given.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid, vol. 756, Order in Council, December 7, 1907, P.C. 2624.

[37]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, May 14, 1906, p. 4.

[38]Ibid, P.C. 2624, December 7, 1907.

[39]Ibid, Reports and Maps Relating to Lands Held Under Homestead Entry by Doukhobors and Disposition of Same, Maber to Oliver, October 14, 1907.

[40]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, Second Itinerary for 1907, May 14, 1907, p. 4.

[41]Ibid, vol. 755, J. Paul Barschel to Oliver, February 22, 1907.

[42]Ibid, vol. 756, McDougall to the Secretary of the Interior, July 18, 1907.

[43]Ibid, Cory to Greenway, May 10, 1907. It was difficult to steer a smooth course between the squatters' claims

and the Doukhobors' re-entries. Oliver outlined an ambiguous policy to McDougall in January, 1906:

I beg to say that while it would not be well to absolutely refuse Doukhobor entry on lands occupied by squatters it would be very desirable that Doukhobors should not ask for such entries, as the wish of the Department is to as far as possible avoid a clash. On the other hand if the Department should say that entry on such lands is not to be given to Doukhobors, such a course would appear to be a recognition of the rights of squatters. This, of course, could not be done. Ibid, vol. 755, Oliver to McDougall, January 31, 1907.

[44]Ibid, vol. 756, Cory to Greenway, May 10, 1907.

[45]Oliver personally arrived at the fairest means of public entry. Greenway informed Samuel Maber by telegram on May 27, 1907 that:

Minister orders that a rail must be erected so as to establish without question who is first applicant at counter and entry given to first man in line on his reaching counter by tickets. Ibid, Greenway to Maber, May 27, 1907.

[46]Yorkton Enterprise, "Police and Fire Brigade Struggle with Land Seekers", June 20, 1907.

[47]Ibid, "Now Will You Be Good", June 13, 1907.

[48]The Doukhobor Inquirer, "Yorkton's Great Land Rush": vol. 2, no. 1, February 1955.

[49]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, McDougall to Oliver, June 19, 1907.

[50]K. Tarasoff, op. cit., p. 358.

[51]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Maber to Oliver, July 6, 1907.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, June 19, 1907.

[54]Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, July 19, 1907.

[55]Ibid, Maber to Oliver, July 6, 1907.

[56]Ibid, Oliver to Greenway, August 30, 1907.

[57]Ibid, McDougall to Oliver, March 22, 1907.

[58]Ibid, vol. 755, Memorandum on Doukhobor Affairs, p. 7. All the fanatical elements among the people will be aroused and there seems to me a very strong probability of desertion of their villages by some thousands of people and of their wandering about the country.

[59]Ibid, vol. 756, Michael White to Oliver, July 29, 1907.

[60]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 223. The pilgrims were clad in blue gowns and straw hats.

[61]Sachotoff was described by the Winnipeg Telegram as a Russian Jew from New York, who went bankrupt in his watch-making business, and having Tolstoyan ideas, came to Yorkton to spend time among the Doukhobors, He became the spokes-men for the marchers, informing the press that he hoped that people from England would send the Doukhobors to India, or some other warm country, where they could survive without manual labour. Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, op. cit., Winnipeg Telegram clipping, August 3, 1907.

[62]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 223.

[63]Immigration Files, # 65101, vol. 184, R.A. Burress to Scott, January 9, 1908.

[64]Ibid, Scott to Oliver, May 20, 1908.

[65]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Winnipeg Free Press clipping, August 13, 1907.

[66]Immigration Files, # 65101, vol. 184, telegram of Oliver to Scott, May 2, 1908.

[67]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756. Statement re Population of the Prince Albert District, undated (but according to the chronological order of the papers, it was written in January, 1908). From a communist population of 1,187 when the reserves were created, only 740 Communists remained. 323 people had left for the eastern settlements and 124 expressed a desire for entry.

[68]Ibid, Report on the Prince Albert Colony by Samuel Maber, undated, but probably written during January, 1908.

[69]Ibid, Report of the McDougall Commission, Spring Itinerary for 1908, April 4, 1908.

[70]Reibin, op. cit., p. 127.

[71]Tarasoff, op. cit., p. 386.

[72]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Maber to Oliver, November 13, 1908.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 223-224.

[75]Ibid, p. 223.

[76]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, the Doukhobor Society to Oliver, May 12, 1908. The Doukhobors informed Oliver that land had been bought in British Columbia to experiment with fruit growing. Two men per village were sent to clear the land, and the Doukhobors asked that the reserve not be readjusted because these men had left. Waterloo was later renamed Brilliant.

[77]Woodcock, op. cit., p. 228. By 1912, the Doukhobors owned 14,403 acres of land in B.C. Woodcock, p. 228. The Doukhobor holdings were in the Kootenay region, near the British Columbia-Washington border.

[78]Ibid, p. 227.

[79]Ibid, p. 229.

[80]Loc. cit.

[81]Ibid, p. 230

[82]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, McDougall to Oliver, January 24, 1908.

