

THE DOUKHOBORS
IN CANADA

DEPOSITED BY THE FACULTY OF
GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IXM



IR27.1932



ACC. NO. UNACC. DATE 1932

THE DOUKHOBORS IN CANADA

BY

Ewart P. Reid

Submitted to the Committee
on Graduate Studies, McGill
University, in partial
fulfilment of the Degree of
Master of Arts, April 29th,
1932.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I - Origin of the Sect and Its History in Russia.	1
II - Migration to Canada, 1899.	14
III - First Years in Canada, 1899 - 1902	51
IV - Progress Under Peter Verigin and the Homestead Crisis of 1907	71
V - Migration to British Columbia, 1908-1912	101
VI - Doukhobor Principles and Attitude toward Education and Law Observance	109
VII - Organization of The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood and its Material Progress	145 - 125
VIII - Independence; Sons of Freedom	147
IX - Review of Public Policy Towards the Sect	163
X - Controversies between the Dominion and Provincial Governments concerning the Doukhobors	173
XI - Doukhobors in Politics	185
Conclusion	201
Bibliography	i
Maps	

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE SECT AND ITS HISTORY IN RUSSIA.

During the whole period of their life in Russia the Doukhobors were an illiterate sect, who appeared to scorn to set their carefully preserved beliefs and traditions on paper. It would seem, however, that this practice of preserving their quasi-historical and religious teachings in their memories, and passing them on by word of mouth, was a result of their wish to incur as little as possible the displeasure of the government-supported orthodox church, by providing investigators with little or no documentary evidence upon which to secure a conviction of heresy. At the same time they early acquired skill in answering the questions of investigators, official and unofficial, in such a way as to impart a minimum of information about their real beliefs, though they would technically avoid falsehood. Observers for over a hundred years have commented upon this propensity for dissembling.

Published at Kief in 1832, Orest Novitsky's doctor's thesis¹ made a detailed and apparently fair study of this people, although the author took the point of view of the Russian Orthodox Church on all controversial points. He shows the similarities of their religion to some of the heresies of pre-Reformation times in western Europe, and especially to the Quakers in their belief in the Christ within, and in their non-resistant principles.² It is reasonable to suppose that

1 - "Doukhobortsi ih Istoriya i Verouutchenie". Doukhobors bought this book eagerly, which would seem to testify to its fairness.

2 - Quoted in "A Peculiar People, The Doukhobors" by Aylmer Maude, New York, 1904, p.8.

the beliefs of the Doukhobors did not spring up spontaneously in the eighteenth century, when the history of the sect seems to have been laid. Indeed, since the great schism in the Russian church in 1645, at least ten per cent of the population were dissenters under the general name of Raskolniks.¹ "What distinguished them from other sects," writes Aylmer Maude of the Doukhobors, "was their strong tendency to reject all external authorities. The ultimate authority was....the working of each man's own reason and conscience.... In practice, no doubt, from the very first, men of strong intellect dominated the weaker brethren."²

The name Doukhobor,³ which means spirit-wrestler, was used at least as early as 1785, having been coined by representatives of the orthodox church, who thought of the sect as wrestling against the Holy Spirit. Like other heretics such as Quakers, Methodists, Shakers, etc., the Doukhobors soon put a favourable interpretation on the word -- that they wrestled with and not against the Holy Spirit -- and made it their own.⁴

1 - The Raskol is fully described in "The Russian Peasantry" by Stepniak.

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 107

3 - There are several English spellings of this and most of the other Russian names of people and places forming part of the Doukhobor story. This is the form used at the present time by the people themselves and by the Dominion and provincial governments. "Doukhobor" today, and "Doukhobortsi" (plural) at the time of the migration, are the commonest alternative spellings.

4 - Maude, op. cit., p. 6.

There is a well-founded Doukhobor tradition that a Prussian non-commissioned officer lived amongst a group of their number sometime previous to 1750 in a village of the Government of Kharkof in the Ukraine. He led this community effectively for some years in such a way as to show himself to be a man of high character; but that he was a Quarker is a belief not entertained by Maude¹ and Stepniak, although, as the latter says, the story "made the turn of the world and led to some curious disappointments."² There is record of more than one notable leader during this century, but in no case did their influence extend beyond the limits of their particular colony.

The Doukhobors were a numerous and fully organized sect in 1755 when the imperial police first took cognizance of them. They had adherents in four provinces between the lower Volga and the Black Sea, and because of their success in proselytizing they soon incurred the special displeasure of government authorities. Official persecution was spasmodic in severity, according to the policies of successive Czars, and when it was applied it involved banishment to distant northern parts of the empire. A ukase of 1800 reads: "Everybody who shall be convicted of belonging to the sect of Doukhobortsî shall be condemned to life-long hard labour." ³

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 102.

2 - Stepniak, op. cit., p. 311.

3 - Quoted in "The Doukhobors: Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada", by Joseph Elkinton, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 245.

Alexander I, who became emperor in 1801, immediately demonstrated his liberal views by sending his minister of justice, Senator Lapukhin, to investigate the Doukhobors. The minister found that "no sect has, up to this time, been so cruelly persecuted as the Doukhoborts~~i~~, and this is certainly not because they are the most harmful."¹ Acting upon this report, Alexander instructed his governors to permit and encourage the migration of Doukhobors from various provinces to one colony at a place known as Milky Waters on the Sea of Azof north of the Crimea. Besides his general distrust of persecution as a correction for religious error, Alexander had in mind the effective stopping of proselytizing, when he permitted this segregation.² Immediately large groups of families from various towns to the north were granted permission to move, and the migrations continued, though latterly with much less government aid, until 1824. Many of the colonists received liberal land grants at Milky Waters, some got tax exemption for five years, and some were even aided in making the actual journey. They were not to be convicted as criminals on account of their opinions, and the clergy were ordered to stay away from them.³

This migration was the key event in the early history of the Doukhobors. Previously their common interest had been solely in the realm of theology; from 1801 they became an

1 - Quoted in "The Doukhobors: Their History in Russia, Their Migration to Canada", by Joseph Elkinton, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 243.

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 122.

3 - Elkinton, op. cit., p. 245.

industrial and economic colony, frequently practising full community of goods for extended periods of years under the guidance of a hereditary line of leaders who received almost divine reverence from their followers.¹ Many more Doukhobors always remained scattered throughout Russia and Siberia; but as practically all those in Canada today descend from these Milky Waters colonists,² it is to their subsequent history that historians usually confine their attention.

Savely Kapoustin, who came to Milky Waters in 1805 as the recognized leader of a group of migrants from Tambof, southeast of Moscow, was invited to assume the direction of the whole colony. He very soon acquired complete ascendancy over his people, and he was the first of the family of rulers which, under the name of Kalmikof and Verigin, has directed the sect until today. Kapoustin soon had under his direction a nation within a nation, in which for most of his term of office there was complete community of goods. An institution known as the Orphans' Home was founded, to which appertained all the communal property, and as nominal manager of which Kapoustin and his successors directed the economic life of the settlement, paying all taxes and conducting all negotiations with government officials.³ Their chief occupation was farming, and they had over 13,000 acres under cultivation, or about 50 acres for each man. The work and the division of the product was on a

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 11.

2 - Ibid, p. 127.

3 - Ibid, p. 133.

communistic basis, and several handicraft industries were fostered. The result was progress and prosperity, and by 1833 some 4,000 Doukhobors were established at Milky Waters.¹

In 1819 two Quakers, William Allen of London and Stephen Grellet of Philadelphia, visited Milky Waters and although they were greatly interested in this people whose faith has before and since that time been compared to that of the Quakers, yet it is clear from their journals that they were disappointed in some of the details of the Doukhobor theology.²

In spite of Czar Alexander's policy of toleration, many cases of persecution of Doukhobors by local authorities during this reign are on record. Year by year it became more difficult for would-be migrants to obtain the necessary permission to go to Milky Waters, until in 1824, the year before his death, Alexander sanctioned an order forbidding further movements. The new Czar, Nicholas I, issued in 1826 a ukase providing for army service by all able-bodied Doukhobors, and for Siberian exile for those unqualified. According to Stepniak, the Doukhobor conscripts complied with routine peace-time military discipline, but refused to fight in war-time.³

1 - "The Russian Empire, etc.", by Baron von Haxthausen, 1848, Vol. I, p. 291. This book is based upon an investigation of Russian land tenure made by the author in 1843-44 under the auspices of Czar Nicholas I. The original was in German, "Studien uber die inneren Zustandee, das Volkleben, und insbesondere die landlichen Einrichtungen Russlands," Hanover, 1847-52.

2 - Haxthausen, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 295; Maude, op. cit., pp. 144 ff; Elkinton, op. cit., pp. 253 ff.

3 - Stepniak, op. cit., p. 320.

The prosperity of the colony had been attracting others than Doukhobors, so that, although all efforts at organized proselytizing had ceased at the beginning of the century, still in 1814 Kapoustin was accused of making converts. He was forced to go into hiding for the rest of his life, and the direction of the colony was taken over by the twelve apostles and 30 elders whom he had appointed to assist him. This group gradually made the rules of the community stricter until they had set up a reign of terror, with torture and the death penalty as aids in discipline.¹ From 1834 to 1839 a thorough government investigation of the internal administration of Milky Waters was carried on, and as a result the emperor sanctioned in 1841 an order² for transporting the whole body of Doukhobors to the Caucasian provinces. It was arranged that land in Transcaucasia could be obtained in exchange for that left at Milky Waters; all who would embrace orthodoxy might stay in their homes; they could no longer hire substitutes to serve their term in the army, as they had been allowed to do for some years at Milky Waters; and in general a much stricter control over the internal economy of the sect was to be maintained by the government.

Immediately those most implicated in the maladministration to the number of 800 were transported; in each of the following years, 1842 and 1843, as many more were removed, and the total number of exiles reached 4,000 by 1845. Only a handful

1 - Haxthausen, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 292. Maude (op. cit., p. 146) finds this account of the misdemeanours only slightly exaggerate
2 - Haxthausen, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 293 ff, gives the full text of the order dated at Odessa, January 26, 1841.

at first accepted the offer of becoming orthodox, but Haxthausen says that others returned later from the Caucasus, at least pretending to change their religion rather than face the hardships of an agricultural life in altitudes of 5,000 feet and more.¹ It had been hoped and expected by the government that the proximity of the Doukhobors to war-like hill tribes in the Caucasian mountains would force them to discard their pacifist practices or be exterminated. Apparently they overcame this difficulty successfully, as also that of getting a living from the land in the mountains. They were not at this time strict vegetarians, and they commenced raising more live stock and less grain.

Since the time of Kapoustin the sect had received indifferent leadership from his drunken son and grandson, and the elders who took their place from time to time were not much better. Peter Kalmikof, a great grandson, took charge shortly after the Caucasian exile, and his prosperous administration was marked by apparently willing submission of the members to army service and consequent satisfactory relations with officials, and by renewed communism administered from a new Orphans' Home. Kalmikof died without issue in 1864, and he was succeeded by his wife, Loukeriya Kalmikova, whose leadership of 22 years was equally progressive. The numbers of the sect increased, and spontaneously and with government encouragement -- as after the Turkish war in 1877 -- they spread out into Tiflis, Kars, and Elizavetpol provinces near the Persian border. An apparently

1 - Haxthausen, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 296.

reliable estimate of their numbers in the Caucasus at the end of Kalmikova's reign in 1886 places the total at between 20,000 and 21,000, of whom 12,000 were in Tiflis, and over 8,000 fairly evenly divided between Kars and Elizavetpol.¹

In discussing the population growth of the Caucasian Doukhobor communities, Professor James Mavor says² that not all the immigrants were sincere Doukhobors. Until the peasant emancipation in Russia in 1861, when a peasant was banished from an estate he really became a free man within the Caucasus to which he was sent. Mavor concludes that a certain adulteration of the spiritually exalted tone of the communities took place up till 1861, and that its effects endured.

It was after Kalmikova's death that most of the events happened which led to the situation which made it so imperative, in the minds both of the Doukhobors and of their sympathizers in other parts of Russia and in England, that they should seek to leave their native land in the last years of the nineteenth century. Immediately a serious quarrel arose over the leadership, which carried with it the control of the not inconsiderable community property appertaining to the Orphans' Home. One of the claimants was Michael Goubanof, brother of Kalmikova, and his contention was supported by the better educated of the membership, who no longer entertained seriously the

1 - Estimate by V. D. Bontch-Brouevitch as quoted by Maude, op. cit., p. 150.

2 - "My Windows on the Street of the World", London and Toronto, 1923, Vol. II, pp. 15-16.

belief in the hereditary divine or inspired leadership. On the other side was Peter Verigin, "a young Doukhobor, literate, unprincipled, and unusually handsome",¹ who had been connected with Kalmikova's household for five years, and had apparently been designated by her as her successor. He was related to Kalmikova through his mother, but a story that he was the miraculous offspring of Peter Kalmikof gained sufficient credence amongst the Caucasian Doukhobors for him to command the following of at least 12,000 of them under the name of the Large Party. This was in spite of the fact that the civil Russian law court awarded the custody of the Orphans' Home to his rival, who henceforth led the Small Party, administering the property on a communal basis very much as before.² For the first time in fifty years a controversy within the Doukhobor community had been allowed to be settled by an external authority.

In 1886 Verigin had been acclaimed by the Large Party. In the following year universal compulsory military service was introduced in the Caucasus as part of the program of Russian imperial consolidation.

For some years, apparently, most Doukhobors submitted to conscription at least to the extent of allowing themselves to be enrolled, although they avoided as much as possible actual violence. Yet before the end of 1887 the trial had alienated the property from Verigin, and he had been banished to Kola

1 - "Confidential Report from the Governor of Tiflis", Prince Shervashidze, dated October 7, 1895, quoted in Maude, op. cit., p. 151.

2 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 151-156.

in Archangel. Whether, as Maude says,¹ the banishment was consequent upon the lawsuit over the property, or, as Mavor explains,² it was the penalty for the refusal of Verigin, several of his brothers, and other young men to submit to conscription, is not clear; but in any case it was a result merely of administrative order and not of formal conviction after a legal trial.³

In spite of his brief and unsettled period of leadership amongst his people in the Caucasus, Verigin's influence, exerted by messenger and letter, was complete for the fifteen years of his exile.⁴ No major decision in communal, civil, or military conduct was made except at his behest. Extensive reading of Leo Tolstoy's works helped him to arrive at the philosophy of life which he passed on to his people.⁵

His followers had expected that he would be released at the end of five years, and when in 1893 he was removed from Kola to Obdorsk in the far north of Siberia with ten years added to his sentence, their disappointment was keen. As he passed

1 - Maude, op. cit. p. 156.

2 - Mavor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 18.

3 - This was explained by Verigin himself as reported in an interview in the Manitoba Free Press, December 23, 1902. at the time of his first arrival in Winnipeg from Russia. Elkinton, Mavor and Maude, op. cit., all substantiate him.

4 - A representative collection of his letters written in Archangel and Siberia were published in Russian at the Free Age Press, Christchurch, England, 1901, under the editorship of Vladimir Tchertkoff.

5 - Mavor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 21; Maude, op. cit., pp. 157 ff.

through Moscow he met some Doukhobors from Tiflis, to whom he entrusted a message to the Large Party, advising pacifism, communism, vegetarianism, and sexual abstinence, the latter at least during the time of their tribulation. All these behests except the last were essentially renewals of practices which had been prevalent amongst the Doukhobors earlier in their history but had been allowed to lapse somewhat during their prosperity in Transcaucasia. Nevertheless this letter precipitated a further split in the Large Party, those who repudiated Verigin's authority being known as the Butchers' Party, and comprising something less than half the number. The puritans, known as the Fasting Party, continued their opposition to conscription, organizing secretly in 1895 to carry out instructions in one of Verigin's letters by burning their arms simultaneously in three localities. The bonfires were successfully arranged on June 28, old style, which was St. Peter's Day, the name day of the leader. In Elizavetpol the incident brought no official reprisal. In Kars many arrests were made. But in Ahalkalaki, a town of Tiflis province, some hundreds of soldiers and Cossacks attempted unsuccessfully to enforce obedience. The Doukhobors' independent attitude in general, and their manifestation of disrespect for the governor of Tiflis at this time in particular, led to severe and decisive action. Dozens of young men of army age were banished to the Siberian mines, and within six weeks 4,000 people were removed from their homes in Tiflis and scattered amongst Georgian tribes, not more than two or three families to a village. Suddenly deprived of their means

of livelihood, sickness became prevalent among them, and that so few died is explained only by the assistance which Kars and Elizavetpol Doukhobors were able to give them in spite of the official policy which provided that they were to be isolated.¹

In the winter of 1894-95 Tolstoy first learned of the Doukhobors, when he met in Moscow three of them who had conversed with Verigin when he was on his way to Siberia. They had memorized the salient points of their leader's philosophy, which in turn corresponded to a large extent to the teachings of Tolstoy upon which it had been largely based. Tolstoy was very favourably impressed. The following summer after the incidents in Tiflis in July, he sent Paul Birukoff to visit the Doukhobors in the Caucasus. It was the latter's report published in the London Times on October 23, 1895, in connection with an explanatory letter from Tolstoy that first directed the attention of benevolent Englishmen and Russians to this obscure and never very numerous sect of primitive Christians in the mountains of southern Russia.

1 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 163-174. He modifies slightly the account of V. Tchertkoff in "Christian Martyrdom in Russia", 1897, one of the chief books in the effective Tolstoyan propaganda on behalf of the migration to Canada.

CHAPTER II.

MIGRATION TO CANADA, 1899.

During the three years between the publication of Tolstoy's letter to The Times and the first actual emigration of Doukhobors from the Caucasus to Cyprus and Canada in the fall of 1898, Tolstoyans with Vladimir Tchertkoff as their chief publicist had constantly worked to effect the removal of the members of the sect away from the sphere of Russian army service. To this end they tried to approach the Russian government to obtain for the people exemption from conscription or permission to emigrate. They issued general appeals for funds to aid a migration. And Tolstoy himself communicated with responsible people in England, the United States, and Canada to learn what suitable country would admit the party.