[83]Ibid, Maber to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, August 17, 1908. Maber was empowered in the spring of 1908, to adjust Doukhobor land claims and take re-entry and to naturalize the Doukhobors. There is no record of the actual number of Doukhobors from the Prince Albert settlement who followed Verigin to British Columbia. Woodcock writes:

"...when the Community members began to leave in 1908, more than a thousand Independents were left in the Prince

Albert district...they had abandoned the Communal way of living so decisevely that by 1910 most of them had left the villages and were living on their quarter sections." Woodcock, op. cit., p. 240.

[84]Ibid, Report on the Prince Albert Colony by S. Maber, undated (probably January, 1908).

[85]These statistics were given for June 7, 1909. Ibid, Report on the various Doukhobor Villages, June 7, 1909.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Homestead Files, File # 1866442, F. Nelson, Assistant-Secretary of Dominion Lands to Simeon Lachtin, Kamsack, Saskatchewan, October 3, 1918.

[89]L. I. Strakhovsky, "Doukhobor Claims for Compensation": Canadian Slavonic Papers, p. 13.

[90]The Doukhobors put forward the following options to the Government:

1. payment of $5 per acre; 2. the Doukhobors would purchase these lands themselves at $5 per acre; 3. payment of $60 for each person moving to British Columbia, for the improvement on their 15 acres of reserve land.

Ibid, p. 7-8, Delegates of the Doukhobor Community, Poul (sic) Planidin, Simeon Reibin, and Peter Verigin to the Honorable R Rogers, Minister of the Interior, February 16, 1912.

CONCLUSION

During the summer of 1907, Michael White, who participated in the 1906 inspections of the Doukhobor lands, was sent by the Lands Branch to observe the Doukhobors in their reservation settlements. He concluded his report with a general statement on Doukhobor affairs:[1]

> It would be premature, however, to think that the Doukhobor question is being entirely disposed of. It might be so and it might be not. The future alone will show it, and for all our predictions as to what the Doukhobors are going to do, may prove to be incorrect because the Doukhobors are a 'peculiar people'. And not until the Doukhobors will cease to be a peculiar people will (sic) Doukhobor question disappear from the horizon.
>
> Doukhobors (sic) will need a constant watching until schools and contact with other settlers will transform them and make them think in the same way as an ordinary man does.

White's conclusions summarized the direction and the outcome of the Doukhobor homestead crisis. The Doukhobor land policy implemented in 1907 was an attempt to eliminate Doukhobor peculiarities in regard to land ownership. It was hoped that they might then "think in the same way as an ordinary man..." The communistic tradition of the Doukhobors, which fostered Doukhobor differences was hard hit.

The Land authorities realized that the Doukhobors' economic system could not be tolerated in the West because it had no place in a rugged and individualistic setting.

Doukhobor communism stifled the spirit of free and private enterprise,---in short, all that stood for the rights of the independent settler. Its economic efficiency was a threat to a system based on private ownership.

The scope of the Doukhobor land crisis went beyond economic affairs. It was a crisis of aggregate Doukhobor identity. The resolution of the crisis, an attempt to redistribute the Doukhobor population among the general Canadian populace was designed to recast Doukhobor cultural, social and economic values in a Canadian mould. Problems with the Doukhobors, especially over Canadian citizenship, demonstrated that these settlers were not becoming loyal British subjects. Nor were the Doukhobors promoting the values of civilization and individualism sought in ideal settlers in the early twentieth century. They had made no contribution to the aggregate social and religious development of the West.

The cancellation of the Doukhobor homesteads and the requirement of proper residence in the "vicinity" of the land was an attempt to decolonize the Doukhobors and draw them into the social, cultural and economic mainstream of Canadian life. This was in keeping with the general course proposed by those interested in promoting the ideals of good citizenship among new Canadians.[2]

> First of all, they (the new settlers) must in some way be unified. Language, nationality, race, temperament, training are all dividing walls that must be broken down. Poor distribution may do much. There is a very natural tendency for people of the same nationality to settle in large colonies...Such colonies

> are really bits of Russia or Austria or Germany transplated to Canada. Not only are they less open to Canadian ideas, but closely united, they can control the entire community...It would seem a wise policy to scatter the foreign communities among the Canadian, in this way facilitating the process of assimilation.

An added point in favor of redistributing the Doukhobors was that it was also a liberation from the hand of a Russian despot, Peter Verigin. By 1907, there was sufficient proof that Verigin was responsible for much of the homestead abuse, and that he was forcing communism on some of the Doukhobors.

The Circular presented to the Doukhobors by the McDougall Commission early in 1907 stressed that the cancellation of the Doukhobor entries expressed the will of the Canadian majority.[3] In a regional sense, the Circular was correct. The cancellations were a product of many years of protest against the Doukhobors, by residents of Western Canada. Politicians, ranchers, and missionaries stood hard against these self-sufficient, isolated Communists. The most vocal, of course, were landseekers, who could legitimately complain that the Doukhobors were not complying with homestead law. Land policy thus became an instrument of assimilation---a chance to strike a blow against the Doukhobor way of life---where schools or churches would have no success.

The Doukhobor land crisis was also a crisis of the times, caused by a changing demographic situation in the West. In 1899, Doukhobor peculiarities could be tolerated in the interests of settling an empty prairie, with the consideration that these differences could hardly withstand

the test of time. As the West would fill up, the Doukhobors would mingle with other settlers, and their differences would be submerged in the general culture. In the case of the Doukhobors, however, who had little social or religious contact with other settlers, their peculiarities did not diminish.

By 1905, in the interests of public landseekers, the Doukhobor peculiarities had to be sacrificed, especially when it was discovered that homestead abuse (the entry of minors and the resettlement of some entrants) went hand in hand with the perpetuation of Doukhobor economic peculiarities. The Land authorities were not obligated, in the interests of western settlement, to overlook these peculiarities in 1907.

The Doukhobor homestead crisis was also a painful example of new trends in Dominion Land policy, made necessary after 1905 by a large demand for homestead land and a shrinking supply of homesteads. After 1905, there was a strong effort to remove all "peculiarities"that interfered with the actual settlement and improvement of lands. Railway companies were forced to select their lands,land companies who had not fulfilled their obligations concerning settlement were stripped of their holdings, and settlers, who had not fulfilled homestead requirements were weeded out. In 1905, seven homestead inspectors were hired to investigate abuses, especially within the railway lands. R. E. Leech, the Inspector of Agencies, reported in July, 1906 that:[4]

> It having developed that a number of land dealers, who might be more properly called "land sharks" were endeavoring to manipulate homestead lands for personal gain, a campaign of special inspection work was inaugurated in April, 1906, which

> was to cover the land districts of Alameda, Regina, Yorkton and Battleford. This work entailed an inspection and report by the homestead inspectors of each quarter-section for which entry had been granted prior to September 1, 1905, and not yet patented. The result was Alameda, 1,608 inspections, 23 cancellations; Battleford, 3,098 inspections, 157 cancellations; Regina, 8,983 inspections, 364 cancellations; Yorkton, 3,550 inspections, 283 cancellations.

The growing need to bring Dominion land law into harmony with the western demographic situation was exemplified by changes in the Dominion Land Act in 1908. Both the Hamlet Clause and the Co-operative Farming Clauses were discarded as having "outlived their usefulness",[5] and no longer could cattle-raising be substituted for the cultivation requirement. Compensation for improvements for quarters, for which entry had been cancelled was now left to the discretion of the Land Office.

While Sifton, in his concern for the aggregate well being of the Western economy could have afforded to let the details of homesteading slide, his successor could not in the interests of the Western public, do the same, By 1907, the great volume of landseekers arriving in the West highlighted land issues to the point where "small" regional issues became politically significant. James Mavor summarized the Doukhobor land issue from this point of view:[6]

> Unfortunately the Ministry of the Interior permitted itself to be influenced by political considerations imposed upon it by local interests. It deprived the Doukhobors of the greater part of the land originally alloted to them on the ground that they had failed to comply with the homestead law, and it induced on the part of the Doukhobors a distrust in the good faith of the government.

The new policy toward the Doukhobor holdings was implemented by harsh means. The Doukhobors were informed that the Government was "re-arranging its own lands".[7] The homesteads were cancelled by a withdrawal of the Sifton concession of communal cultivation, on the grounds that Sifton as the Minister of the Interior, could not vary the requirements for land patent. The Lands Branch, refusing to consider that Sifton may have acted beyond his powers as Minister, concluded that the Doukhobors had interpreted Sifton's letter in the wrong way:[8]

> The affidavit which the applicant for homestead entry must take explicitly provided that the entry must be the sole use and benefit of the entrant. It would appear that they (the Doukhobors) have also assumed that the permission of the Minister to cultivate in common was without restriction as to time, distance from residence, or other consideration. In fact that it was given to permit the perpetuation of communal conditions... while the Minister had power to hold in abeyance (temporary inactivity) the effect of these provisions he could not vary them; and as the statute was not amended to meet the case it would seem that the permission was given to encourage and facilitate individual cultivation and ownership, not to permit it to be avoided.

In the final analysis, the Doukhobors were treated as ordinary settlers, in every aspect of homesteading. No concession had been given to them in the matter of entry, although the patience of the Lands Branch had been severely tested in four years of Doukhobor indecision. Despite delays in dissolving the Doukhobor reserve, it was finally terminated in December, 1904. The right of communal cultivation, which was a prominent issue in 1905-1906, was dismissed by the investigating Commissions. "I have to

administer the law as it is in the book."[9] was Oliver's final statement to the Doukhobors. The Doukhobors were subject to the homestead requirements outlined in the Dominion Land Act.

There was much evidence of personal bias in the final decision on the Doukhobor lands. Oliver devoted much effort to show that the Doukhobors were holding more lands than they should,---even to the point of making Sifton's suggestion that "If, for instance, a village wants fifty homesteads around the village", a definitive statement that only fifty entries could be made per village.[10] Likewise, the term "vicinity" was interpreted as a maximum 3-mile distance between homestead and residence, for the Doukhobors. A year later, Oliver defined "vicinity" to mean "nine miles besides the width of the road allowances crossed in making the distance".[11]

A number of homestead irregularities on the Doukhobor lands can be attributed to maladministration in the local Land Offices. Misplaced villages and Doukhobor settlements on odd sections, in parts of the reserve where only even sections were for these settlers, were the fault of the local Agents of Dominion Lands. Unknown to the Doukhobors was that, by 1906, 27 Doukhobor quarter-sections had been lost because the Land Agents had mistakenly settled Galicians on them.[12] A list entitled "Doukhobor Entries Cancelled in Favor of Other Doukhobors" revealed this large settlement of Galicians near Good Spirit Lake. These quarters represented 3,520

acres of Doukhobor land. None of these irregularities were confessed in the final analysis of the Doukhobor homestead situation.