Tchertkoff was the chief of Tolstoy's followers in Russia at this time. With two friends he went to St. Petersburg with the intention of petitioning the Czar on behalf of the Doukhobors. Publicity, either within or without the country, as to its difficulties in enforcing conscription among non-resistant sectaries in outlying portions of the empire, was not welcomed by the Russian government. An official investigation of the Doukhobors had been made following upon the Tiflis incidents of the previous summer, with hope that the Doukhobors would recognize the impracticability of pacifism at that time. But the elders who spoke for the Large Party refused to compromise,

and the government had decided to take a like stand. Thus Tchertkoff could not even get a hearing at the capital. The books and papers of the party were seized and the men banished from Russia.¹

Tchertkoff went to live at Purleigh, Essex, England, where a group of Tolstoyans had a colony, and from there he published in 1897 "Christian Martyrdom in Russia",² which described in detail the current condition of the Caucasus Doukhobors and their recent history. Tolstoy contributed a chapter to this volume entitled "Appeal to Reason", in which he recognized in the Doukhobors a demonstration that true Christianity was possible in the modern world. He claimed that the passive resistance of the Doukhobors was the really significant event in the world at the time, and that it presaged an inevitable growth of anti-war sentiment. The book was soon recognized as an ex parte statement, but it was successful in enlarging and consolidating sentiment and tangible support for the relief of the Doukhobors.

In particular, London Quakers took an active interest in the people, with whose pacifist views they agreed. Captain Arthur St. John went in 1897 on their behalf to the Caucasus, bearing a considerable sum of money for Doukhobor relief and letters from friends and from Tchertkoff and the Tolstoyans of Purleigh. He found those who had been recently expelled from their Tiflis homes in a precarious state of health and economic

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 35.

2 - Published by the Brotherhood Publishing Company, London.

welfare. He reported that it was likely they would soon die out as a result of fever and privation in spite of all aid, if left in their present condition. He had been only a short time amongst them when he was arrested and forced to leave Russia.¹

Meanwhile Peter Verigin had sent the following petition to the Czarina:

"May God Almighty preserve thy soul in this life as well as in the future age, sister Alexandra. I am a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, dwelling in the testimony and glad tidings of His Truth. Have been in exile since 1886, and hail from the Trans-Caucasian Doukhobor settlement. The word "Doukhobor" should be understood in this sense, that we profess God in the spirit and with our soul. (See the Gospel; the meeting of Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well). I beseech thee, sister in Christ Alexandra, pray thy husband Nicholas to spare the Christians in the Caucasus from persecutions. It is to thee I appeal, because I think thy heart is more turned toward God. And in those places women and children are now suffering the hardest.... Thou art probably acquainted with the teaching of Vegetarianism. We are followers of these humanitarian views. Lately we gave up using flesh as food, to drink wine and have forsaken much of that which is conducive to loose living and befogs the radiance of human soul. And since we do not kill animals, we in no case regard it as possible to deprive men of life. If we were to deliberately kill an ordinary man, be he a robber even, we would feel like resolving to assassinate Christ.

"And therein lies the chief cause of the trouble. The State requires our brethren to be trained in the use of firearms, in order to become proficient in manslaughter. Christians will not consent to this. They are put into prisons, beaten and starved; while their sisters and mothers are savagely outraged, frequently with profane raillery: "And where is your God, why does he not help you?" (Our Lord is in Heaven and on earth, and fulfils His will. See Psalms of David 113 and 114).

"And this is all the more painful because it is all perpetrated in a Christian country. Our community in the Caucasus consists of about twenty thousand souls. Can it be possible that such a handful of people could injure the organism of the State, if soldiers were not recruited from among them?.....

1 - "The Message of the Doukhobors", compiled by Alexander M. Evalenko, New York, 1913, pp. 115-121.

The best way of dealing with us would be to let us settle in some little corner of the country, where we might dwell in peace, engaged in pursuit of our toil. We will discharge all the State obligations in the form of taxes, only we cannot serve as soldiers. Should the Government deem it impossible to consent to this, then let them give us the freedom to migrate into one of the foreign countries. We would willingly go to England, or the most convenient resort for us would be America, where we have a multitude of brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ. From the fulness of my heart I pray the Lord for the welfare of thy family -- Christ's servant Peter (living in exile in the Government of Tobolsk.)"¹

In the autumn of 1897 the Dowager Empress Maria visited her son in the Caucasus, and the Doukhobors made this the opportunity for submitting to her a petition similar to that which their exiled leader had sent to her daughter-in-law. These appeals to two women having the Czar's confidence succeeded in their object, so that the Caucasus Doukhobors were able to wire their English friends in March 1898: "Permission has been given for our emigration at our own expense. We ask for help and guidance."² This message followed upon an official notification of February 21, 1898, which set forth the conditions of emigration as follows:-

"The fasting Doukhobortsi -- with the exception, of course, of those who have reached the age at which they can be summoned to the army for military service, and of those who have failed to fulfil those duties -- may emigrate under these conditions:- (a) That they provide themselves with a foreign passport, in accordance with the established order; (b) that they leave the frontiers of Russia at their own expense; and (c) that before leaving they sign an agreement never to return within the borders of the empire, understanding that in the case of non-compliance with this order the offender shall be condemned to exile in remote places." ³

-
- 1 - Quoted in full in Elkinton, op. cit., pp. 166-169; "History of Saskatchewan and the Old Northwest", by N. F. Black, Saskatoon, 1912, pp. 210-211; Evalenko, op. cit., pp. 23-25.
 - 2 - Quoted in Evalenko, op. cit., pp. 176-177.
 - 3 - "The Emigration of the Doukhobortsi", pamphlet by Leo Tolstoy, April 1, 1898.

With their lack of effective leadership, of knowledge of foreign languages, and of money resources, the Doukhobors would have been unable to profit from this dispensation if the Tolstoyans and Quakers in England had not responded readily and effectively to the appeal. Tolstoy himself wrote a general solicitation dated at Moscow, April 1, 1898, in which he said: "I now address myself once more to all sympathizers, asking for their assistance, (1) in the form of money, of which much will be needed for the removal of ten thousand people to a distant place; and (2) in the form of advice and guidance in the difficulties of the coming emigration of people who do not understand any foreign language, and have never been out of Russia before." He indicated further that money should be sent to Tchertkoff, his official representative in England, as activities of this sort in Russia were illegal.¹

On May 23rd the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends passed a resolution approving money aid for the Doukhobors.² Tchertkoff sponsored a third general appeal. All these parties were aware of the Doukhobors' anxiety to leave as soon as possible, as they feared that a request for a renewal of permission to emigrate might be denied. More than one observer of the migration has remarked that the resultant haste in conducting the negotiations with the Canadian government, and the absence of complete knowledge and responsibility from

1 - "The Emigration of the Doukhobortsy", pamphlet by Leo Tolstoy, April 1, 1898.

2 - Elkinton, op. cit., pp. 178-179.

every agent of both sides, allowed the conditions to develop which gave rise to controversy as to rights and obligations, a controversy which Doukhobors and Canadian governments have ever since carried on.¹

The Doukhobors' chief wish was to get out of Russia. Their preference for a new home was America, but limited funds had led English Quakers to investigate the conditions of a move to Cyprus, and the Doukhobors were willing to go there. From the Purleigh colony in July 1898 Prince D. A. Hilkoﬀ, Ivan Ivin, and Peter Mahortoff went to Cyprus to report on its suitability for Doukhobor settlement. Hilkoﬀ was a Russian who had lived some years among Doukhobors in the Caucasus previous to his recent banishment from Russia. Ivin and Mahortoff were two Doukhobors who with their families were the only members of the sect Tchertkoff and most of the other Tolstoyans at Purleigh had ever seen. Considerations of climate alone led these investigators to declare against the island.²

But St. John for the Quakers queried the Cyprus government, hoping to find a sanctuary at least for those banished from Tiflis in 1895. He learned that it would be necessary to post a guarantee of £15 per head to insure that the settlers would not become a charge on the government or the community. Although this sum was greater than they had anticipated, the Quakers were forced to act when they received word from the Caucasus that 1,100 Doukhobors were moving to Batoum to embark.

1 - Thus Mavor, op. cit., V. II, p. 2; Maude, op. cit., pp. 49-50

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 46.

The chartering of the steamer for this journey was financed from the fund of \$23,000. which the Doukhobors had been accumulating for the very purpose since 1895. London Quakers in three days augmented their fund of £5,000. by pledges of £11,500 additional, to make a total just sufficient for the guarantee. However, they induced the Colonial Office to waive the actual payment of the money on the assurance that the colonists would be supported for two years.

Thus St. John was able to receive the 1,126 survivors of the scattered Tiflis group at Cyprus on August 26th, and supervise them in their temporary settlement. His efforts were supplemented three days later by the arrival of Paul Birukoff, whose report of the Tiflis persecutions Tolstoy had sponsored in The Times in October 1895, and Wilson Sturge, an English Quaker. That Cyprus was regarded from the first as merely a temporary sanctuary is evident. And the immigrants and their sponsors realized clearly that this would have to be so when they tried to meet the conditions there. The climate was the chief difficulty. The people had lived for years in mountains, and they soon became susceptible to fever in the semi-tropical island. Their letters and those of the Quakers who were with them to English and Russian benefactors emphasize their wish to go on to America from Cyprus, although they recognize that succor for those still in the Caucasus should come first.¹

Meanwhile on September 1st a party of twelve from

1 - Evalenko, op. cit., pp. 122-129.

Purleigh sailed for Canada to arrange for the migration thence of the remaining 6,000 Doukhobors of the Large Party. Prince Hilkoﬀ, and Ivin, Mahortoff, and their families made up eleven of this group. The twelfth was Aylmer Maude, a well-to-do English gentleman and disciple of Tolstoy, who had lived in Russia, knew the language, and who had joined the Purleigh colony a few months previously. Maude wrote "A Peculiar People, The Doukhobors", in 1904, and it is now the standard work on Doukhobor history up to and including the arrival of some 7,400 of the sect in the Northwest Territories in the winter and spring of 1899.

The object of this advance expedition of September 1898 was firstly to determine the suitability of the Canadian Northwest as a new home for the Doukhobors; and secondly and chiefly -- for those interested in the Doukhobors had already acquired some knowledge of Canada -- to negotiate with the Canadian government and the Canadian Pacific Railway and learn upon what conditions such a settlement could be effected.¹

As credentials Maude carried a letter² from Tchertkoff, explaining to whom it might concern that the bearer was the sole representative in America of Leo Tolstoy and himself; it referred also to the two Doukhobors and their families, but not to Hilkoﬀ, with whom Tchertkoff had recently quarreled. Yet Hilkoﬀ's knowledge of the Doukhobors was greater than that of anyone else not of their number, and he was also competent to choose good farming land intelligently. Mavor, Maude, Elkinton, and all who

1 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

2 - Quoted *ibid*, pp. 56-57.

worked with him have written of their admiration for his ability. Maude had also letters to business men in Montreal from a Russian company, and a recommendation from Lord Strathcona, Canadian High Commissioner in London. He expresses surprise¹ that though he had no commission from actual Doukhobors, yet he everywhere encountered courtesy, efficiency, and active interest on the part of government, railway, newspaper, and other representatives in Canada.

The facts are that the Doukhobors were not unknown in Canada, and that the government and the railways were eager to get sturdy settlers of any race who understood farming. The Sifton Policy² for the development of the Northwest -- then coming to be known as Western Canada -- had been less than two years in operation in mid-September 1898 when Maude treated with the Ottawa officials. Immigration at that time was administered by the Department of the Interior, of which the minister was Clifford Sifton, M.P. for Brandon, Manitoba. He had entered Laurier's new cabinet late in 1896 at the age of 35 years, and he immediately made his chief task the development of the West, which he knew intimately and in which he had unbounded faith. To this end he instituted a new and vigorous policy of propaganda

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 56.

2 - The Sifton Policy has been frequently described. See "Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times", by John W. Dafoe, Toronto, 1931; "The Settlement of Saskatchewan to 1914", by Edmund H. Oliver, F.R.S.C., in Proceedings and Transactions of Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, Vol. XX, May 1926, sec. II, pp. 63-87; and numerous other sources.

for immigrants. Agencies for the dissemination of information in the form of literature, lectures, and personal contacts, as well as for the supervision of migration were reorganized and set up anew in Great Britain, the United States, and several countries of Northwestern Europe. In one year alone 2,703,646 pamphlets in half a dozen or more languages were distributed. Besides the new provisions for attracting immigrants, facilities for caring for them after their arrival were provided. Immigration halls at dozens of towns on the Prairies -- to which most of the new stream of settlers went -- were built or rented and placed in the charge of agents.

The tangible results of the Sifton policy as indicated by growing yearly total of immigrants did not reach their greatest until the last half dozen years previous to the Great War. But that the minister soon turned the ebb tide in the totals, which had featured the first six years of the 1890's, is shown by the following figures:-

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1890-1906.¹

1890	75,067	1898	31,900
1891	82,165	1899	44,543
1892	30,996	1900	23,895
1893	29,633	(6 mos.)	
1894	20,829	1901	49,149
1895	18,790	1902	67,379
1896	16,835	1903	128,364
1897	21,716	1904	130,331
		1905	146,266
		1906	189,064

1 - Part of Table I, Report of Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1930-31, p.6.

The lure which brought these immigrants was free land. The Homestead Law embodied in the Dominion Lands Act had been first enacted in 1872. It provided for the disposal of the Crown Lands of the Federal Government in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, and part of British Columbia free to settlers who would fulfil certain conditions which were calculated to ensure that the land would be farmed by the recipient. As the Act read in 1898 when the arrangements for the Doukhobor migration were made, the sole head of a family and males of 18 years and over could obtain patent for a quarter section or 160 acres by filing an entry for such a homestead with the local Dominion Lands Agent in a district which had been declared open for homesteading, paying at the same time an office fee of \$10, and by performing during the next three years the requisite duties as to residence, improvements, and cultivation. Residence duties required the person who held entry to live on his homestead for at least six months in each of the three years of the period for "proving up". The building of a house and out-buildings to a minimum value during the first six months fulfilled the improvements duties. A schedule of breaking and cropping for each of the three years had to be met. At the end of three years, patent could be obtained by proving to the satisfaction of the local Dominion Lands Agent that the duties had been performed. "But," said the Act,¹ "the patent therefor shall not issue to any person who is not a subject of His Majesty by birth

1 - R.S.C. 1906, chap. 55, sec. 123.

or naturalization." The domicile requirements for aliens in qualifying to take the oath of allegiance was then three years, so that immigrants could enter for a homestead immediately upon arriving in the country and get their patent without delay at the end of three years.

The intention of the Homestead Law was to secure the settlement of the fertile Crown Lands of the West by individual farmers, each of whom entered for, "proved up" on, and obtained patent for a particular quarter-section. This arrangement was suitable enough for settlers from eastern Canada, the United States, and some European countries. But even before the Sifton administration of the Department of the Interior, immigrants from Russia and other countries of eastern Europe had been admitted who, although of farming stock for many generations, were nevertheless accustomed to live in villages and farm the surrounding lands on a basis of greater or less co-operation or communism. To accommodate especially the settlement habits of the Mennonite Germans from Russia, several thousand of whom arrived in Canada in the decade following 1873, the so-called Hamlet Clause had been inserted in the Dominion Lands Act. It provided that

"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 cultivation of each separate quarter-section entered as a homestead."¹

1 - R.S.C. 1906, chap. 55, sec. 121.

The Hamlet Clause might be supposed to have been sufficient in reconciling the communism of the Doukhobors and the individualist basis of the Canadian Homestead Law. They could live in villages and work the land in common, though with the necessity of spreading the breaking so that there would be the requisite acreage on each quarter. They would have to go through the formality of entering for the land in severalty, or one man's name opposite each quarter-section, but having obtained patent, the nominal owners could convey the title to the community if they so desired.

But in May 1898 the Act had been amended by an extension of the Hamlet Clause, which allowed co-operative farming associations to have tracts of land reserved for exclusive homestead entry by their members.¹ It was still necessary for each member to enter for a quarter-section, but cultivation and improvements could be carried out in bulk in the vicinity of the hamlet. Patent was granted in the usual way after three years to such members as had resided in the hamlet during the time, if the value of their residence and other buildings in the hamlet was as great as that required of any homesteaders, and if the total value of the cultivation and improvements was equal to at least \$150. per member.

This clause was framed and made law nearly two months before the first negotiation with the Dominion Government by anyone on behalf of the Doukhobors. When the bill was in committee in the House of Commons Mr. Sifton, who sponsored it,

1 - 61 Victoria, chap. 3, sec. 3.

was asked if it was to meet the case of Galicians. He replied: "No, they are Canadian farmers. It is not intended specially to apply to new settlers but of course it may do so."¹ That it proved very helpful in meeting the conditions desired for the Doukhobors by their representatives is evident. Even the provision which allowed reserves to be set apart by the minister without express cabinet sanction, which was new, was important in arranging the Doukhobor settlement. However it was probably this same provision which allowed the issue between the Doukhobors and the Government over homestead entry and perfection of duties to drag out over a period of eight or nine years instead of coming to a crisis within three years of their arrival in the West.

Thus it may be seen that Aylmer Maude's cordial reception at Ottawa and elsewhere in September 1898 is partly explained by the general policy of the Government, which public opinion approved, of promoting immigration; that scope was given to this policy by the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act offering the fertile lands of the West free or for merely a nominal sum on conditions which most settler and immigrants could fairly readily fulfil; and that official propaganda making these facts known in countries of possible source of immigrants in northwestern Europe and the United States was being carried on by the immigration branch of the Department of the Interior.

Working in close co-operation with Government immigration officials were the transportation companies, both

1 - Hansard, May 23, 1898, p. 5937.

trans-Atlantic steamship lines and the Canadian railways. The steamship companies or their booking agents had for some years received from the Canadian Government a bonus of £1 per head for every adult from certain selected countries and districts of Great Britain and the continent of Europe, whom they induced to emigrate to Canada. The payment of the bonus on account of Galicians had been dispensed with early in 1898 in the face of a certain hostility to such immigrants on the part of Canadians in the West. But, as will presently be explained, the payment of this bonus in the case of the Doukhobors with significant variation really made their removal from Russia to Canada possible.