In April, 1907, James Mavor warned Oliver that the resolution of the Doukhobor homestead crisis, by means of homestead cancellation, would have damaging repercussions on the Doukhobor people, and their relationship with the Canadian Government. "The Minister of the Interior does not in the least realize that he is putting his head into a hornet's nest from which he cannot withdraw it uninjured."[13] Mavor's perceptions were correct. The immediate effect of the cancellations was the arousal of the "fanatical element" among the Doukhobors, which openly resisted the bounds of temporal law, and broughtembarassment to the Government. In general, the suspicions with which the Doukhobors had viewed secular governments were reinforced by the loss of lands.

The lands policy of 1907 split Doukhobor ranks, where previously there had only been cracks of dissension. It gave impetus to the movement toward independent farming and a renunciation of Verigin's theocratic leadership. The Independents numbered 1,000, against a Communist population of over eight thousand in 1907.

The split was an ideological one, as well as an economic phenomenon. If, the Communists believed, they had lost their lands because of their spiritual conviction, then the Independents, by taking lands, demonstrated a loss of the true faith. In 1909, when the Communists began their steady migration to British Columbia, a geographic split was

also created. Two separate Doukhobor cultures arose,---the prairie Independent and the communal one in the Kootenays. Mounting tensions between them resulted in a total breakdown in their relations in 1913.[14]

The attempt to eliminate Doukhobor peculiarities through land policy was not successful. The Doukhobors were a "crisis" people. Throughout their history, their willingness to follow the will of God rather than the ordinances of the state had caused them to face crises many times. Their response to this crisis of Canadian homesteading was drawn from their historical experience.

Again, as in the emigration from Russia, only those Doukhobors who accepted Verigin as the Divinely appointed leader followed him westward. Some had been snared by the temptation of landowning to remain on the old land. The loyal Doukhobors moved on with their leader, to build life on a new frontier.

As the last of the Doukhobor reservation lands were auctioned off in July, 1918, the Doukhobor homestead crisis was completely over. It had spanned 20 years and nearly three-quarters of a million acres of land.[15] It had directly affected the lives of over 9,000 settlers and swerved the course of Doukhobor history on the prairies.

To the Land authorities, the crisis had been a long fight against the peculiarities of odd settlers. They could point to a partial victory in the final battle. The lands were resettled by an enterprising class of settlers, who

would actively participate in Canadian life. In addition, there were over one thousand Independent Doukhobors,---evidence that the assimilative measures had worked.

The majority of the Doukhobors interpreted the land crisis as a fire-test of the Doukhobor faith. It was not the land that was important, but their attitude toward it. The land crisis severely tested their attitude, and at the expense of material loss, had clarified it. Most of the Doukhobors came through the test unscathed,---strengthened in belief and solidly in support of Verigin's leadership.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Reports and Maps Relating to Lands Held Under Entry by Doukhobors and the Disposition of Same, Report of Michael White, July 29, 1907.

[2]J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates: Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972, p. 234. First edition printed in 1909.

[3]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Circular to the Doukhobor People, January 1907.

[4]Sessional Papers, vol. 42, no. 12, Report of R. E. Leech, April 15, 1907, for the year ending July 31, 1906.

[5]Debates, Frank Oliver re the Hamlet and Co-operative Farming Clause; June 26, 1908, p. 11436.

...certain privileges which were accorded under the Act as it stood at present, appeared to have outlived their usefulness. We do not think these rights should continue; so we have dropped out of this Act provisions in regard to the substitution of cattle raising for cultivation, the privilege of living in hamlets instead of on the land, and the privilege of co-operative farming. We do not propose to renew these privileges.

[6]James Mavor, My Windows, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 32.

[7]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, McDougall to Oliver, February 8, 1907.

[8]Ibid, vol. 755, Memorandum for Information of Council, December 1, 1906, p. 5.

[9]Ibid, Report of the Interview between Honorable Frank Oliver and Peter Verigin, October 15, 1906, p. 5.

[10]Ibid, Memorandum for Information of Council, December 1, 1906, p. 6.

[11]Debates, Frank Oliver re vicinity, June 26, 1908, p. 11431.

[12]Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 755, Doukhobor Homestead Entries Cancelled in Favor of Other Doukhobors within the former Doukhobor Reserves, August 26, 1906.

The problem lay in the inability of the Land Agents to discern between a Doukhobor name and a Ukrainian one. The Galician entries included the following names: Pawlo Oradczuk, Petor Pedawsky, George Burkwiw (Burkciw), Josej Zurowski, W. Markwiez (Markewich), Michel Fulafka, John Ostafiew (Ostafie), Tomko Wilzosz (Wilgosh), John Derkacz (Derkatch), John Bojda (Boyda), John Rymenda, W. Kereluk, Pawel Drozdow, G. Osadchuck, Yurko Kowalvik, W. Danilchuk, Jakiw Wihnan, George Damlink, Mike Kapalchuk, G. Kopelszak, Anton Cymbaliesty and Iwan Kerelink.

[13] Ibid, Mavor to Oliver, April 13, 1907, p. 4.