The Canadian Pacific Railway, which had a monopoly on all the business between eastern and western Canada, was nevertheless ready to make concessions to Maude. On the prairies at that time, especially beyond Manitoba, railway lines were sparse, and all were operated by the Canadian Pacific. In addition to the main line from Winnipeg through Regina and Calgary to the mountains, there were branches from Portage la Prairie to Yorkton, from Regina north through Saskatoon to Prince Albert, the Soo Line from Moose Jaw southeast to Dakota, from Calgary north to Edmonton and south to Macleod, from Medicine Hat west to Lethbridge, and from the latter town south to Montana. The main line was already nearly fifteen years old, and the company was now fully aware of the relation between the building up by immigration of the population of the country and the future prosperity of the road. The Canadian

Pacific was receptive, therefore, to requests for reduced passages from ocean ports to the Prairies. At the same time the company still held most of its original 25,000,000-acre land grant in alternative sections in the Fertile Belt. Aylmer Maude secured concessions in this connection also.

Maude arrived at Quebec on September 9th, and on the way to the West he had satisfactory interviews with Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, general manager, and other railway officials in Montreal, and with James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior in Ottawa. As early as July 26th the department had been questioned about the feasibility of receiving as many as 9,000 Doukhobors in Canada. On that date James Mavor, professor of political economy at the University of Toronto, wrote to Hon. Clifford Sifton broaching the subject. He explained that the Doukhobors were not destitute, as they had accumulated an emigration fund of \$29,000, and were getting considerable help from the London Society of Friends. He asked Mr. Sifton to go into the matter.¹ At the same time Mavor wrote in a similar vein to Hon. William Mulock, Postmaster General, who was then in England.²

Professor Mavor had been led to take this unofficial position as chief sponsor in Canada for the Doukhobors by a letter dated July 10, 1928, which he had received from Prince Kropotkin from England. By this his attention had been drawn to

1 - Mavor to Sifton, "Catalogue of correspondence regarding the immigration of the Doukhobors into Canada", Canadian Public Archives, Vol. PF 183.

2 - Mavor to Mulock, *ibid.*

Tolstoy's article, "The Persecution of Christians in Russia", in The Contemporary Review of November 1895. The letter asked Mavor to interest himself in the Doukhobors, and mentioned that in order to take advantage of the permission to leave Russia, which they had recently obtained, assistance was necessary. Prince Kropotkin mentioned the failure of the Cyprus colony, and having visited the Canadian Northwest in 1897, he thought conditions there might be more favourable for these people whose reputation in Russia as farmers was excellent.¹

Having read account of the Doukhobors and other Russian heretical sects, who were subject to fanaticism, Mavor queried Tolstoy in a letter dated July 26th.² The Count replied from Moscow under date of August 20th:

"1. The Doukhobortsia are the best farmers in Russia.

"2. They would use land and seeds given to them in the best way.

"3. They live the most chaste family life.

"4. They would adapt themselves to any climate.

"5. They would send their children to the common school if the children were not obliged to receive religious teaching."³

While this answer was pending, Mavor continued to press the matter at Ottawa. On September 8th, the day before Maude landed at Quebec, he wrote to Smart, saying:

1 - Kropotkin to Mavor, "Catalogue of correspondence regarding the immigration of the Doukhobors into Canada", Canadian Public Archives, Vol. PF 183.

2 - Mavor to Tolstoy, *ibid.*

3 - Tolstoy to Mavor, *ibid.* Quoted in Department of the Interior annual report, 1898, pp. x-xi.

"What the people want are briefly:-

"1. Land in a block or reserve similar to the Mennonite Reserve.

"2. Some reasonable aid in establishing themselves in the country.

"3. Some concession to their prejudices as regards education. They wish their children educated; but wish to be consulted as to the mode. Some arrangement like that with the Mennonites might be made in the first instance. I do not think this will turn out to be a practical difficulty.

"4. Assurance that they will not be called upon to render military service. In fact generally an arrangement similar to that entered into with the Mennonites. Those who know the Doukhobortsy say that they are in many ways superior to the Mennonites. They are not so obstinately non-adaptive. On the contrary they readily adapt themselves to new conditions. Although they do not at present know English a Russian friend assures me that in ten years their language will be English..."¹

Professor Mavor explains in his memoirs² that he gave up his desire to visit these people in the Caucasus before representing their case to the Canadian Government, because it was clear that the permission to leave Russia which the Doukhobors had obtained in February 1898 was of a temporary nature. Accordingly he approached the proper officials as has been outlined. But when the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Interior Department came forward with offers of free transportation and expenses to Maude, Hilkoﬀ, and their party for the purpose of inducing them to go to the West to select lands under proper guidance, the question of the admission of the Doukhobors was still under advisement.³

1 - Mavor to Smart, Can. Pub. Arch., Vol. PF 183.

2 - "My windows, etc.", Vol. II, p. 2.

3 - Annual Report of Dept. of the Int., 1898, p. ix.

There were still a few large fertile areas of unoccupied land in the West fairly accessible to existing railway lines. However it was realized that the migration to the Prairies of Eastern Canadians, Americans, and Northern Europeans was a growing movement. With this in mind Mavor recommended that the Doukhobors be placed "as near as possible to the northern limits of practical settlement."¹ In this way he felt that the Doukhobors could be as compact as they would wish for their community life, and from the larger point of view, the intervening area between present settlement and the Doukhobor outposts would become more attractive. Although this policy was eventually adopted by the Department, the ultimate decision as to the location of the Doukhobor reserves was not made until late in October.

In the meantime Hilkoﬀ and Maude had selected twelve townships in the vicinity of Wetaskiwin on the Calgary and Edmonton branch, and supposing -- as it turned out erroneously -- that this location would be acceptable to the Government, Maude returned to Ottawa to complete the other details of the agreement for the migration. According to Maude, political pressure caused the Government to throw out the first choice, which had been made before the end of September.² Department correspondence would seem to indicate that the fact that much of the Wetaskiwin selection was unsurveyed was a consideration; but

1 - Mavor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 4.
2 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 51-53.

on the other hand some of the country in the selections finally approved was only partially surveyed. Throughout October Hilkoﬀ and the two Doukhobor families continued their search, visiting amongst other sections the country beyond the Pipestone branch in southeast Assiniboia. Before the end of the month the delegates had looked over the country north of Yorkton in Assiniboia, and that west of Rosthern in Saskatchewan, and their choices here were acceptable to both parties.

The original Doukhobor Reserve consisted of some 45 townships or nearly three-quarters of a million acres. So large an area could not be obtained in one block, so three reserves of unequal size were designated. The largest of these comprised 25 townships and parts of townships, and lay in the northeast corner of Assiniboia on either side of the as-yet-unbuilt main line of the Canadian Northern Railway. Yorkton, the nearest railway point, was 25 miles to the southwest. This Yorkton Colony was also known as the South Colony, in contradistinction to the North, Thunder Hill, or Swan River Colony, less than ten miles northeast of the large block, and comprising eight townships lying along what is now the boundary of Manitoba. The northern half of this block extended into Saskatchewan Territory. The third block of 20 townships lay 200 miles to the northwest in Saskatchewan. It was located mostly on the left bank of the North Saskatchewan River fifteen miles northwest of Saskatoon. It was known variously as the Saskatchewan, Prince Albert, and Rosthern Colony. The latter town, midway between Saskatoon and Prince Albert, was the

nearest railway point.¹

After returning from the West in early October Maude arranged with Sir William Van Horne for the Canadian Pacific Railway to exchange with the Government the alternate sections which it held in the Assiniboia or eastern Doukhobor reserve for equivalent acreage elsewhere.² It had been recognized that to give the Doukhobors the right of homesteading merely alternate sections touching only at the corners would defeat their wish to cultivate and live on a communal basis in colonies of about 150 families. Maude had broached the subject to Canadian Pacific executives when he first arrived in Canada, and had then obtained general consent. The Department of the Interior, for the Government, having soon adopted an enthusiastic attitude toward the whole Doukhobor migration, was of course equally ready to make such an exchange.

The result was that all but seven of the 25 townships in the Yorkton block were entirely reserved, odd- and even-numbered sections, except Hudson's Bay Company and school endowment lands, a total of three and three-quarters or four sections in each township. In the same way both odd- and even-numbered sections were available in the Thunder Hill Reserve. In the Rosthern block only even-numbered sections were available for Doukhobors. Sections 8 and 26 were still held by the Hudson's Bay Company, so that the Doukhobors had sole right of homestead

1 - Vide appended maps for position of these reserves.

2 - Maude to Smart, Oct. 8, 1898.

entry on 16 sections in each of the twelve townships in the reserve, or on approximately 45 per cent of the land. On the other hand, in the eastern reserves they had access to over 65 per cent of the land.

Maude had hoped at one stage that the willingness of the railway, in making land exchanges might furnish a good example to the Hudson's Bay Company so that it might do likewise.¹ The matter was not apparently pressed, and as it subsequently developed, the fact that 20 per cent of the land within the reserve boundaries was already alienated and not open to the Doukhobors was of very minor consequence.

The significance of the reserves was merely that during the time of their existence the Doukhobors had exclusive right of entering for homesteads in their confines. They were at first given no illegal or extra-legal privileges with regard to the land, with the possible exception of the right to defer the payment of the \$10. entry fee for three years.² In 1898, however, the limits of the prerogative of the Minister of the Interior -- in practice on the discretion of the permanent officers of the Department -- were very wide. The original Doukhor reserves were designated informally as part of departmental routine, and all adjustments in the reserves until 1906 were made without recourse to order in council. Thus maps and descriptions of the original reserve seem to indicate that nearly three-quarters of a million acres were included. Some 7,400 Doukhobors came to Canada in 1899, so that there was nearly 100 acres per head available and very much more for each head

1 - Maude to Smart, Oct. 8, 1898.

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 48.

of a family. At no time did the Doukhobors occupy more than half this area, and as will be shown, adjustments and reductions in the reserves, also matters of internal departmental routine, began shortly after the original designation.

On October 5th Smart submitted to Maude the first draft of the conditions upon which the Government would admit the Doukhobors, and at the same time cabled the British consul at Batoum sanctioning the immigration of 2,200 Doukhobors. Yet there was no direct interchange of correspondence between Maude or any of his party and Doukhobors in the Caucasus while the preliminary negotiations in Canada were being conducted. Such communication as there was between the two groups was through Vladimir Tchertkoff at Purleigh. The consequences of this were, firstly, that Maude, Mavor, and other interested persons in Canada were pressing arrangements in the belief that the first party of some 2,200 destitute Tiflis exiles intended to sail for Canada in November or early December. On October 24th Mavor wrote that they would leave Batoum and go direct to Quebec in a week.¹ From time to time indirect word of delay reached Ottawa authorities. On October 28th the High Commissioner wrote to Frank Pedley, Superintendent of Immigration at Ottawa, saying the Beaver Liner Lake Huron would sail from Batoum for Saint John between December 17th and 27th. News of the delay reached Ottawa only on November 8th. The second consequence of the indirect exchange of intelligence between the Caucasus and Canada, and of the belief that haste in concluding the arrangements was

1 - Quoted in Elkinton, op. cit., p. 185

imperative, was that Maude and Hilkoﬀ, neither of whom was a Doukhobor and only one of whom really knew the sect, had to undertake the responsibility of plenipotentiaries for the people, whose delegates, Ivin and Mahortoff, displayed a disinclination to commit themselves on either general or particular issues, and who gave evidence of distrust of their sponsors.¹

That the limitations which the haste and indirect responsibility necessitated were unfortunate and of far-reaching effect was abundantly demonstrated in the early years of the Doukhobors' settlement in Canada, and the repercussions are by no means at an end today. But at the same time to say that Maude was incompetent or negligent, or that Mavor and he did not adequately represent the wishes and peculiarities of the sect as they understood them to the Government and obtain the latter's attitude, would not be in accordance with the facts. The issues over which controversies between members of the Doukhobor sect and Dominion or provincial authorities arose in subsequent years were: (1) the method of obtaining land under the Homestead Law; (2) the form of the marriage ceremony in Canada; (3) registration of vital statistics; (4) education. On each of these points the Doukhobors gave expressed or tacit consent to the stated regulations of the Canadian law after, in most cases, having stated their own stand. There was at least one more question, military service, about which Doukhobor desires were very specific, but so satisfactory was the

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 50.

guarantee of the Canadian Government and its fulfilment ever since, that, in spite of the apprehension of not a few Doukhobors from time to time, there has never been any issue.

Something of the thoroughness of the land arrangements has already been outlined. Before sailing, the Doukhobors were informed that each male over 18 years of age could obtain 160 acres of fertile land, paying a \$10. entry fee therefor within three years. If no emphasis was placed on the necessity for taking an oath of allegiance this could be used as an excuse of sorts in subsequent years for a refusal by the Doukhobors to enter for homesteads; but if it had not been for subtler considerations -- as apprehension that land individually "proved up" might never be turned over to the leader in the name of the Community -- their leader Peter Verigin could easily have concocted a sophistry to sanction the oath, or have removed the sophistry which forbade it. In any case, it can be said in general that at no time were the Doukhobors or their representatives given to understand they would not have to obey the law.

Maude made it his business to ascertain the law governing all these issues. Shortly after his first visit to Ottawa in mid-September, he wrote to Tchertkoff, who in turn communicated the information to the Doukhobors: "Marriages must be registered, i.e., the Government wants to know who is married, to whom, and when."¹

Concerning education, he wrote in the same letter: "Education relates not to the Dominion Government, but to the

1 - Quoted in Evalenko, op. cit., p. 131.

State Governments. Till we know in what state they want to settle, nothing can be said about it, except that education is not compulsory in the outlying districts, and no religious instruction is forced on anyone."

Taait throughout is the inference that the Doukhobors should obey the law, which, however, is so liberal as to give full scope to their scruples and conscience. Link this statement up with that of Tolstoy quoted above, and one would presumably be justified in contending there was adequate knowledge and assent on either side regarding education. Certainly the Government at no time gave encouragement to Mavor's suggestion that the Mennonite education agreement of 1873 might be repeated for the Doukhobors. The lack of realization at the time of the very narrow limitations on the responsibility of Tolstoy and Tchertkoff must, however, be kept in mind.

Concerning military service, section 21 of the Militia Act¹ already provided:

"Every person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Mennonites, or Tunkers, and every inhabitant of Canada of any religious denomination, otherwise subject to military duty, who, from the doctrines of his religion, is averse 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, from time to time, prescribes."

A careful reading of the clause in its context will show that it was sufficient to cover the case of the Doukhobors as it stood. However, for greater certainty and rather as a definitive measure, Mr. Sifton submitted a memorandum to Council under

1 - R.S.C. 1886, chap. 41, sec. 21:3.

date of November 30, 1898, and on December 6th it was passed as order in council P.C. 2747. After outlining the negotiations for the immigration of the Doukhobors, mentioning their good reputation as peaceful citizens, stating that they "would appear to be a most desirable class of settlers" and "that it is expedient to give them the fullest assurance of absolute immunity from military service in the event of their settling in this country", the order in council quotes the above clause from the Militia Act, and concludes:

"The Minister recommends that under the power vested in Your Excellency in Council by the above provision, 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 in their community."

Although this clause of the Militia Act was subsequently repealed and one of more general terms inserted,¹ and the order in council is therefore no longer effective, as will be explained subsequently, the Doukhobors have always enjoyed immunity from conscription in Canada.

The first agreement between the Government and Maude representing the Doukhobors, dated October 5, 1898, was essentially as follows:

"(1) Those responsible for the organization of the emigration to receive the usual bonus of five dollars per adult, children counting as half; (2) a further grant of one dollar and fifty cents for each man, woman and child settled, towards organization and transportation expenses; (3) the use of the Immigration Halls in Manitoba and the North-West Territories granted during the winter months."

This was addressed to Aylmer Maude on Department of the Interior letterhead, and was signed by James A. Smart, deputy minister.

It was, of course, a documentary record of a verbal agreement.

During the following two months plans and arrangements for receiving the Doukhobors -- the largest single party or group of immigrants ever to come to Canada -- went forward in some detail. Extensive correspondence was exchanged between the head office of the Department of the Interior at Ottawa and Commissioner of Immigration W. F. McCreary in Winnipeg. The latter was given the task of preparing for receiving some 4,000 Doukhobors in the West in the middle of winter, and of insuring adequate shelter and commissariat for them until they could go out on the land in April or May. His problem was all the more difficult because meat could form no part of the supplies, and a much larger supply of vegetables had therefore to be secured. It was found necessary to use immigration halls in Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, and Yorkton, and an abandoned roundhouse in Selkirk, Manitoba, was made habitable. Some of the more detailed arrangements made subsequent to October 5th are indicated in the following letter to Maude date December 1, 1898, and signed by James A. Smart:

"Referring to my letter to you of 5th October last, containing the terms of the arrangement made between this Department and yourself in connection with the Doukhobor emigration from Russia, and in view of certain changes in the conditions with reference to the matter, I beg to submit a further proposal which will, I think, simplify and make the arrangement entered into more easily understood.....

"I have therefore to propose, on behalf of the Government, in place of the bonus and commission which were to be paid under the former agreement, the Department will pay over on behalf of these people a sum equal to £1 (about \$4.86) per head for each man, woman, and child who may be reported at the office of the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg. This, I imagine, will greatly simplify the arrangement and prevent any misunderstanding,....and will result in

the Government paying over on behalf of these people the same amount as would have been paid under the first proposal.....

"I have therefore to submit the proposal as agreed between us, namely, that a committee be appointed in Winnipeg under which all arrangements will be placed in connection with the settlement of the Doukhobors on their lands. This committee will be fully authorized to disburse all moneys placed to the credit of the Doukhobor fund, to the best possible advantage.....

"All moneys granted by the Government, are to be deposited in the Union Bank of Canada at Winnipeg to the joint credit of W. F. McCreary and Thomas McCaffery, and payments made out of this fund only on order of the committee; Mr. Alexander Moffat, Accountant in the Commissioner's office at Winnipeg, to act as Secretary of the Committee. It will also be his duty to keep separate books of account in connection with the Doukhobors.

"Regarding the commission to be paid by the Government as above mentioned, it, of course, is understood that no portion of this money is to be used for transportation expenses, but that it shall be paid over to the credit of the committee for the purpose of assisting in the maintenance of the Doukhobors after arrival, and the purchasing of such supplies as may be necessary in establishing the colony....."¹

The committee referred to was suggested by Professor Mavor,² but as Maude indicates, "the Committee.... had hardly more than a nominal existence. The funds were administered by officials of the Immigration Department, who, under the circumstances of the case, were probably the best people to do the work."³ Membership was honorary, and the following men comprised the group: W. F. McCreary, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg; Thomas McCaffery, manager of the Union Bank of Canada, Winnipeg; D. W. Bole; Prince Hilkoff; Herbert P. Archer,

1 - Quoted by Maude in "A Peculiar People" as appendix I, p. 325.

2 - Mavor, op. cit., p. 5.

3 - Maude, op. cit., p. 326n.

representing English Quakers; and Alexander Moffat, accountant in the Commissioner's office at Winnipeg, as secretary.¹

The principal change in this statement from that of October 5th, apart from the fact that there were fuller details, was in regard to the bonus. The ~~h~~ payment was to be on a straight per capita basis instead of on the whole tickets. The extra \$1.50 payment for expenses of the preliminary organizing party was not mentioned again, and instead it was insisted that no portion of the bonus was to be used for transportation. As a matter of fact, Maude, Hilkoﬀ, Ivin, Mahortoff, and Mavor all received full expenses from the Government for their time devoted to the Doukhobor movement. This was in conformity with the custom of the Department in defraying expenses of hundreds of part-time propagandists, guides, and others in various parts of the United States and Europe for work connected with Canadian immigration.

In April 1898 Tolstoy had pointed out that, having been granted permission to leave Russia, the Doukhobors' need for outside help was of a two-fold nature: for money to help finance their removal to another continent, and for guidance in choosing their new home and making arrangement to go there. The expedition headed by Maude and Hilkoﬀ, and aided by Mavor, fulfilled the second of these requests, though only after Russians in California and interests in the Argentine Republic had tried to turn the emigration in other directions.² Through

1 - Report of H. of C. Agriculture and Colonization Committee, 1899, (H. of C. Journals appendix), p. 276; Maude, op. cit., p. 326

2 - Mavor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 2.

the medium of a series of printed pamphlets, of which Tolstoy's letter was one, and by means of other published material and propaganda, Tchertkoff at Purleigh directed his attention to raising funds.

Although the Doukhobors had since 1895 collected a common emigration fund of \$23,000, yet a great deal more money was needed for passages, especially when it became known that the Canadian Government would extend no help for transportation. Tchertkoff headed a committee of Tolstoyans which charged itself with delivering the 7,500 Doukhobors to Canada, and in order to do this it canvassed publicly and privately for the several thousand dollars that were necessary to supplement Doukhor common and private funds.

It was learned that 4,000 Kars and Elizavetpol Doukhobors could pay their own passages. Although something of the indifferent plight of the 1,000 Cyprus survivors was known in England, it was felt that the most urgent need was for the 2,100 Tiflis exiles still encamped near Batoum. The Purleigh colony contributed nearly \$5,000, and Tolstoy, who had just completed his novel "Resurrection", gave his earnings from it amounting to \$17,000. With the Doukhobors' own fund, about \$45,000 was available. This amount was considered at least \$10,000 short of the necessary sum, which ought to provide \$25 a head. In spite of the fact that they had \$80,000 tied up in the Cyprus venture, the English Friends' Doukhor Committee guaranteed \$12,500, though making it clear that they took no

responsibility for the organization of the migration.¹

Funds having been assured, and only favourable news having come from Maude in Canada, the English committee empowered Leopole Soulerjitsky, a young Russian engineer who had interested himself in the Doukhobors and who was then at Batoum, to charter the Beaver Liner Lake Huron for the 2,100 exiles. As early as September 14, 1898, Beaver Line officials in Montreal had learned of the proposed Doukhobors migration from James A. Smart.² They had refused his soliciation for half fares for the migrants,³ but had apparently kept in touch with the movement. On November 30th the Lake Huron sailed for Batoum, and ten days later the Lake Superior followed.

On December 12th Maude, ready to sail for home from Boston, had received official notification of the passing of the order in council exempting Doukhobors from military service.⁴ He had immediately notified his principals in England, and when the information reached Batoum the first steamer was ready to sail. It left on December 22nd, and on January 20, 1899, arrived at Halifax, where its 2,073 passengers under the guidance of Soulerjitsky cleared quarantine. At the instigation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which did not wish to send its trains over the Intercolonial Railway between Halifax and Saint John,⁵

1 - John Bellows to Lord Strathcona, October 24, 1898; Evalenko, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

2 - Smart to D. W. Campbell, general manager, Beaver Line, Montreal

3 - Campbell to Smart, Oct. 5, 1898.

4 - Smart to Maude, Dec. 10, 1898.

5 - David McNicholl, passenger traffic manager, C.P.R., Montreal, to Smart, Nov. 11, 1898.

the steamer was routed to Saint John, which was not equipped for quarantine inspection. They had been met at Halifax by James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior, Prince Hilkoﬀ, and Joseph Elkinton, Sr. and Job S. Gidley, two American Quakers, and these made the trip to Saint John on the boat.

Six special trains of about ten cars each provided with Government interpreters and other immigration men to supervise food supplies on the journey, bore the immigrants through to Winnipeg. For this journey the railway charged \$6 for adult fares, a reduction of \$10 from the regular immigrant rate.

The first party was already at Winnipeg when the Lake Superior arrived at Halifax on January 27th, 23 days after clearing Batoum. It carried some 2,000 passengers, 700 of whom were children -- a slightly larger proportion than in the first shipload -- in charge of Count Sergius Tolstoy, second son of Count Leo. After remaining in quarantine until February 17th as a result of several cases of smallpox during the voyage, the party proceeded to Saint John and took train for the West to join the members of the earlier party in the immigration halls of Manitoba,¹ "quite comfortable dwellings", as Mavor remarks.²

Each of these vessels made another charter voyage in the spring of 1899, after which the immigration of Doukhobors to Canada was virtually completed. On May 9th the Lake Superior brought the thousand Cyprus colonists to Quebec.

¹ - Elkinton, op. cit., p. 197.

² - Mavor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 3.

Soulerjitsky was conductor, and amongst other non-Doukhobors on board were William Bellows, son of John Bellows, clerk of the Doukhobor committee of the London Quakers, and Captain Arthur St. John. The latter and William Sturge, another Quaker, had done good work in winding up the affairs of the colony in Cyprus. Soulerjitsky, Bellows and St. John went through to Yorkton with their party, and all spent several months amongst the people aiding them in getting out on the land and otherwise organizing their lives in Canada. Although these Cyprus immigrants escaped quarantine on arrival, nevertheless the malarial fever and other diseases which had visited them in their temporary island home continued to decimate them after they arrived in western Canada. Consequently, although the weather was suitable, they did not get promptly onto the land along with those who had wintered in Canada.¹

On its second voyage terminating at Quebec on June 5th, the Lake Huron brought the largest shipload, 2,300 in number and including several non-Doukhobor Russian helpers. Thirteen cases of smallpox were discovered during this trip and the ship spent a month at Grosse Ile in isolation. Hilkoﬀ and Elkinton, when they found they could not board the steamer, proceeded to the West to supervise the movement onto the land of the 5,000 Doukhobors already there. This final party came from Kars, and it comprised the last of the Large Party in the Caucasus. They financed their own journey by selling goods

1 - Elkinton, op. cit., p. 202.

worth \$42,000, of which \$33,000 was paid for the steamer.¹ The total migration was now about 7,400, and there remained in Russia some 12,000 Doukhobors who did not wish to emigrate and a few hundred under confinement in Siberia.² Nearly all of the few dozen Doukhobors who came to Canada in the next ten years were released exiles.

The expenses not including rent of keeping 4,000 Doukhobors in immigration halls in the early months of 1899, and the expenses of all 7,400 until the following spring were administered by Commissioner McCreary for the Doukhobor committee, and the amount was charged against the bonus money. Bonuses totalling \$35,832.78 were paid on 7,363 Doukhobors. This amount proved deficient by \$20,000 for providing equipment, food, and shelter for the settlers on their reserves until they should earn cash on their own account. The difference was advanced by the Government, and it was planned that a lien would be taken on the lands of the community effective when patent would be issued.³

In March 1901 the Government leader of the Senate said in the House:

"No promise has been made to them, nor has any agreement been entered into with the Doukhobors, except as to military service, by the government that would not be given to any persons who may settle in the North-west."⁴

1 - Elkinton, op. cit., p. 203.

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 74

3 - Hon. Jas. Sutherland answering question of Uriah Wilson, M.P., Hansard, March 25, 1901, p. 1998.

4 - Senator David Mills, Senate Hansard, March 29, 1901, p. 169.

In 1899, 7,427 Doukhobor immigrants came to Canada. Their arrival at Winnipeg by months is recorded as follows:¹

January	- 2,078	May	- 1,036	September	- 4
February	- 1,973	July	- 2,335	December	- 1

This virtually concluded the Doukhobor migration to Canada. The recorded number of immigrants of this sect in the next fourteen years was less than 500, and nearly all these were liberated exiles and their families. The following table shows the arrivals by years:-²

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, JULY 1, 1900 to MARCH 31, 1920, DOUKHOBORS.

Fiscal Years

1900- 1901	1901- 1902	1902- 1903	1903- 1904	1904- 1905	1905- 1906	9 mos. ended Mar. 31 1907	1907- 1908
--	12	--	--	24	204	--	--
1908- 1909	1909- 1910	1910- 1911	1911- 1912	1912- 1913	1913- 1914	1914- 1920	Total
--	--	41	24	108	4	--	417

Since 1929 immigration records have been classified by races and not by religions, so Doukhobor arrivals are not shown. However, virtually the only immigrants of the sect in the period were Peter Verigin, Jr. and the small party that came with him.

Most of these small special movements were facilitated by diplomatic negotiations concerning passports and other

1 - Annual Report of Dept. of the Interior, 1900, p. 109

2 - Annual Report of Dept. of Imm. and Coln., 1928, pp. 9 & 10.

formalities between the Canadian High Commissioner in London and the Russian ambassador there. Early in 1900 Interior Department officials received lists of those Yorkton colonists who had relatives in Siberia, as well as the names of the exiles. These latter were forwarded to London. All negotiations with the Russian government concerned definite prospective emigrants.

In 1905 Aylmer Maude again acted in an intermediary capacity, when he petitioned the Canadian Government again to grant a £ bonus for some 280 Doukhobors just released from Siberia. The Department replied that while the exiles were welcome, no consideration could be given to the bonus request.¹ However, Peter Verigin, who after a year and a half in the country had his community's affairs on a good business footing, negotiated a loan of \$10,000 at 8 per cent with a Yorkton bank, and the money was used to bring the party to Saskatchewan.²

In 1906 while Verigin was on a trip to Russia Canadian newspapers carried stories that he would return with 10,000 men who would work in Canada on railway construction.³ If the leader really ever had such a plan it did not materialize. Further arrivals after 1910 were all special parties admitted on guarantees from the community organization headed by Verigin. Some of these went direct to British Columbia, though all travelled across the Atlantic ocean rather than by way of Siberia and the Pacific ocean.

1 - J. Obed Smith, Commr. of Imm., Winnipeg, to Maude, April 10, 1905.

2 - J. Obed Smith to W. D. Scott, Supt. of Imm., Ottawa, July 18, 1905.

3 - Montreal Herald, Dec. 7, 1906.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST YEAR IN CANADA, 1899-1902.

The immediate concern of the members of the Winnipeg Doukhobor committee and others charged with the settlement of these colonists after their arrival was to get them as quickly as possible onto their reserves, so that they might be able to sow at least a crop of potatoes in the 1899 season. Accordingly, in April, when the first two parties were still in immigration sheds, and before the other two shiploads had arrived, competent Canadian carpenters were sent out to build log houses, and shortly afterward skilled Doukhobor axemen were working with them. Two large temporary villages were established, with buildings capable of accommodating several families totalling as many as fifty people. As the buildings were made ready the people were gradually moved out. Those going to the South Colony left the Canadian Pacific Railway at Yorkton and were driven 25 or 30 miles north. Those for the Thunder Hill colony travelled over the Canadian Northern -- the original Manitoba and Northwestern line of Mackenzie and Mann -- to Swan River, from where it was a fifteen-mile drive to the reserve. The Cyprus colonists went direct from Saint John to Yorkton, where they pitched their tents until such time as the number of log shelters ready and the state of their health permitted their going to their new homes. For most of the last party from Kars, which arrived in the West in July, there was not room in the

Assiniboia reserves. After the lands in Saskatchewan had been designated, they left the Selkirk roundhouse and 1,500 of them went to the western reserve by rail through Regina, Saskatoon, and Rosthern, from where they drove west 25 miles to the North Saskatchewan River.

By the end of 1899 the people were distributed as follows: 1,472 in the Saskatchewan colony of ten villages located in two groups, the northern between Blaine Lake and the North Saskatchewan River containing seven villages, and the other twenty miles to the south, at the elbow of the river near the present village of Langham, with three villages; 1,404 in the North Colony at Thunder Hill and in the Swan River Valley, where there were thirteen villages; 4,478 in the South Colony, including the Devil's Lake annex, where there were 34 villages. For these 7,354 people there were 795 houses in 57 villages. The average family had five members, so theoretically they occupied some 1,500 homesteads within the reserves.¹

The eastern colonies harvested a crop of potatoes the first year, but the general feeding and caring for the people remained under the direction of Commissioner McCreary and the Doukhobor Committee, who shipped in most of the supplies, until after the winter of 1899-1900. Some of the earliest requisitions for supplies made by the Doukhobors were for such raw materials as leather and iron bars from which they planned to make harness, spades, and wagon tires. Although it

1 - Annual Report of Dept. of the Interior, 1899, p. 112.

was known that there were competent blacksmiths amongst the Doukhobors, practical men like McCreary contended that spades and harness were readily obtainable wholesale, and that the Doukhobors had not even forges. Prince Hilkoﬀ found himself opposed by the other members of the committee when he advocated letting the Doukhobors use their handicraft as they wished so that they could be occupied in the sheds and so as to alter as gradually as possible their traditional self-contained economy¹. In April 1899 Professor Mavor went to the West under an informal arrangement with the Department, and when he found himself called upon to work with the committee, he endorsed the orders for raw materials, deeming the retention of the confidence of the Doukhobors more important than the apparent convenience of purchasing ready-made implements. The result was that by their handiwork the Doukhobors made forges and had a good supply of harness and other necessities by the time they went to their reserves.¹

Only 1,500 of the 7,400 Doukhobors were adult males. But so important was it deemed that greater cash supplies should be at the disposal of the communities that nearly all the able-bodied men left the villages the first summer to work on farms and on railway construction throughout the Northwest. Thus the women, who were neither unfitted for the work nor unwilling to undertake it, were left the task of making the houses habitable and to a large extent of carrying on the field work. For the latter there were not always animals available. At one time

1 - Mavor, op. cit., v. II, pp. 5-6.

during the early months, the women of some of the South Colony villages harnessed themselves, twenty or more in a team, to the ploughs and broke some hundred acres, while the limited number of oxen and horses were released for hauling flour and other urgently-needed supplies from Yorkton. Although this action was voluntary and done to meet exceptional short period conditions, it attracted wide publicity and engendered unfavourable criticism of the Doukhobor men.¹ The fact was that few but old men were at home. The Canadian Northern Railway was extending both its Swan River branch and its main line, and the Canadian Pacific was building west from Yorkton, so 800 men readily obtained navvy work near the Assinibois colonies. Other hundreds worked in saw mills and on farms. The condition of the labour market in the West at the time is indicated by the fact that Doukhobors had little difficulty in finding employment at standard wages although they refused to eat meat, readily obtainable near construction camps, and demanded vegetables, which had to be brought at considerable expense from Ontario. The inconvenience of inadequate supplies of man-power in the villages during the season when work on the land was possible was offset by the advantage of the considerable sums of money brought back to the common funds by those who had worked out. Many of these men earned a dollar a day or more after paying living expenses.

The practice of sending greater or lesser numbers of Doukhobor men outside the community to work for cash wages

1 - Elkinton, op. cit., pp. 215-216.

has been continued ever since, but after the first year a sufficient number to carry on the community farm work always stayed at home. Railway construction activity did not become prevalent near the Saskatchewan colonies until a year or two after the settlement, but the farmers there, having brought some cash resources from Russia, were able to fit into their new environment with somewhat fewer sacrifices of immediate needs.

Another important source of cash was the sale of seneca root, a valuable medicinal plant found on the prairies. The Thunder Hill colony alone in 1899 dug 1,800 pounds for which they realized \$360.¹ In the same period South colonists cured and sold 48,000 pounds for 22 cents a pound, or more than \$10,500. The gathering was frequently done by the women and children as they herded cattle.

Aided by more than \$30,000 worth of supplies from Philadelphia Quakers, by supplies furnished by the Government costing \$20,000 in excess of bonus money, by the resources which some brought with them, by the cash from wages and sale of seneca root, and from several other private benefactors, the Doukhobors faced their first winter with belongings consisting of some 350 horses, 177 oxen, 184 cows, 130 ploughs, 178 wagons, 4,724 tons of hay, besides a quantity of potatoes and other roots, barley, and rye.³ It was estimated that the cost of living at this time averaged two dollars a month per head.

Nevertheless the first winter was not without its

1 - Annual Report of Dept. of the Interior, 1899, p. 149.

2 - Ibid, 1900, p. 117.