[14] Woodcock, op. cit., p. 241. Verigin forbade his people to have any communication with the prairie Independents, despite the fact that whole families were divided into Independents and Communists. Only 30 Communists had broken away from the British Columbia Community by 1913, Woodcock, p. 240.

[15] This calculation is the total area of the reserve measured in 1904. Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 754, Statement Showing the Area of Lands Reserved for the Doukhobors in Yorkton and Prince Albert Districts, Fall, 1904.

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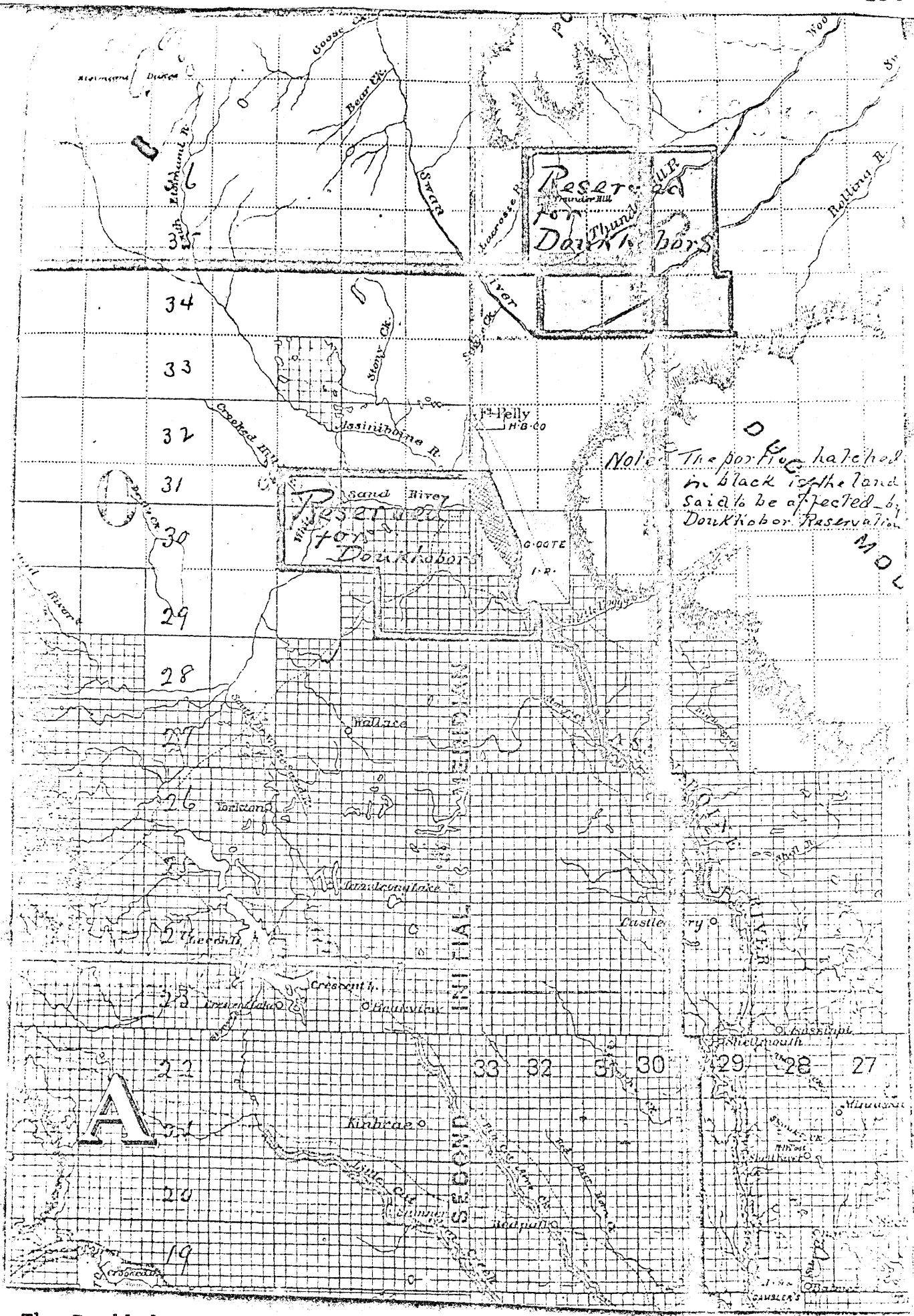
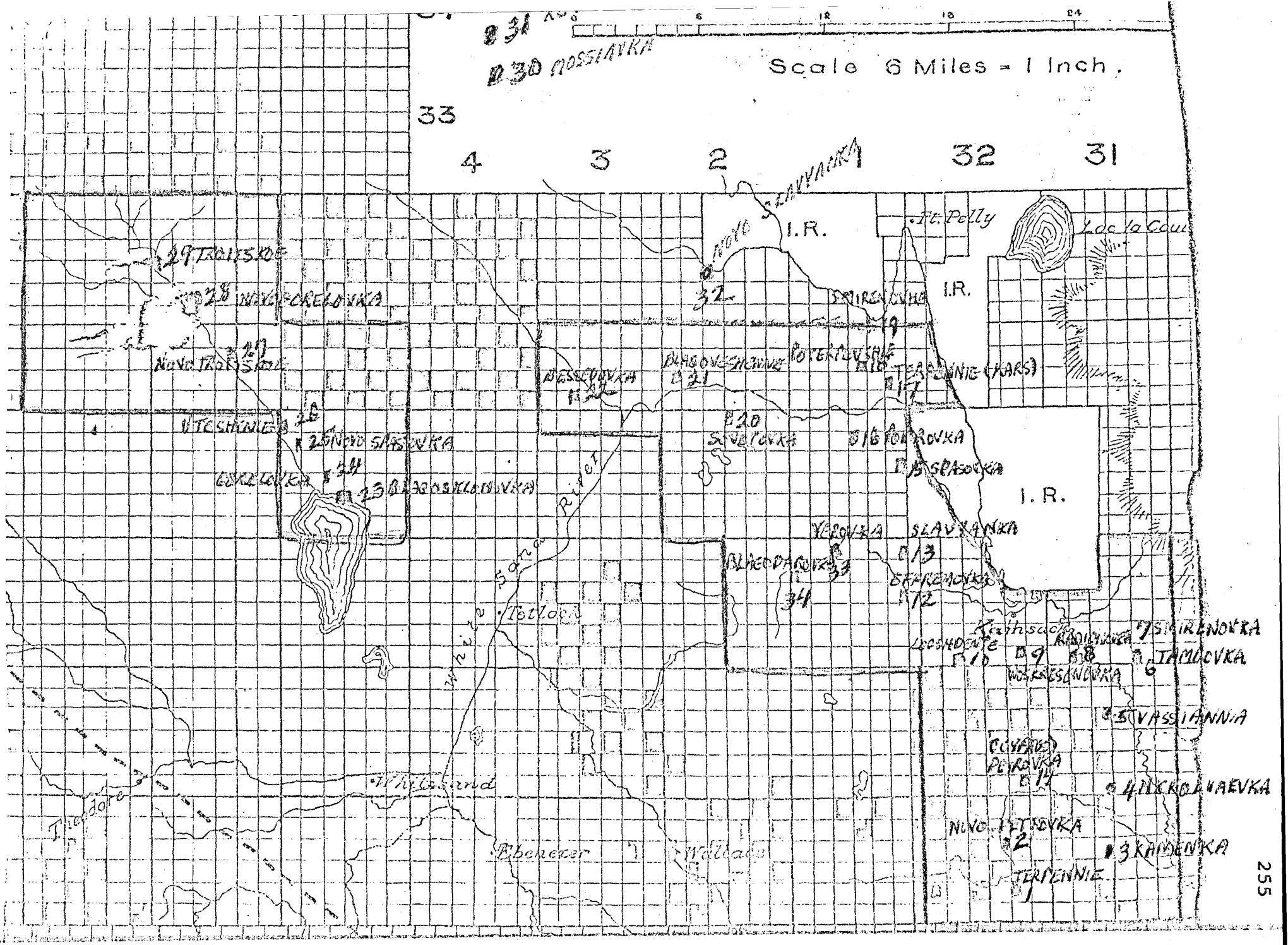
APPENDIX A