3 - Memorandum of Commissioner of Immigration J.O Smith, May 30, 1903.

trials. The temporary food shortages got publicity in a series of articles in the Toronto Globe during the winter of 1899-1900, by Mrs. May Fitz-Gibbon, who wrote under the name of Lally Bernard. Supplies were shipped by the carload from Philadelphia and eastern Canada, facilitated by the action of the railways in forwarding them at the low rate for settlers effects. Both Maude¹ and Elkinton² indicate that such private benevolence did much to prevent actual starvation, and this was the impression the public gathered from newspaper accounts. However, James A. Smart, deputy minister, testified before the House of Commons Agriculture and Colonization Committee in 1900 that there had been no destitution at all, as the Department had prevented it. He criticized also the attitude of the newspapers and so-called philanthropists. "The people will be more apt to be self-supporting if left to themselves," he stated.¹ The real conditions would appear to be somewhere between these two views. It is true that the Government was cognizant at all times of the needs of the Doukhobors, and that Commissioner McCreary's organization distributed nearly all supplies including those contributed by Quakers and other private benefactors. But if it had not been for private interest and aid the Government might well have exceeded the bonus credit by more than \$20,000 as the outlay for the Doukhobors, as not one anticipated at the time that such a debt would not be collected.

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 181

2 - Elkinton, op. cit., p. 226.

3 - Report of H. of C. Ag. and Coln. Comm., 1900, pp. 314-315.

During 1900 several thousand acres were ploughed, extensive crops were sown and harvested, and several hundred men again worked out at rising wages. Henceforth it was apparent that there need be no further doubt as to the ability of the Doukhobors to succeed economically in their new environment. However, the social and political problems which their unusual religious philosophy provoked in subsequent years were just beginning to be realized.

The outstanding consideration in understanding the events of the first four years of the Canadian Doukhor settlement was the absence among them of any leader who could command more than a merely local following. They had been accustomed in Russia to look to the leadership of a man whom many of them regarded as a reincarnation of Christ, and whom others believed to be at least divinely inspired. It was this formula that reconciled the cardinal tenet of their religion---discard of man-made laws and authorities in favour of an "inner voice" reflecting the "law of Christ"---with complete though unadmitted submission to an autocratic leader.

In Russia they had been in touch with Peter Verigin, and at his suggestion had taken the stand on military service which had chiefly precipitated the persecution of 1895-98. Another of his behests had prescribed community of goods, and the proper method of putting this into effect immediately became the most contentious topic in the Canadian communities. Verigin had indicated no detail of the type of

communism he had in mind, and their economy in their later Caucasian villages, though including many features of co-operation common amongst most Russian peasants at the time, was not entirely communistic. Under Kapoustin at Milky Waters nearly a century earlier there had been communism, but only a few old people remembered that.

Whether the community unit should be the whole sect, or all in each of the four sections of the reserves, or the inhabitants of each village, was the most prominent phase of the discussion in the first year. Proposals for all three methods were advanced from time to time. In June 1899 at a representative meeting of the South Colony a proposal was accepted that there should be one common treasury for both North and South Colonies. The people of the North Colony decided their thirteen villages constituted a better unit, as the distance between the two reserves made communication for discussion slow. But there was to be co-operation between the two, especially in case of need. Maude, in describing this plan, says the large unit did not make for a good spirit amongst the workers in the North Colony, and that after the large commune was wound up and each village commenced to manage its own affairs, the willingness of the men to go out to railway work and to pool their earnings increased markedly.¹ In the South Colony the unified commune never really operated, and by the spring of 1900 many of the village communes were disintegrated.

1 - Maude, op. cit. pp. 185-186.

Apart from the association in the minds of the Doukhobors of communism with true religion, it can be said that some sort of communism was virtually imperative, at least in the Assiniboia reserves. Implements and horses were comparatively scarce, and such as there were had been purchased for or given to entire villages rather than individuals. It was seen also that supplies from Quakers and others went mostly to communes. So few were the individual possessions of most of the migrants that the social pressure on those with property for them to pool it was effective. The practical considerations making for communism at first are further illustrated in the fact that the practice was never prevalent in the Rosthern reserve, which was inhabited by propertied Kars settlers. Again, as individuals came to handle appreciable sums of cash received for wages, the secession was more widespread. However, religious motives must have been a real factor, as hundreds of men returning from railway work did willingly turn over their money to the common treasury.

By the beginning of 1900 nearly a third of the Doukhobors, including most of the 1,500 in Saskatchewan, had abandoned communism, and capitulation to individualism became gradually more prevalent until the arrival of Peter Verigin three years later.

Early in the year 1900 Alexander Bodiansky arrived in the midst of the Doukhobors, and before he left Canada the next year at the suggestion of the Canadian Government, he had attempted to take several hundred Doukhobors to California;

he had inspired two elaborate petitions to the Government protesting against the homestead system, marriage and registration laws; he had circulated an appeal to all nations for succour for the Doukhobors from Canadian tyranny; and he had essayed to bring about the migration of all or many of the Doukhobors to Australia. Bodyansky was a Russian anarchist, so eccentric that he had not found favour even with the Tolstoyan colony at Purleigh during a brief sojourn there a year or two earlier. He knew nothing about living conditions in western Canada. But he learned very quickly that the Doukhobors objected to some governmental regulations, and that was enough to lead him to espouse their cause enthusiastically.

While it had been a question merely of insuring sustenance and shelter for the Doukhobors, their neglect in entering in severalty for their homesteads and in registering births, marriages, and deaths occurring amongst their number had been condoned by the Dominion and Territorial Governments. In May 1900 the Territorial Government circulated in Russian a printed explanation of the registration law and the action required of the Doukhobors under it. At about the same time also the Dominion land and immigration agents who had worked among the people from the start commenced to explain the homestead regulations to them. Neither of these issues had been really faced by the Doukhobors before or after coming to Canada, and without concerted leadership they chose, for the most part, not to undertake any obligations involving writing or listing of names, a process their Russian experience had

led them to associate with army service.

Playing upon this discontent, Bodyansky made up a first party of nineteen and set out for California. He was able to circulate the impression that all or most of the Doukhobors in Canada would follow within two or three years' time. The as-yet distinctly enthusiastic attitude of the Government toward them is shown in the action of its officers in apprising the United States immigration service of the movement with the object of having the party turned back at the border under the Contract Labour Law. After spending some days at the frontier trying to get a re-hearing of their case, the nineteen returned to their Canadian homes.¹ At the same time in order to forestall a more general movement to California, the Department of the Interior wrote to John Bellows, clerk of the Doukhobor Committee of London Quakers, to Vladimir Tchertkoff, and to Joseph S. Elkinton, the Philadelphia Quaker. All these and Count Tolstoy wrote in strong terms to the Doukhobors urging them to stay in Canada.²

The first petition to the Government was dated June 22, 1900, and was signed by 28 Doukhobors of the Yorkton colony and by Bodyansky. With ponderous theoretical arguments it explained that the earth was God's bounty, not to be arbitrarily partitioned by governments, but to be worked by those who occupied it. Marriage consisted in mutual love, and only so

1 - Report of H. of C. Ag. and Coln. Comm., 1900, p. 311.

2 - Hansard, May 7, 1900, p. 4734.

long as this love endured was a marriage valid; two dollars paid to a policeman in connection with a ceremony did not make a real marriage, read the petition. As to the registration of vital statistics, it was no concern of the Government what changes in the population went on amongst the Doukhobors; they would not refuse the information if asked, but they would not voluntarily keep the record.¹

This document was widely quoted in newspapers, and it caused a great deal of public indignation by its questioning of the righteousness of Canadian law. While doubtful of the extent to which it really represented D. opinion, the Department forwarded a copy to Aylmer Maude so that he might use his influence to appease the unrest. He prepared an answer to all their contentions, attempting to meet them on the moral plane the petition appeared to take. The Philadelphia Quakers also wrote earnestly at this time, concerned for the moral welfare of the Doukhobors, as they mistook the doctrinaire view of marriage expressed in the petition as an indication of lax living. Although no formal written reply to the petition was sent for over six months, when on January 7, 1901, J. G. Turriff, Dominion Lands Commissioner, reviewed the Government's stand on the issues raised, yet officers of the Department had been constantly moving amongst the people. The Doukhobors' reply to Turriff's letter was a further petition quoting and endorsing the first. It was signed by thirteen men of the North Colony.² The appeal

1 - Petition quoted in Rept. of H. of C. Ag. & Coln. Comm., 1901, p. 329.

2 - Feb. 19, 1901.

to all nations of the world followed in March, as did a special message to the Sultan of Turkey.

Late in 1901 Bodyansky induced influential people in Australia to bring the Doukhobors to the attention of the Government there, and though the project was under advisement for some time, it was learned in May 1902 that no sanction for the move could be obtained from Australia authorities.

Besides calling for frequent reports from its own immigration and land officers, the Government made use from time to time of the visits to the colonies of interested outsiders. Thus Professor Mavor in 1899 and 1904 had informal commissions from Ottawa in connection with Doukhobor affairs. The Elkinsons of Philadelphia acted as intermediaries. And John Ashworth, an English Quaker, after visits to the Doukhobor colonies in the spring of 1901, reported to the Department in detail on the Assiniboia reserves.¹ He visited and held meetings in most of the 47 villages, and reported in detail on the prevalence of communism and the attitude of the people toward land tenure, schools, and registration. He learned that the recent Russian persecution of the sect was for other reasons besides disobedience of military service laws.

He found none of the ten villages at Good Spirit Lake (also known as Devil's Lake) entirely communistic, though half were on that basis for purposes of production, distribution being on a per capita basis. The rest of the villages were individualistic. The people were disinclined to sign any

1 - May 15, 1901

documents in entering for homesteads, but were not fundamentally opposed to individual holdings. This colony in the previous year had a school conducted by Nellie Baker, an Ontario Quaker; if another Friend could be obtained they would support a school again. They would give information to a registrar sent amongst them, but would make no effort to enter births, marriages, and deaths themselves.

Eight of the thirteen villages at Thunder Hill were communistic in respect both of production and domestic arrangements, and the rest were wholly or partly individualistic. They were all opposed to individual homesteads. For the most part the villages would not accept English teachers but several schools were operating. Their attitude toward registration was similar to that of the Good Spirit Lake people.

On the 24 South Colony villages, eleven were entirely communistic, and one entirely individualistic. The rest had features of both systems. "This colony is very decided not to take up homesteads individually," said the report. Most of the villages would have no English teacher, but a Russian sent out by English Friends was expected. Concerning registration, it was reported that "this colony will give the number of souls in each village but not the names."

The Doukhobors' policy of steadily building up their economic welfare by increasing their ploughed land and crop areas and by working for wages which were used to enlarge their capital equipment, and at the same time refusing, for the most part, to take any positive steps to comply with important governmental formalities, continued in much the same way until

the end of 1902. Their purpose was to "mark time" until Peter Verigin should join them and give them unified leadership. The Government chose to adopt a similar policy of biding its time. Its officials knew Bodyansky was no better than a professional agitator, that he operated most successfully in the South Colony, which was in some respects the least advanced of all, and that though he exploited a real discontent much of his influence arose from the fact that he was an educated Russian amongst unlettered people of the same nationality who had a grievance. A man who signed the first petition with Bodyansky is reported to have said shortly after:

"As to that which Bodyansky has written, you know that we have not enough mind to understand each word, and there are certain words which do not suit us at all, but Bodyansky is a tenacious old man, and interprets always according to his own way."¹

No sooner had Bodyansky left the scene than another important unsettling factor was introduced among the Doukhobors. In 1901 Tchertkoff published in Russian and allowed to be circulated amongst the Doukhobors a collection of letters from Peter Verigin in exile in Siberia.² Maude emphasizes³ that Verigin had written two very different kinds of letters from exile: Those to his followers were of a practical nature -- though not always pleasing to the government. For example, one written in 1893 advised the adoption of pacifism, communism, and

1 - "Tolstoi et les Doukhobors", by Paul Birukoff, translated from the Russian into French, Paris, 1902.

2 - "The Letters of the Doukhobor Leader Peter Vasilevich Verigin", Free Age Press, Christchurch, Hants, 1901.

3 - Unpublished MS., Nov. 10, 1924.

vegetarianism. There were also those to Tolstoyans and others in England, which formed part of a game of outdoing Tolstoy in his advocacy of non-resistance and the simple life. The latter were certainly never intended for Doukhobors, but it was these that Tchertkoff compiled and printed. Condemnations of clothing, of the use of metal articles, of the employment of horses and cattle, and even of the cultivation of land, were included in the volume. A growing tendency toward fanaticism, arising from the reading of these letters by the already perplexed Doukhobors, began to be observed amongst many of the Assiniboia colonies early in 1902.¹ A few preachers went from village to village spreading the extreme anarchistic philosophy, and in September and October a few villages of the South Colony turned their stock loose on the prairie, wishing no longer to exploit the animals. Mounted Police rounded up 120 horses, 285 cattle, and such of the sheep as were not attacked by coyotes to the number of 85, and under Government supervision they were sold at auction. Many of the animals were bought by other Doukhobors. The proceeds of \$16,024.25 were placed in a trust fund by the Government to be used if necessary to defray expenses of special work amongst the Doukhobors.²

The need for such a fund became apparent toward the end of October, when some 1,800 men, women, and children started on a pilgrimage from their South Colony villages to Yorkton, allegedly on their way to meet the Messiah at or near Winnipeg.

1 - Annual Report of Dept. of the Interior, 1902, p. 109.

2 - Hansard, March 26, 1903, p. 542.

The craze had its origin in the villages of Trooshdenie and Verovka, and such leadership as there was in the group came chiefly from Nicholas Zibarof, who had operated a co-operative store at Voznesenie village at Thunder Hill in the earlier years, and who became one of Peter Verigin's two chief lieutenants three or four months later. The original pilgrims numbered at least one-fourth of the Assiniboia Doukhobors. The move was not unexpected by the Government agents, who had observed the colonies all summer, but they deemed it wise not to use force to stop the pilgrimage if other means could be found. However, the women and girls numbering 1,060 were not permitted to continue from Yorkton eastward. Four hundred and fifty men and boys, many without shoes or hats, hiked for two weeks longer, covering more than half the distance between Yorkton and Winnipeg, to Minnedosa, Manitoba, where they arrived on November 8th. Newspapermen, Mounted Police and immigration agents had escorted them throughout, and as most of them were suffering from exposure and privation, they were at last forcibly placed in a special train and on November 10th taken back to Yorkton and their homes.

Less than two months later Peter Verigin had arrived in Canada, and it has been plausibly suggested, that, as the pilgrims had learned of his release from Siberia some time earlier, he was the "Christ" whom they expected to meet at Winnipeg.¹ In any case it seems clear that religious enthusiasm was not the sole or perhaps even chief motive of the pilgrims. Normally, securing title to a homestead was a three-year process. The

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 228, and elsewhere.

Doukhobors were well into the fourth year of their life in Canada, and, although living on land reserved for homestead entry solely by their number, they had with few exceptions made no move whatever to enter for their land. Always hoping for their real leader to come to them soon from Siberia, they were not insensible to the utility from their point of view of distracting the attention of the Government from the land question. During 1902 the pressure on them to carry out their homestead entries in severalty was exerted by land and immigration agents from time to time and also by several unofficial visitors who had accepted informal Government commissions. Thus, though more than half the Yorkton and Thunder Hill colonists and all those in Saskatchewan disapproved of the pilgrimage, they may be supposed to have recognized its use in aiding their vacillation on the land question.

Another allied political motive of the pilgrims arose from their desire, renewed by the Verigin letters of 1901, to engage in the easier life of fruit-farming and gardening, which was not feasible on the northern prairie. Life there would have been difficult if not impossible without live stock, yet even if they themselves did not slaughter the animals, a broad interpretation of their vegetarian principles left no place for cattle and sheep on their farms. So that, while to entertain seriously the claim of some of the pilgrims that they were marching to a warmer climate may be out of the question, yet, as Mavor says, there was "a feeling that the climate was too severe for the people, and that if they made a

demonstration the Government would remove them to a milder region."¹ In the same strain is the testimony of Herbert P. Archer, an Englishman who lived amongst the Swan River Doukhobors from 1899 until the time of the Great War, in a letter written by him in January 1903:

"Thus, partly, at any rate, the Pilgrimage was, like the 'Address to all Nations' of a couple of years ago, a piece of politics masked by religious phraseology and Biblical texts." ²

Evidence of the probability that most of the pilgrims had not abandoned all practical considerations, and that they fully intended to return from the tramp, is seen in their having carefully packed away their belongings and generally having left their houses ready for further occupancy.

If the Doukhobors anticipated that Verigin's arrival would be a pivotal event in their lives, officials of the Department of the Interior of both lands and immigration branches were no less anxious that he should take charge of his people. Whether he would take the attitude of the pilgrims or those who stayed at home was not known, but that he would in either case control the future behaviour of the people and the extent of their compliance with the law was assumed. If he recommended homestead entry the matter would proceed smoothly. If he disapproved individual entries, the reserves would be withdrawn and thrown open to the public. The Government rather believed that he would be amenable on major points of difference, but the view that Canadian authorities intervened in Russia to have his sentence

1 - Mavor, op. cit., v. II, p. 15.

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 240.

shortened that he might join and pacify his people is not supported by the evidence. Verigin himself so testified in 1912,¹ but it would appear that his fifteen-year sentence regularly terminated in 1902, and that the extent of Canadian action to bring him to this country was the facilitating in every way possible his journey from Russia through England to the Northwest Territories. His expenses to Saint John, where he arrived in mid-December, were borne by the Doukhobors, but the Department of the Interior arranged his transportation from there to Yorkton.

Before he left Russia Verigin had an interview with Tolstoy, which Maude deems to have been fortunate, inasmuch as Verigin learned that "however strongly he may hold his opinions, and however one-sided those opinions may sometimes be, (Tolstoy) is humane, and does not wish to see a people sacrificed on the altar of abstract theory."² Verigin talked with Maude in London, with Mr. Sifton in Ottawa, and with immigration officials in Winnipeg, but on none of these occasions did he commit himself to anything but a broad policy of doing what he could for the welfare of his people. But his course after arriving amongst the Doukhobors was politic, practical, and moderately decisive, in relation both to the issues between the Doukhobors and the authorities and those within their own ranks.

1 - Report of B.C. Royal Doukhobor Commission, 1912, pp. 22 and 60.

2 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 208-209.

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS UNDER PETER VERIGIN AND
THE HOMESTEAD CRISIS OF 1907

From letters, newspapers, and other sources before he left Russia, and from various people with whom he had talked on his way to Yorkton, Peter Verigin had heard of the general problems of his people in Canada and of the recent pilgrimage. His first action after reaching the Doukhobor colonies was to make a tour of all the villages, during which he had no difficulty in sensing the hard feeling existing between the returned pilgrims and those who had stayed at home. Each group was awaiting the leader's approval. Accordingly, he commended the pilgrims for their zeal, but explained that the time had come to settle down. He immediately commenced to revivify and centralize the communism of the sect. Each village remained a unit, but a central fund was instituted and accounts were consolidated. To carry out the new program the Doukhobor Trading Company was established under the direction of a committee of three, on which as Verigin's associates were the outstanding leaders of the two quarrelling factions. Nicholas Zibarof had been an enthusiastic pilgrim, and Paul Planidin was chief of those who disapproved the march.

This piece of diplomacy was very successful in bringing both groups into line with Verigin's program of material progress and expansion within the confines of a strict and business-like communism. The task of bringing back into

the communes the many hundreds who had made themselves independent in the previous three years was accomplished by several methods of economic and moral suasion, quite as much as through any instinctive veneration for Verigin entertained by the Doukhobors. Independence had been possible in the first place chiefly through concealment or withholding of resources from the common fund. Verigin arranged that such concealments should henceforth be difficult or impossible. Mavor suggests that the women, who under communism were in no way economically subordinate to the men---at least not to their husbands---, were an important factor in consolidating loyalty, as they would usually refuse to follow their husbands out of the community.¹ Unwilling followers of Verigin's lead were frequently brought into conformity with his program by threats of expulsion from the villages, and by suggestions that they were unworthy of the name Doukhobors--were rather mere Galicians.²

In May 1903 there occurred the first of the nude pilgrimages, for which the sect became notorious in subsequent years. As a result of this first march 29 Doukhobors were sentenced to three months at hard labour in Regina jail. Some of these were recalcitrant toward prison discipline, and the ensuing difficulties arising from hunger strikes and other vagaries led to vague charges made by the Doukhobors of cruelty

1 - Mavor, op. cit., V. II, pp. 30-31.

2 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 264-265.

on the part of the jailers. However these prisoners had gone on the march as a result of misunderstanding Verigin's attempt to commend both those who had participated in and those who had opposed the October 1902 pilgrimage. It was no wish of the leader that the energies of his people should be diverted from their work, so he refused to lodge open appeals on behalf of those for whom the charges were made, and he made no move to secure their freedom when the Government might have pardoned them.¹ After their release four of them burned the canvasses of one of Verigin's new binders, and the leader pressed charges of arson against them which left the judge no choice but to sentence them to three years in Stoney Mountain penitentiary. Once again when informed that a pardon might be obtained Verigin insisted that they must face the consequences of their criminal acts with no help from him.²

Small pilgrimages occurred in each of the four following years, carried out by so-called fanatics who may be regarded as the "Sons of Freedom" of the early years. But nevertheless the chief feature of Verigin's leadership during this time was marked material and financial progress of the community, proceeding concurrently with general willingness on the part of the members to accept his lead. At least this was the case in the Assiniboia villages; in Saskatchewan a large proportion of the Doukhobors were willing and able to maintain their economic independence. The community adherents were all

1 - Maude, op. cit., pp. 241-243.

2 - Mavor, op. cit., V. II, pp. 27-29.

moved to the eastern colonies during the next seven or eight years, and today none of the Doukhobors in the Prince Albert area are communists.

During 1903 the capital equipment of the community, which comprised 47 villages in the Yorkton and Swan River colonies, was increased by purchases of land, animals, and implements costing over \$100,000. Ordinary expenditures of a miscellaneous character, including purchases of raw materials and other goods to meet the current needs of the members, outlays for freight and transportation, and remittances of debt payments and gifts to various friends, totalled a somewhat larger amount. "Receipts of all 47 villages from work of all workers," including railway construction labourers and those who dug seneca root, were over \$150,000, leaving a debt of some \$63,000. There were no receipts from the sale of grain or other produce, and instead nearly \$10,000 was expended for wheat, oats, and flour to supplement what they had been able to grow for themselves.¹

This deficit was made up chiefly of accounts payable in the course of the year to wholesalers in Winnipeg. Although the community's credit was already on a sound footing, local improvement taxes to the Territorial Government totalling some \$4,000, and the second instalment on the homestead fees of

1 - The figures are taken from "An Account of Receipts and Expenditures of year 1903. Doukhobors Community in Canada", which Peter Verigin enclosed with a letter dated Feb. 19, 1904, to J. Obed Smith, Commr. of Imm., Winnipeg. Maude quotes an account for approximately the same period but of slightly different form, which was presented to the General Meeting held at Nadezhda village, Feb. 28, 1904; op. cit., pp. 257-260.

\$10,000 were both falling due in the spring of 1904, before the men could go out to work or a crop be harvested. Verigin had to arrange a partial deferment of the homestead money for a year and with the negotiation of a bank loan, a temporary crisis in the finances was avoided.¹

Verigin's shrewd business acumen and his capacity for affairs were illustrated during these years by his advantageous negotiations of railway construction contracts and of purchases of land well suited to experience a maximum of increment in value after the completion of railway lines. And yearly the productiveness of the community increased, and its capacity to fill its own needs and have a surplus to sell became more certain. Verigine himself had the following comment to make at the beginning of 1905:

"Re wheat. We had last year different qualities of wheat. We have sold no wheat at all, even we have bought some grain. Though Doukhobors we are trying in this 5-6 years to plough as much as they can for seeding, but same time they have not quited to make children too, so if there is increasing of grain, and proportional with this, are progressing the amount of eaters.

"We have gathered 17,000 lbs. of seneca roots, more or less. We have sold part of this roots, for 65 cents per lb. for \$2,600. The balance of this roots are paceted very clean in white sacks, we are keeping in our store at Yorkton." ²

In the same communication he gave the figures of the grain production in bushels of the communities for 1904 as follows:

1 - Verigin to J. Obed Smith, Feb. 19, 1904.
2 - Verigin to J. Obed Smith, Jan. 17, 1905.

	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Flax</u>
1. Assiniboian Dist.	40,261	49,948	23,396	3,584
2. Swan Lake Dist.	17,085	16,569	10,673	975
3. Devil's Lake Dist.	10,317	12,131	5,646	895

In the course of his business trips to eastern Canada once or twice a year, Verigin usually called upon Government officials in Ottawa, where he was cordially received. When he returned to Europe and Russia at the end of 1906 he carried a letter from the Minister of the Interior, as he was not eligible for a Canadian passport.¹ After the community homesteads were diminished in number the next year and Verigin had turned his attention to British Columbia, his visits to Ottawa were less frequent.

The year 1906 was possibly the one during which the community experienced its greatest prosperity in Saskatchewan. In that year it disposed of 100,000 bushels of grain, which constituted a surplus over its needs for consumption and seed. The men working on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway construction earned about \$235,000, of which they were able to turn over as net profit some \$105,000. And the women were still gathering from \$10,000 to \$12,000 worth of seneca root every year. Other sources of revenue were the subsidiary industries which had been established. These included brick yards and cement works at Yorkton, Verigin, and Swan River, and a newly-completed flour mill at Verigin with a capacity

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 4.

of 150 barrels a day. Other smaller flour and saw mills were in operation in the villages. Some 45 miles of telephone line constructed by themselves connected the villages. The thirteen steam ploughs had been partly abandoned and the power devoted to other uses in the new industries.¹

This material progress had been accomplished essentially through their economic organization on a communistic basis. The system was maintained by a skilful if strict discipline, but it would appear that most of the members worked as hard as they could and made no effort to dispose fraudulently of goods that might be obtained on demand from the Doukhobor stores.² Defections were most prevalent at Rosthern, but evidently before the homestead crisis of 1907 Verigin had determined gradually to abandon this colony as far as the community was concerned. Internal bickerings or rifts were a very much less important factor in causing the significant changes in the community after 1907 than was the homestead settlement finally imposed by the Government in that year.

In making his decision on the land question at the time of his taking over the direction of the Doukhobors at the beginning of 1903, Peter Verigin had in some respects a more complex problem than was involved in the working out of a scheme of communism. On the one hand there were the views of his people who had declared their opposition to both individual holdings and the oath of allegiance. Those few who had entered

1 - C. W. Speers, general colonization agent, to J. Obed Smith, June 22, 1907.

2 - This is Mavor's impression; op. cit., v. II, p. 31.

for homesteads and expressed willingness to take the oath were those most definitely opposed to the community system. But with the Government at last taking a definite stand to force a decision on the Doukhobors, Verigin sought a solution which would preserve both his communal organization and the right of his people to remain on their lands and carry out his program of cultivation and development. He convened a representative meeting at Terpenne village in the South Colony on February 10, 1903, at which were present on behalf of the Government J. S. Crerar and Hugh Harley, the immigration agents at Yorkton and Swan River respectively. The agents announced that they were no longer pleading, as they had been doing for four years; there were hundreds of outsiders eager to take up the land if the Doukhobors refused, and what was desired from the meeting was a decision. In the length discussion which ensued the question of the oath was more contentious than that of entering for homesteads. Peter Verigin presided over this meeting and he induced a decision which enabled Harley to telegraph Commissioner Smith at Winnipeg as follows:-

"All Doukhobors have decided to become British subjects, true Canadians, and to make entry for their homesteads at once; writing."¹

Probably Verigin knew that at that time no more than an informal declaration as to willingness to take the oath could be demanded of an applicant for a homestead until he was

1 - Reports & maps relating to Doukhobor homestead lands, 1907, p.11.

eligible to apply for patent at the end of three years. If he could manage to keep the formality of registering the entries in his own control, even if it were necessary to go through the form of entering in severalty, a further crisis in the integrity of the communal system could be postponed until 1906, and in the intervening time many favourable developments might take place either in the attitude of the Doukhobors or in the provisions of the Homestead Law. Accordingly, taking advantage of a clause of the Dominion Lands Act which allowed entries to be by proxy, he and his committeemen, Paul Planidin and Nicholas Zibarof, were allowed on April 16, 1903, to enter for more than 1,800 homesteads on behalf of the eligible men and women in the community without the latter appearing at any time at the Lands Office, although one authentic name was placed opposite each quarter-section. Verigin was permitted to make further entries and adjustments during the next two years, until the total of community homesteads reached more than 2,000, or over 320,000 acres of land.

At \$10 a homestead, the entry fees for this area totalled about \$20,000. In a letter dated February 26, 1903, and signed by the Doukhobor committee of three, Commissioner Smith learned from the Doukhobors themselves that they were to enter for homesteads but not individually, and that the balance of the proceeds from the sale of the stray cattle the previous October were to be applied as a first payment on the entry fees. The committee acknowledged on behalf of the general meeting of February 10th a statement from the Commissioner which showed the total returns from the sale to be \$16,024.25,

the expenses of the pilgrimage and the return of the pilgrims to their homes \$7,292, leaving a balance with interest of \$9,142.03. The Commissioner was directed to apply this balance as a first payment of half the fee, being \$5 for each homestead. The other half of the entry fee would be paid on or before March 1, 1904.

From the point of view of the Department of the Interior this decision was the end of an intense campaign which had been carried on for over a year with the object of inducing the Doukhobors to enter for their lands. A year earlier on February 15, 1902, the minister had written a letter in which, in order to reconcile their communism with the homestead law, he granted them the right to "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 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."¹

With this assurance the Doukhobors went ahead under Verigin's direction with the expansion of their ploughed and cultivated areas, breaking first the lands nearest to the villages without reference to the boundaries of the individual homesteads. When in 1906 the cancellation and readjustment of all Doukhobor homesteads were carried out, partly on the ground

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 7.

that cultivation requirements had not been fulfilled, the Doukhobors pointed to their letter from Mr. Sifton as authority for their communal procedure, but the department claimed other provisions of the letter and of the law had been constantly ignored by the Doukhobors, and continued with its scheme to discourage communism.

All the entries made by Verigin on behalf of the community were within the Doukhobor reserves. When he desired to take some land north of the original Thunder Hill reserve the Department added two townships which were too far north to have attracted general settlement in 1903. In the face of a rapid change in the country north of Yorkton from ranching to wheat land, which meant that the number of public homestead entries increased greatly every year, the reserves were maintained for nearly two years after the bulk of the community Doukhobor homestead entries had been made, and for six years from the time of their establishment in 1898. However, on December 15, 1904, when nearly all eligible Doukhobors had entries, the reserves were finally thrown open for general homesteading by an eager public. But as the land in the townships originally reserved was almost entirely under entry by Doukhobors the change was more of a formality than a provision for immediate inflow of settlers.¹

It would appear that the key to the adjustment of the Doukhobor homesteads in 1906 and 1907 and the apparent volte-face

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 7.

in public policy which it involved is found in the change in Ministers of the Interior in the middle of 1905, when Hon. Frank Oliver succeeded Hon. Clifford Sifton, who resigned chiefly as a result of the School Clauses in the proposed acts to set up the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Mr. Sifton had held the post for nine years, and had been fully cognizant of and in sympathy with the original migration of the Doukhobors in 1899. The new minister, as a private member though a government supporter, had frequently questioned and criticized the extensive influx of Doukhobor, Galician, and other eastern European settlers into the West. With only an indirect and not a personal responsibility for the immigration of the Doukhobors, even after he took office, he did not feel called upon to condone and facilitate their communistic economy apart from the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act as long as they held land under those provisions.

However, the readjustment of 1907 was in no sense precipitate, and the specific investigations upon which it was based were instituted while Mr. Sifton was still in office. Of all the officers of the Department of the Interior probably C. W. Speers, general colonization agent, was most intimately in touch with the Doukhobor communities in all their aspects in these years. In the course of his moving from one district to another in the West inspecting foreign colonies and individual settlers and facilitating their successful adjustment on their farms, he visited Doukhobor communities as often as a dozen times a year, reporting on their fanatical outbreaks, their farming progress, their attitude toward certain laws, their

numbers and distribution, and kindred matters. In April 1905, shortly before the change of ministers, he made a report direct to Mr. Sifton, in which he recommended for the first time a commission to investigate the whole matter of the extent to which the Doukhobors were fulfilling their duties with respect to residence and improvements on their land.

Such an investigation was probably overdue. The rapid growth of the population of the prairies and the occupation of most of the good land between the new Canadian Northern and the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway had enhanced greatly the value of the land in the districts where the Doukhobors lived. Under the Lands Act an individual homesteader could have his entry cancelled for any one of several technical infringements readily apparent to anyone who might envy his location. It was apparent to many of their neighbours that according to the exact interpretation of the Act the Doukhobors were in default of their duties in many cases, but just which individuals were involved was most difficult to determine. Frequent demands were made to the Department over a period of years to check the situation so that the public could get access to the lands which, when they were designated for the Doukhobors in 1898 were thirty miles or more from a railway and an even greater distance from general settlement, were now, as a result of the work of the Doukhobors in proving the fertility of the country as much as because of encroaching frontiers, among the most desirable of the unalienated homestead areas. It was as a result of such agitation that the reserves were discontinued in December 1904, but as most of the areas still remained in the control

of the Doukhobors, public pressure on the Department continued the following year more persistently than before. Not only were would-be homesteaders pressing for cancellation, but also tradesmen in the towns, who had praised the Doukhobors generously in earlier times before the community had organized its own co-operative stores and commenced to make most of its purchases at wholesale in distant cities.¹

Speers continued his inspections in the summer of 1905, and on September 7th made an exhaustive and lengthy report to the new minister on all the Doukhobors of western Canada. He dealt with the community and its members both at Rosthern and in the eastern colonies, with the Independents, and with the fanatics found in some of the settlements. He repeated his recommendation of a commission to examine the whole question and especially the compliance with the land and homestead regulations.

In the fall of 1905 several homestead inspectors representing the Lands Branch of the Department commenced a survey of all the colonies to determine in considerable detail the relative areas and location of the cultivated parts, and they were also to make a census. Because of his knowledge of the Doukhobors Speers framed the instructions which these men were to follow. He informed them that the population of the eastern colonies was as follows: Kamsack (or Yorkton), 3,494; Swan River, 2,263; Devil's Lake, 956; total in 44 villages, 6,703. It was Verigin's intention, wrote Speers, to make all the villages of a uniform size with 40 families. At present

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 6

there were sixteen large, 22 small, and seven uniform villages. In the Prince Albert district, where many of the 1,800 people were not communistic, six of the thirteen villages were uniform, three small, and four large.¹

These inspectors secured information which indicated:

"1st. That a very large proportion of the homestead held under entry by Doukhobors were not being cultivated.

"2nd. That cultivation was generally made by the community for the benefit of the community, without regard to the name of the entrant or his place of residence.

"3rd. That the people removed their residence from village to village, without regard to the location of the lands entered in their names.

"4th. That although they had been over eight years in Canada, very few had become British subjects.

"5th. That some entries were in the names of boys who were less than eighteen years of age, and that the persons in whose names other entries were held could not be found in any of the villages."²

Henceforth the policy of the Department was to do everything it could to encourage individualism among the Doukhobors without actually turning the communists out of their homes and without neglecting entirely the guarantees of the Sifton letter of February 15, 1902, as to common cultivation. Whereas previously Verigin had been permitted to make all entries and changes for community members by appearing at the Yorkton or Prince Albert Lands Offices, it was not decided that all dealings should be with individual Doukhobors. This would at least correct the conditions that had sometimes occurred, by which Doukhobors

1 - Instructions dated Oct. 20 and Nov. 4, 1905.

2 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 6.

who had severed their connection with the community and believed themselves to be operating as individuals under the Homestead Law, had found their entries cancelled or altered by Verigin who was believed to represent authoritatively all members of the sect.