Doukhobor Villages in Russia during the late nineteenth century. Map taken from Book "Tanya" written by Eli Popoff, published by Mir Publications, Grand Forks, B.C., 1975.



The Doukhobor Reserve, December, 1898, Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, December, 1898.



APPENDIX C - The Doukhobor Villages of the South Colony, July, 1901. Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, July, 1901.

APPENDIX C

1. Terpenie
2. Novo Petrovka
3. Kamenka
4. Nickoliaevka
5. Vassiannia
6. Tambovka
7. Smirenovka
8. Radionovka
9. Woskresenovka
10. Looshdenie
11. Kamsack - P.O. at one time
12. Effremovka
13. Slavianka
14. Petrovka
15. Spasovka
16. Pokrovka
17. Terpenie (Kars)
18. Poterpevshie
19. Smirenovka (Kars)
20. Sovetovka
21. Blagoveshenne
22. Bessedovka
23. Blagoskionovka
24. Gorelovka
25. Novo Spasovka
26. Uteshenie
27. Novo Troitskoe
28. Novogorelovka
29. Troitskoe - 2 families only in this place
30. Mossiavka - outside the reserves
31. Kerelovka - outside the reserves
32. Novo Slavyanka - outside the reserves
33. Verovka
34. Blagodarovka

The Doukhobor Villages of the South Colony, July, 1901.
Lands Files, vol. 754, file # 494483, December, 1898.

APPENDIX D

SWAN RIVER DISTRICT

	Name of Villages	Quarters of Section	Township		Range
1.	Tichomirnoe	South East Quarter of	28	33 30	W.I.M.
2.	Kamenka	South East "	23	33 30	"
3.	Novotroetzkoe	South East "	14	34 30	"
4.	Vera	North East "	22	34 30	"
5.	Voznesenie	North West "	22	34 30	"
6.	Michaelovo	North West "	36	34 30	"
7.	Bogdanovka	South West "	16	35 30	"
8.	Troetzkoe	South West "	1	36 30	"
9.	Oospenie	South West "	3	36 30	"
10.	Pavlovo	North West "	3	35 31	"
11.	Osvobojdenie	North West "	6	34 31	"
12.	Spasskoe	South East "	13	34 30	"
13.	Pokrovka	South West "	21	34 30	"
14.	Lubomirnoe	South East "	2	34 31	"
15.	Stradaevka	North West "	32	33 31	"

Source: Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 755, List of Doukhobor Villages, October 18, 1904.