In recognition of the fact that "a general cancellation of the homesteads held in the names of Doukhobors, without other provision for them, would be an aggravation and not an avoidance of difficulty," and that "whatever their religious beliefs and however much these have prevented them from conforming to their terms of the Lands Act, they are at least peaceable, self-supporting people, whom it would not be sound public policy, under any circumstances, to reduce to the condition of paupers by depriving them of their homes and the lands which they hold under cultivation.....a departmental commission of inquiry was sent out in August last (1906) for the purpose of making close examination as to all particulars connected with the occupation and ownership of their lands by the Doukhobors."¹

At the head of this commission was Rev. John McDougall, a Methodist missionary who had worked amongst the settlers and the Indian tribes of the West for many years.² Assisting him were Samuel Maber, a clerk employed in the Lands Branch of the Interior Department, and Michael White, "a man of Russian birth and German parentage who understood the Russian language and was

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 9

2 - "McDougall of Alberta", by John Maclean, Toronto, 1927, describes the commissioner's career, Chap. XXII is "Among the Doukhobors".

educated in English, as the interpreter."¹

The first report of this commission made on November 25, 1906, presented detailed information and a discussion of the ways in which the circumstances might be made to fit the Lands Act. The commission "found 61 villages, 8,701 people, 2,160 homestead entries, 49,429 acres under cultivation, average entries per village 35, average population per village 142, and an average cultivation of 5-6/10 acres per head." Of these, 849 were Independents who, "although residing in 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." They had made 211 homestead entries and were cultivating 6,906 acres or an average of 8-1/10 acres per head.²

In 1904 when the Department was not so openly hostile to blanket entries and communal cultivation, action had been taken with Verigin's approval to cancel all entries for quarter-sections under village sites. This was done to protect the inhabitants in their homes, and the land thus dealt with was retained in the reserves at the disposal of the Government even after the bulk of the reserves were thrown open to the public in December 1904. The commission found that as a result of migrations from one village to another and between the Yorkton and Prince Albert reserves, 38 of the 61 villages were "either

1 - Hansard, (Hon. F. Oliver) June 5, 1908, p. 9954.

2 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 9.

partially or entirely without protection as matters now stand."¹ Any village which was not on Dominion Lands for which there was no homestead entry was deemed to be "without protection". Thus, 33 villages were on homesteads entered for by community Doukhobors, fourteen of whom were non-residents. Three Independents had entry for homesteads on which villages or parts of villages were situated. Two villages were on railway land, and five were fully protected by being on land purchased by the community.²

In a memorandum to Council dated December 1, 1906,³

the Minister of the Interior explained that "it would appear to be impossible to protect the community rights of the Doukhobors as they understand and desire them under the provisions of the Dominion Lands Act, and it would further appear to be impracticable to longer permit them to ignore leading principles and provisions of the Act while claiming protection under it..... It would seem therefore that the time has come to set clearly before the people the disadvantages of communism and the advantages of independence by only giving homestead rights to those who are prepared to comply with homestead conditions. At the same time as has already been said it would not be well to take such action as would deprive them either of their homes or any portion of their cultivation that can reasonably be preserved to them, or of the opportunity to reasonably increase their cultivation if they insist upon remaining communists and refuse to become British subjects."⁴

The minister made the following recommendations, which were accepted by the cabinet: (1) Independent Doukhobors complying in every way with the Dominion Lands Act and living in a village within three miles of the land they were cultivating were to be protected in their entries; those more than three miles from their land were to be protected for six months, during

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 9.

2 - Ibid, p. 9.

3 - Ibid, pp. 6-11.

4 - Ibid, p. 10.

which time they might move to within three miles of their homestead. (2) All entries by Doukhobors who were not cultivating the land in their names for their own benefit were to be cancelled. (3) The quarter-sections on which were situated community villages and the adjacent quarter-sections aggregating 15 acres per head of the communists in the villages including as much community cultivation as possible within three miles of the villages were to be held from re-entry during the pleasure of the Government. (4) During three months those willing to leave the community were to have prior right of entry on all other cancelled lands. (5) Community entry fees were to be credited against re-entries of former community members. (6) After three months lands not entered for individually by former communists were to be thrown open to the public under the terms of the Lands Act. (7) During the 1907 season the community was to have the right to work the cultivated areas of the cancelled community homesteads. (8) Those taking advantage of their right of individual re-entry were to be subject to all the requirements of the Act, but under the Hamlet Clause they might live in a village not more than three miles from their quarter-section. (9) The commission was to visit again all villages to inform the Doukhobors of the decision, to select the land to comprise the 15-acre-per-head reserve, and to take the entries of those who would become individualist.¹

With these conditions summarized in a circular

¹ - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, pp. 10-11

printed in both English and Russian,¹ and making it clear that what the Government wished was a decision individually from every Doukhobor as to whether he would take the oath of allegiance and commence to cultivate his own homestead or whether he would be content to share in a community allotment of 15 acres per soul, McDougall and his assistants made their second itinerary in January and February 1907. During this time the Doukhobors were told that all entries not being legally maintained were to be cancelled, and at the conclusion of the tour 2,503 entries were cancelled.

For its third visit, concluded in May, the commission was vested with the authority of a Dominion Lands sub-agency, and was also empowered to accept applications for naturalization. It was learned that none of the communists in the Prince Albert agency wished to accept reserve land there; they asked to be given allotments in the Yorkton colony near Verigin station or Kamsack. The commission disclaimed authority to facilitate such moves, although several hundred communists had already migrated eastward in the previous several years. With no other difficulties of a major character, the commission carried out the process of creating 61 village reserves for 8,175 communists, making use of 768 quarter-sections or 122,880 acres of land. At the same time 235 entries were taken from Independents, and 270 applications for naturalization were accepted. With 136 homesteads already under entry by Independents,

1 - English version quoted *ibid*, pp. 11-12.

there were thus released for homestead entry by the public 1,618 quarter-sections, or 258,880 acres,¹ constituting well over half of the 2,760 homesteads for which Doukhobors had entered, either as communists or independently, in the period from July 1, 1902 until the end of 1905.²

The land thus released was on May 13, 1907, advertised for public homestead entry, to be opened at the rate of approximately a township a day, commencing on June 1st and continuing at Prince Albert until June 13th and at Yorkton until July 6th.³ Applicants came from all over the West to secure this land, and by August 1st over three-quarters of it had been taken.⁴

The repercussions of the McDougall commission's land settlement on the Doukhobors, and especially on their community organization, were both significant and soon apparent. The area of land at the disposal of Verigin and his followers was reduced to less than one-third, from over 350,000 acres to less than 125,000 acres, and, tenure being during the pleasure of the Government, it was technically back on the same relatively precarious basis of 1899-1902. It is true that, according to the careful investigations of 1905 and 1906, the new reserves included an amount of uncultivated land twice as large as

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, final report of commissioner, May 14, 1907, p. 27-29.

2 - Doukhobor homestead entries by fiscal years ending June 30th were as follows (from annual report of deputy minister): 1900, 0; 1901, 0; 1902, 116; 1903, 2013; 1904, 434; 1905, 207.

3 - Reports & maps relating to Doukhobor homestead lands, 1907, p.6

4 - Ibid, p. 5.

the total of community cultivation until that time; but whereas previously the holdings had been, for the most part, continuous for miles in all directions and between villages, henceforth there were almost as many separate patches as villages, and Independent Doukhobors and other farmers lived on the intervening land in considerable numbers. Although less than 300 communities had immediately accepted the offer of the McDougall commission to enter individually for homesteads in a regular manner, in the next two or three years many others left the community, so that in 1912 there were in Saskatchewan over 1,000 Independent Doukhobors owning or homesteading their own farms and swearing allegiance to the king.¹

The most noteworthy change which found at least its immediate cause in the 1907 land adjustment was the investigation by Doukhobor scouts of Southern British Columbia in the following year and the exodus thither of several thousand of the sect shortly after. Verigin apparently decided that to have most of the land from which the community's livelihood would be derived subject to withdrawal by a Government which had apparently discarded its essentially paternalistic attitude toward the Doukhobors, would be much too precarious a basis on which to proceed indefinitely. To have attempted to guide the community intact through the process of allowing the members to earn personal title to a homestead before turning it over to the community would have been still more risky. Accordingly,

1 - Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, p. 126.

all future acquisitions of land were by purchase. Further purchases were made from time to time in Saskatchewan, and on land held in fee simple the rapid development of the British Columbia colonies took place in the next half dozen years.

Several pertinent questions about the relations between the Doukhobors and the Dominion Government in Saskatchewan during these years previous to 1908 now suggest themselves. Did the Government break faith with the Doukhobors with reference either to promises or agreements made before or at the time of the migration, or to undertakings or bargains offered in subsequent years? The extent to which one would press the question which is naturally associated with the first -- Did not the Doukhobors fail to fulfil their side of any such agreements to such an extent as to justify the plea of the Government that the agreements were no longer in effect? -- would depend upon one's view of the role of Peter Verigin in the negotiations and the extent to which he and his personality determined the attitude of the Doukhobors generally; it is more reasonable to attempt to charge one responsible man with duplicity than to blame a whole people for the vagaries of even a considerable proportion of their number.

Further, whether possible agreements were kept or broken by either side, was the Government's action as consistent with sound public policy within the scope of the law as it might have been? In other words, did it embody common sense in its balancing of the needs and wishes of the Doukhobors and those of the Canadian people in general -- including the

settlers and would-be settlers in the Doukhobor districts?

Finally, what was the reaction of the Doukhobors themselves, and especially Verigin, to the settlement? Did they deem themselves to have been betrayed either in general or in some particulars? Was the action either a surprise or a disappointment to Verigin?

As touching all three of these groups of questions, the opinion of Professor Mavor may be fittingly quoted here. Without going as far as openly to disparage the good faith of the Government, he nevertheless finds its action to have been at least unfortunate. He writes:

"He (Sifton) agreed to allow the Doukhobors to settle in communities by utilizing on their behalf the so-called Hamlet Clause in the Homestead Acts. I cannot undertake to give in this place a full statement of the complicated controversy that arose out of this rather indefinite undertaking. One fact, however, must be insisted upon, viz., the Department of the Interior was fully aware that the Doukhobors were reputed to be not individualist farmers, that, on the contrary, they practised a form of communism, the precise form of it as carried out in practice not being known. The department knew also that an explicit condition of the immigration was that the people should be allowed to settle in villages."¹

and later:

"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 allotted 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."²

It may be recalled that Professor Mavor was an active agent in the original migration and during the early months of the settlement, and that he was never entirely out of

1 - Mavor, op. cit., v. II, p. 3.

2 - Ibid, v. I, p. 32.

touch with the Doukhobors during the next twenty years. If he were prejudiced at all it would be in favour of the Doukhobors, but his emphasis on the Government's knowledge of the Doukhobors' communism, and on the "rather indefinite" character of the whole undertaking, are worthy of note. There is no utility in searching for a contract, apart from the military service order in council, which granted the Doukhobors extraordinary or extra-legal privileges. The simply-stated conditions of acquiring land -- that every male over 18 years could get 160 acres on payment of a \$10 entry fee -- were presumably to be adjusted within the ample scope of the Lands Act to suit circumstances as they subsequently developed. This was the procedure until 1906. But when it was a case of putting a legal aspect on the settlement of 15 acres per head by order in council of December 7, 1907¹ -- after the whole process had been completed by executive order -- the minister had to cite one of the most general clauses in the Dominion Lands Act, which authorized the Governor in Council to "make such orders as are deemed necessary" 'to meet any cases which arise and for which no provision is made in the Act'.²

The Doukhobors never enlisted legal counsel on their behalf during the negotiations of 1906-07. Apart from any tenet of their religion which may have discouraged such a procedure, probably their best interest was served without too meticulous reference to the statute books. Nevertheless

1 - P.C. 2624, Canada Gazette, Sept. 19, 1908, p. 799

2 - Cited *ibid*; sub-clause (h) of clause 90

there was a clause in the Lands Act which was apparently never cited by either side and to which a lawyer might well have referred, to the advantage of the Doukhobors. This was the extension to the Hamlet Clause permitting co-operative associations to have reserves set aside for homestead entry by their members within which they might cultivate in common under certain conditions.¹ Passed in 1898, this clause was certainly in effect until 1907.² Yet on April 11, 1907, in the course of an interview between Mr. Oliver and a committee of Doukhobors, the minister said:

"There was a provision in the law at the time the Doukhobors came to Canada which allowed people to live in villages, but it did not permit them to cultivate their land or did not expect them to hold their property in common."³

With no knowledge of the Homestead Law, the Doukhobors could not contradict this statement.

The most convincing explanation of the policy of the Department of the Interior is that mentioned by Mavor above: that the political pressure exerted by those who wished to get Doukhobor lands and who were British subjects and voters was greater in the Government's estimation than that of 8,000 Doukhobors who had declared frequently that they had no intention of being naturalized. This explanation was really admitted by the Government and its spokesmen during the negotiations. For instance, the circular which the McDougall commission

1 - 61 Victoria, 1898, chap. 31, sec. 3.

2 - R.S.C. 1906, chap. 55, sec. 122.

3 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 25.

distributed during its second itinerary of the Doukhobor villages contained the following sentence:-

"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."¹

The ensuing action of dispossessing the Doukhobors of two-thirds of their lands was readily justified by interpreting the Lands Act -- in spite of its homestead clause -- as essentially individualistic. The difference in point of view between Sifton and Oliver has already been mentioned. As a ramification of this factor of change in the administration of the department, it is noteworthy that all the superior officers of the permanent staff -- including the deputy minister, the superintendent of immigration at Ottawa, and the commissioner of immigration at Winnipeg -- who had been concerned with the arrival of the Doukhobors in 1899 had retired before 1906.²

What was the view of Verigin and the Doukhobors? William Blakemore, the British Columbia Royal Commissioner, investigated this matter in 1912. In fact he seems to have depended chiefly on the testimony of those Doukhobors, especially Peter Verigin, who appeared before the commission for the information from which he recounts the story of the land troubles in Saskatchewan five years previously. Verigin told his story of the homestead entries from the time of his arrival in 1902 until the cancellation and establishment of the

1 - Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, p. 11.

2 - W. W. Cory replaced Deputy Minister Smart, 1905; W.D. Scott replaced Superintendent Frank Pedley, 1904; J. Obed Smith replaced Commissioner McCreary, 1900.

curtailed reserve in 1907.¹ He said that his object in entering for the homestead in 1903 was to put the community to work as soon as possible; that he had never really committed himself on the naturalization question, and that he frequently told both Commissioner Smith and the minister in the next year or so that "the people would not be subject to the British Government". The alleged answer was, "That is all right; you will pay \$10 on each homestead and you will be given the land." He described how the cancellation took place while he was in Europe early in 1907, and that when he was notified he would not believe that the minister would deceive him. He referred to an interview in Winnipeg on October 15, 1906, during which Verigin stated that Mr. Oliver had said: "When you come back, then we will consider the question of citizenship." Instead the McDougall commission demanded, "Accept citizenship or lose your land."

The possibility that Verigin foresaw a settlement such as that made in 1907 as inevitable, and that he had resigned himself to it in order to maintain his community organisation intact, is indicated in the fact of his having taken an extended trip to Europe during this time when significant action by the Government was expected. Otherwise it must be concluded that he misjudged the friendliness of the Government and of the new minister. In 1912 he confessed in referring to his trip: "I did not believe the letters I received from the Doukhobors after I was on such good terms with the Government."²

1 - Rep. of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, p. 125 ff.
2.- Ibid, p. 126

However, the main objections of the Doukhobors to the settlement were not directed against the principle of the 15-acre allotment. Several petitions and delegations during the spring of 1907 asked that, in order that the remaining reserves might be as large as possible and all members of the community be able to share the advantages of the steam ploughs and other machinery which they had shared in purchasing, members living at Rosthern and Devil's Lake should be allowed to move to the Kamsack area and receive their 15 acres in the reserves already established around the villages. They were willing to abandon without compensations their improvements, as they considered that the advantages of participating fully in the community operations were more important. Such petitions were sent on March 30th on behalf of 1,113 persons at Rosthern and 774 at Devil's Lake, and a deputation of three Doukhobors pressed the matter on the minister at Ottawa on April 11th.¹ On April 25th Mr. Oliver replied that he had "no authority under the laws of Canada to make such allotment" as was asked for,² but it would seem that he had authority to advise the Governor in Council to "make such orders as are deemed necessary to meet any cases which arise and for which no provision is made in the (Dominion Lands) Act." The same minister had answered a deputation of Doukhobors in February 1907 who said, "We do not want to be swept out," by saying, "I do not want to sweep you out."³ A large proportion of the petitioners moved in the

1 - All documents quoted in Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907, pp. 21-27.

2 - Ibid, p. 27.

3 - Ibid, p. 21.

next year or so and shared in the land available and that which was purchased from time to time; all the rest took out individual homesteads in the abandoned reserves which were then open to public entry.

CHAPTER V.

MIGRATION TO BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1908 - 1912

The Doukhobors had never felt that Saskatchewan would necessarily be their permanent home. However, from 1907 their random thoughts along these lines were replaced by definite investigations of other possible districts to which all or some of them might move and be able to work out a communal economy with little molestation from neighbours or governments. While the farm work on the curtailed Saskatchewan holdings went ahead on a greater scale than ever, Peter Verigin and some of his chief lieutenants inspected parts of Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, and Arizona.¹ Verigin himself probably always saw his greatest scope in Canada, where at least the Government had made guarantees as to military service, and within which migrations could take place without encountering authority at international frontiers. These investigations in southerly latitudes --- which have been renewed frequently since --- were at the instance of Doukhobors who had been especially disappointed in the Canadian climate. The reports of the visitors to the United States indicated that the land was too arid. During the same season the Raymond district in southern Alberta, where Mormons were successfully growing sugar beets and other crops suitable to irrigated farming, was inspected and favourably

1 - Speers to Scott, Aug. 1, 1907.

recommended by the scouts. However, the establishment of Doukhobors in Alberta did not take place for some years, and then at a point some 75 miles west of Raymond.

Early in 1908 British Columbia was visited by Verigin, and at that time he made the first of several purchases of extensive land in the fertile valleys of the Southern Interior. This district had only recently been recognized as a great potential fruit-growing country. Much of the land was covered with a thick growth of timber, which had to be cleared to make way for fruit trees from which a first crop could be taken after four or five years. The arid climate made irrigation indispensable at most points. Thus an individual farmer had to buy land at a cost per acre relatively high as compared with prices on the prairie. If after several years of immediately unremunerative work he successfully completed the process of clearing a few acres and planting them to fruit trees, he might well be adequately recompensed, whether he chose to operate his ranch or to sell it for a much greater figure than he paid.