APPENDIX D

DEVIL'S LAKE DISTRICT

	Name of Villages	Quarter of Section	Township		Range
1.	Blagosklonnoe	South East Quarter	9	30 5	W.2nd M.
2.	Kalmikovo	South East "	30	30 5	"
3.	Oooteshenie	South West "	31	30 5	"
4.	Troetzkoe	North West "	23	31 6	"
5.	Moesaevo	North East "	21	31 6	"
6.	Kirilovo	North West "	7	32 6	"
7.	Goreloe	North West "	4	32 6	"

APPENDIX D

SOUTH COLONY

	Name of Villages	Quarter of Section	Township		Range
1.	Otradnoe	North East Quarter of	27	31 1	West 2nd M.
2.	Smirenie	South East "	35	31 1	"
3.	Nadejda	North West "	24	31 1	"
4.	Pokrovskoe	North East "	28	30 1	"
5.	Spasenie	North East "	25	30 1	"
6.	Efremovka	North West "	6	29 32	West 1st M.
7.	Voskresenie	North West "	12	29 32	"
8.	Smirenovka T.	South East "	10	29 31	"
9.	Tambovka	South East "	3	29 31	"
10.	Vozciania	South East "	28	28 31	"
11.	Petrovo	South West "	32	28 32	"
12.	Lubovnoe	North East "	13	29 33	"
13.	Blagodarnoe	South West "	30	29 1	West 2nd M.
14.	Terpenie	North West "	36	29 2	"
15.	Rodionovka	South East "	9	30 2	"
16.	Sovetnoe	North West "	14	31 2	"
17.	Besednoe	North East "	17	31 3	"
18.	Goloobovo	North East "	14	31 3	"
19.	Blagovecshenie	South West "	19	31 2	"
20.	Slavnoe	North East "	4	32 2	"
21.	Kapoostino	South East "	36	31 2	"

APPENDIX E

LIST OF VILLAGES IN THE PRINCE ALBERT RESERVE, AUGUST 1899*

Spasovka # 1

Spasovka # 2

Spasovka # 3

Terpennie

Horeloe

Uspennie

Petrovka

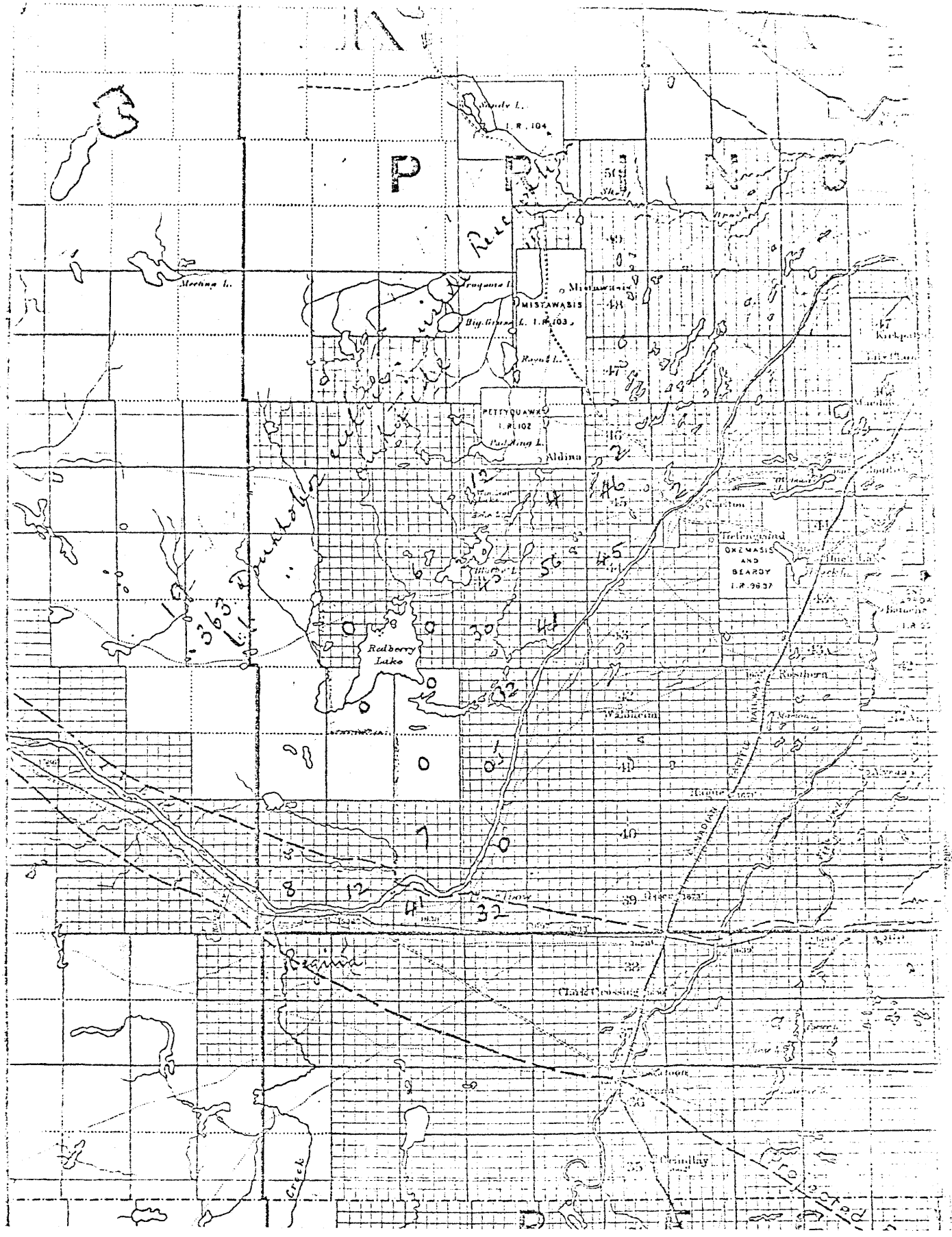
Kirilovka # 1

Kirilovka # 2

Kirilovka # 3

Bonch-Bruevitch, op. cit., p. 189.

* - Their locations were not given.



Doukhobor entries in the Prince Albert Colony, summer 1904. Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 755, summer, 1904.

APPENDIX F

TO THE ELDERS AND PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE

The Government is glad to see that some of the Doukhobors are cultivating their own land, and have become, or are becoming, citizens of Canada and British subjects. But it is very sorry to see that after having been in Canada for seven years, the large majority of the Doukhobors still cultivate their land in common and refuse to become citizens of the country. They have left large areas of land which the Government has permitted them to hold in their names without cultivation and improvement. The law is that a man must cultivate his own land or he cannot hold it. The people who are not Doukhobors now demand that Doukhobors be not longer allowed to hold land without cultivating it and becoming citizens of the country.

The Government of Canada is the majority of the people of Canada, and when the majority of the people say that the Doukhobors must not be allowed to hold land without cultivation any longer, the Government must obey and must cancel the entries on lands that are not properly held, so that they may be properly held by other people. The only Doukhobor entries that are properly held are those held by men who live either on their land or in a village within three miles of it and who cultivate their own land for their own use, and who have either already become, or intend to become, Canadian citizens or British subjects.

If any man who lives in a village cultivates his land more than three miles from the village in which he lives, his entry will be protected for six months to enable him to build and live on the land. If he does not build and live on the land within that time the entry will be cancelled.

While the Government wishes every man to cultivate his own land for his own use and to become a citizen it will not attempt to compel the Doukhobors to do either. It will protect them as it has hitherto done in their religious beliefs, but it cannot longer give them privileges in regard to land which it does not give to other people. If the land upon which the village stands or partly stands is under entry, the entry will be cancelled in whole or in part, so that the Government can protect the Doukhobors in their homes.

The community entries in the vicinity of each village to the amount of fifteen acres to each person in the village, and so distributed as to comprise as much of the community cultivation as possible will be cancelled, and the land held by the Government for the protection of the community Doukhobors during the pleasure of the Government. All other entries in the names of community Doukhobors will be cancelled. The Doukhobors whose entries have been cancelled will be permitted to make re-entry on cancelled land which is open for entry, at any time within three months from receiving this notice and their re-entries will be made on application without payment of an additional fee.

Doukhobors who make entry within three months either with the Commission who will visit your village or at the Land Office must state when making re-entry whether they intend to live on the land or in the village, and must state their intention of becoming British subjects. If the land is within three miles of the village in which they reside they will be able to hold the land by cultivating it for their own use while living in the village. But if it is more than three miles from the village they must live on the land and must begin to live on it within six months of the date of their re-entry. All re-entries will be subject to cancellation for non-compliance with these conditions of the law. If there is any community cultivation on lands re-entered for , it will be reserved from the use of the homesteader for the use of the community during the year 1907, afterwards it will be for the sole use of the homesteader.

Source: Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Circular to the Doukhobor villages, January, 1907.

APPENDIX G

STATEMENT re DISPOSITION OF DOUKHOBOR HOMESTEADS

OTTAWA, August 1, 1907

Following is a memorandum showing how the 2,757 Doukhobor homesteads dealt with by the Doukhobor Commission have been disposed of:-

Set apart as reserves for Doukhobor communities		768
Under entry to independent Doukhobors		384
Thrown open to the general public:-		
Taken to date	1,211	
Still untaken	394	
		1,605
		2,757

Source: Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Reports and Maps Relating to Lands Held Under Homestead Entry by Doukhobors and the Disposition of Same, Statements, August 1, 1907.

APPENDIX G

STATEMENT re DOUKHOBOR HOMESTEADS

OTTAWA, August 1, 1907

The Doukhobor Commission dealt with a total of 2,757 Doukhobor homesteads in the Yorkton, Prince Albert and Regina agencies:-

There were cancelled on the recommendation of the Doukhobor Commission Doukhobor entries totalling	2,503
There were standing vacant Doukhobor homesteads which had previously been cancelled to the number of	79
There were standing reserved as village sites	39
There were entries standing of independent Doukhobors numbering	136
Total in three districts	2,757

Source: Lands Files, # 494483, vol. 756, Reports and Maps Relating to Lands Held Under Homestead Entry by Doukhobors and the Disposition of Same, Statements, August 1, 1907.