As Commissioner Blakemore suggests,¹ Verigin undoubtedly foresaw how the development of uncleared land into full-bearing orchard, with an appreciation in value of several hundred per cent., could be effected by the Doukhobor community very much more effectively and on a larger scale than by individual farmers. In any case the material accomplishments in British Columbia of these migrants from Saskatchewan, in the next four years especially, were nothing short of phenomenal,

¹ - Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, p. 30

and could have been effected only by several thousand workers labouring together with one purpose and receiving no individual cash remuneration.

The first purchase in 1908 of 2700 acres of land at the junction of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers was negotiated at \$52.50 an acre to be paid for in six annual instalments. The first permanent party of 100 men and a few women led by Nicholas Zibarof went out in May and immediately started to clear the forest with which most of the land was covered. As further extensive purchases of such relatively high-priced fruit land were contemplated, the work in Saskatchewan was organized so as to provide the maximum of cash for the central fund, from which initial payments were made. Verigin sent three-quarters of the men out to work, and set them the alternative of bringing back at least \$150 in the fall or suffering expulsion from the community. Although such stringent measures did lead to some significant defections, as when a whole village was recalcitrant, yet for the most part the leader was shown to have gauged well the loyalty of his people.¹

Within the next four years most of the land acquisitions in British Columbia were effected, so that by the end of 1912 over 15,000 acres had been purchased for some \$646,000, or about \$45 an acre. At that time about half this amount had not yet been paid over. These lands were in nine separate

1 - H. Harley, Swan River, to J. Bruce Walker, Commr. of Imm., Winnipeg, April 28, 1908.

blocks as follows:

At Brilliant on the Columbia River,	3,649	acres
At Glade on the Kootenay River near Brilliant,	1,092	"
At Grand Forks 90 miles west of Brilliant,	4,182	"
At Pass Creek 15 miles north of Brilliant,	2,465	"
On North Fork of Kettle River near Grand Forks,	527	"
At Champion Creek south of Brilliant,	927	"
At Crescent Valley between Nelson and Brilliant,	1,320	"
On the Slocan River north of Crescent Valley,	837	"
On the Kootenay River west of Nelson,	<u>321</u>	"
Total	15,320	" 1

In these five years nearly 6,000 Doukhobors had removed from Saskatchewan to the new colonies. A year after the first party of 100 men had gone out, their wives and children numbering about 300 joined them. Later in 1909 nearly 2,000 left the Saskatchewan villages which were situated on the poorest land, abandoning it to the Government. The plan was that there should be maximum exploitation of the reserves to facilitate the financing of the exodus, but important future capital investment in Saskatchewan was confined to land purchases and to improvements on owned land. When nothing but favourable reports were received from British Columbia as to climate, water supply, and success in fruit culture, further mass movements were effected in 1910, 1911 and 1912. In the latter year only 2,500 community members remained in the

Verigin district.¹

At the time of their purchase the Grand Forks lands were already improved, with in some places full-bearing orchards fifteen or more years old. There Verigin established and maintained for some years his British Columbia home, though he made a practice of dividing his time between Saskatchewan and the new settlements. But although the preliminary process of clearing and planting was not necessary at Grand Forks, and the colony was therefore from the start on a more stable basis, yet most of the migrants went to Brilliant, the first of the forested and unimproved colonies to be developed. At the latter point the administrative headquarters for the province were early centralized, and close communication between this office and that at Verigin, Saskatchewan, has always been maintained.

To provide water for the several hundred acres which within the first year or so were sown to garden and orchard at Brilliant, the first of several concrete reservoirs was built, with a capacity of a million gallons. It was fed partly from mountain streams and partly through a large pumping station from the Kootenay River. The same plant generated electricity to provide power and light for the settlement. In the first season a sawmill was built at Brilliant to provide lumber for use in the buildings and developments. The clearing and improving of the other properties proceeded

1 - Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, pp. 28 & 35

rapidly in subsequent years, always in line with a professed policy of evolving an essentially agricultural and largely self-contained economy. Thus the sawmills operating on all properties turned out lumber for use within the community. A brick manufacturing plant at Grand Forks sold only such of its product as was not needed for community buildings in all the settlements. A jam factory at Nelson was purchased to facilitate the sale of the varied fruit crop, a large proportion of which would of necessity remain to be disposed of after the needs of members of the community, both in the mountains and on the prairie, had been filled. The central administration continued to perform the functions of a trading company as it did in Saskatchewan, supervising the sale of community products and the purchase and distribution of such goods, mostly raw materials, as were obtainable only outside.¹

From the point of view of material accomplishment the life of the Doukhobor settlers in British Columbia during the first five years was both remarkable and praiseworthy. They discharged all civil obligations connected with their land in an orderly manner. These included remittances of taxes to the provincial government and prompt payments to the private citizens from whom the land had been purchased. And yet in 1912 they had incurred the displeasure of the provincial authorities and of their neighbours to such an extent as to lead the appointment of a royal commission to

1 - Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, pp. 31-33

"inquire into the organization, habits, customs, and practices of the Doukhobor Community at Grand Forks, Brilliant, and elsewhere in the Province, including in the inquiry an investigation into the nature, source, and scope of the authority held or exercised by the leader or leaders of the Community over the other members thereof; the tenure and ownership of property, real and personal; the solemnization of marriages, and domestic relations generally; naturalization; the observance of law; and generally all matters appertaining to or relating to the Community and its social, intellectual, moral and religious life." ¹

The immediate occasion for the investigation from the administrative point of view of the government was the Doukhobors' incomplete and unsatisfactory acceptance of public schools and their neglect of the registration of vital statistics. Prosecutions for offences against the registration laws, they used as excuses for withdrawing their children from schools, which they looked upon as conducted by the same authority that was persecuting their brethren.²

Once again, as in the case of the land controversy in Saskatchewan, it seems fair to say that technical infringements of the law on the part of the Doukhobors were to a large extent merely the excuse used by citizens when pressing the government for action. The Doukhobors' neighbours were already beginning to be hostile to the community economy, either because as tradesmen they sold little or nothing to Doukhobors, or because as labourers they believed wage rates to be subject to attack by Doukhobors whose sustenance did not depend on their individual earnings, or because as farmers they anticipated overcrowded markets and depressed prices for their produce traceable to the comparatively rapid entry of the

1 -Report of B.C. Royal Comm. on Doukhobors, Aug. 15, 1912, p. 7

2 -Ibid, pp. 33-34

community into large-scale production. In any case, a disregard of school and registration requirements by Doukhobors was not a new attitude among them after their arrival in British Columbia. In Saskatchewan it was, of course, a provincial concern, and even though the administrative campaign of Dominion authorities in the matter of homesteads did largely obscure, and seem to diminish the importance of, these other matters of civil disobedience, yet not a little friction had existed. That there was not more trouble was due to the Territorial and Saskatchewan governments' choosing not to force the issue unduly. In British Columbia where there were no separate schools and where the immigrant problem arose from the presence in the province rather of Asiatics than of Europeans, no extended difficulty in enforcing provincial laws had been experienced until the Doukhobors arrived and shortly precipitated a stalemate.

CHAPTER VI.

DOUKHOBOR PRINCIPLES AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD
EDUCATION AND LAW OBSERVANCE.

Statements as to their principles and economic and social organization which emanate from the Doukhobors themselves usually rest on a distinctly religious basis. Their theology, in its theory is not always in practice, is similar to that of rationalistic dissenters of all countries and ages. Since coming to Canada their name has frequently been linked with that of the Quakers, not only because English and American Friends did so much to aid their migration to and establishment in Canada, but also because certain professed tenets of their faith do resemble closely those of at least the early Quakers. For example, both discarded external authority, either of an infallible church or an infallible book, and made use of a minimum of ritual and ceremony. The Doukhobors' stated advocacy of universal brotherhood is not unconnected with their belief that there is something of the divine in all men. And the further inference from this, that there is an especial measure of divinity in one of their number in each generation, that in fact a "Christ" is always amongst them, leads to the most puzzling and paradoxical aspect of their creed. Somewhere in their theology and tradition there must be an explanation of how their avowed reliance for guidance in conduct solely on an "inner voice" representing the principles of Jesus, is

reconcilable with the apparent almost complete submission to the will of an autocratic leader on most questions of spiritual and material nature. The significant aspect of their religion from the point of view of understanding their attitude toward communal organization and law observance is that they almost invariably justify their conduct by identifying it with what they claim to be fundamental religious principles, and that they never admit of any possible distinction between such principles and the interpretation which for the time being they place on them.¹

An attitude such as that professed by the Doukhobors, that every person can get adequate moral guidance from within himself, possesses at least the germ of anarchy. The attitude of Doukhobors, both leaders and rank and file, to society outside their community has been essentially anarchistic in several spheres, but not including trading relations. Again, several of the customs of the sect, both those which have led to civil conflicts and those what are apart from laws, seem really to illustrate their attempt to approach the simple life and to discard at least such ritual as they associate with orthodoxy. For example, their marriage ceremony as they brought it from Russia, carried it out for many years in Canada, and which is probably still their normal practice today, consists chiefly in the declaration of a couple that they love each

1 - Maude, op. cit., chap. III, describes the "Sources of Doukhoborism"; he and most other writers profess to explain all the facts of Doukhobor history only by attributing a large measure of mysticism to the Doukhobor faith.

other and their commencing to live together. Usually they obtain their parents' consent and announce their union at a regular assembly, where there is seldom any objection forthcoming.¹ Divorce is theoretically as readily obtainable, for marriage is deemed to last no longer than the love of the participating parties. As Maude writes, "They do not make the distinction that we do between the actual and the legal dissolution of the marriage bond."²

The evidence would indicate that, at least in the earlier history of the community in Canada, there was little or no sexual promiscuity amongst the people, The British Columbia royal commissioner in 1912, after having been led to believe that such unconventional conduct was typical, obtained no evidence to justify the contention.³ However, some observers effect to find the key to much of the attitude toward law observance in the fact that their sex morality is at least different from that of their neighbours, though not necessarily inferior. Sometimes critics of the sect link up the neglect to register vital statistics with the supposed presence of unusual family relations against the people.⁴ Without entirely discounting this hypothesis, it may be recalled that in the petition to the Dominion Government of June 1900 and in frequent protests since, the Doukhobors have objected not to marriage in general

1 - Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, p. 45; Elkinton, op. cit., p. 194

2 - Maude, op. cit., p. 318.

3 - Report of B. C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, pp. 45 & 64.

4 - Maude, op. cit., p. 318.

but to the right of the state to interfere in marriage, not to registration in general but to the right of the state to demand voluntary information of population changes within the community, not to ownership of land but to the place of the state in indicating how land should be partitioned.

In Saskatchewan the government was told that complete or sufficient vital statistics could be obtained at the community office, and in 1912 the British Columbia investigation published apparently accurate population figures provided by the Brilliant headquarters, and the officers there agreed to continue to furnish general information for the whole community.¹ An argument frequently used by both leaders and ordinary Doukhobors against the detailed registration of names of children at birth hinged on their apprehension that such information would be used in possible future levies of men for army service. In 1912 they professed to see the British government taking a leading part in the preparation for war which was going on in all civilized countries. In the same connection they would of course frequently refer to their experience in Russia.²

In much the same way Doukhobors have linked up anti-militarism and their objection to schools. During the 1912 investigation an official statement submitted on behalf of the community said: "The most well educated people consider this dreadful sinful such business as war, lawful. We consider

1 - Maude, op. cit. pp. 35 and 53.

2 - Ibid, p. 51.

this is great sin."¹ But their distrust of Canadian schools and the instruction imparted in them rests on more fundamental considerations. They deem the future of their faith and community system to depend to a large extent upon their isolation in language, culture, and economic organization from the non-Doukhobors amongst whom they live, and in this point of view they are in entire agreement with many outsiders who, effecting to be concerned for their welfare, would regard with favour the disintegration of the community.

In accordance with the general observation that Doukhobors find spiritual sanction for all their principles and practices -- those which concern their everyday life as well as those which are more especially religious -- they affirm that they are farmers, that they follow the most natural and desirable of all modes of making a living. In much the same way they feel that they have adopted communism not arbitrarily but because it constitutes the only way of fulfilling the teachings of Christ. In fact their particular form of communal organization -- apart from the fact that it may be subject to considerable alteration from time to time -- is not, in their estimation, susceptible of valid criticism or modification. It may be argued that their more sophisticated leaders would not harbour any such arrogant theories. But even if one doubts that the leaders' course has been motivated by idealism -- and it is not at all clear that one should so

1 - Maude, op, cit. pp. 52.

doubt -- nevertheless the leaders may be supposed to be vitally concerned about the future of the community organization through which they exert their power and influence.

Thus the British Columbia royal commissioner in 1912 confessed that he found it difficult to answer the Doukhobors when they asked "if it were not a fact that there was a universal cry of 'back to the land'?..... They asked if it were not a fact that Canadian and English boys and girls, when educated, would not work on the land, but sought positions in the cities? And if this was a matter of concern and anxiety to their respective Governments, how could fault be found with the Doukhobors for trying to avert a similar calamity among their children?"¹ On the other hand they point out that they give their children an excellent education at home and in the fields; that though they use no books and place no value on ability to write, their young people are imbued, not with an aversion or disdain for the soil, but an appreciation of it and the knowledge of how to cultivate it successfully. They point to the results of their collective labour as proof of their contention.²

During the six years that the Doukhobors lived under the jurisdiction of the government of the Northwest Territories there were no public schools in the community settlements. Although there was a compulsory school attendance law, the Territorial department of education was hardly able to establish and equip within a reasonable time new schools for such of the new settlements as were anxious to obtain

1 - Maude, op. cit. p. 50

2 - Ibid, p. 54.

educational facilities for their children. All foreign bloc colonies which were indifferent to the advantages of schools were unmolested. The Doukhobors were suspicious even of the private schools offered them by Russian benefactors and by Canadian, English and American Quakers. Some writers,¹ in reproaching them for this attitude, quote one of Verigin's letters written from exile in 1898.

"People write me that in America school teaching is obligatory. It is better to be so, because elementary teaching is necessary as a help in life; for instance, in order to be able to read or write something. One must not think that school teaching will completely enlighten a man, but I repeat, it can be a help, and a man by reading books can acquire knowledge, and also his mind will in general develop thereby.

"Briefly, I believe that if God grants to our people to settle in America the elementary training will be necessary. It would be good if the children were so taught as to enable them to adapt the knowledge practically to the requirements of their daily home life."²

Joseph Elkinton, who in the fall of 1902 visited all the Doukhobor colonies with the object of promoting education, states that this letter was written to the Doukhobors. However it is possible that it was one of those which the exiled leader intended only for the eyes of non-Doukhobors in England. That the people did not accept wholeheartedly their leader's precept in Canada, Elkinton believes to have been because of the unfavourable impression of Russian village schools which they had brought with them, and because of the influence of some of the Russians who accompanied them.

1 - Elkinton and others.

2 - Elkinton, op. cit. pp. 77-78.

The few English language schools that were carried on in some of the Doukhobor villages in the first half dozen years were all sponsored by Quakers. Nellie Baker, a member of the Society of Friends from Kingston, Ontario, in 1901 conducted classes successfully near Devil's Lake. Although she found her pupils quick to learn, the work was hindered because only the very young boys and few of the girls were permitted to attend. The following year Helen Morland, sponsored by London Friends, carried on this school for another season until the arrival of Verigin, who showed himself to be not very friendly to education, especially when conducted in English.¹ After Elkinton's preliminary visit in 1902 the Philadelphia Society of Friends decided to confine their educational efforts to the more independent villages in Saskatchewan Territory. A fund of \$10,000 was appropriated, and a large day school was established at Petrofka on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River. William B. Harvey, for many years Clerk of the Doukhobor Committee of the Philadelphia Society of Friends, writes of this venture:

"The Doukhobors were very suspicious, and though we had promised free education of their children they could not believe that anything so good would be meted out and it was necessary for us in some cases to give receipts in full for the year's tuition at or near the time for opening the school."²

The Petrofka school operated until 1910, when, the provincial educational system having been organized for five years, the Doukhobor children were in many cases attending the district

1 - Elkinton, op. cit. pp. 82-85 & 219-224.

2 - Letter from Wm. B. Harvey, March 16, 1932.

public schools nearer their homes. Mr. Harvey comments as follows on the general Doukhobor attitude toward education as he observed it during his connection with the Petrofka school:

"When Verigin was released from exile and came to control his colony it was very evident that he was opposed to education of his people, though he promised our friends that he would establish a school in every village. We felt very definitely that his reason for failure to keep to his promise was that if their children were educated that he would be unable to dominate them along communistic lines."¹

In subsequent years in Saskatchewan the typical Doukhobor attitude toward education, even in the community settlements, has seldom taken the form of complete refusal to send children to school. In most cases both boys and girls are allowed to enrol and attend for three or four years with some regularity, and when they become old enough to be of use in the fields they may still attend in seasons when farm work is slack. However, except for the not infrequent burning of schools and the difficulty in tracing those responsible, the problem of educating Doukhobors in Saskatchewan is not greater or of a markedly different nature from that connected with many of the immigrant groups, individualists as well as those who live in communities. Statistics compiled during 1920-21 show that in some twenty Doukhobor schools in the province with an enrolment of 753, the average attendance was only 477. Very few of the pupils were more than thirteen years old. Only 111 had advanced past the fourth grade, and 305 were in the first grade. Of the total, 404 were boys and 349 girls. These Doukhobor averages were comparable to those

1 - Letter from Wm. B. Harvey, March 16, 1932.

for many of the eastern European and mixed groups, though Scandinavians and Germans generally had better records.

Because the compliance of Doukhobors with provincial laws in British Columbia remained unsatisfactory even after the Royal Commission Report of 1912, legislative machinery for more effective enforcement in the form of the Community Regulation Act¹ was passed in 1914. This Act had the effect of making every member of the Doukhobor community responsible for the compliance with the Vital Statistics, Public Schools, and Health Acts, of every other member, and penalties were in the form of fines to be levied if necessary on goods and chattels belonging to the community. Without at first forcing the government to utilize the drastic provisions of this law, Verigin undertook to use his influence to induce his people to accept schools. The outbreak of the Great War aroused again the apprehensions of the Doukhobors. A deputation bearing a letter from Verigin, in which he expressed the fear that their children would be educated for military service in schools, on September 20, 1915, interviewed Attorney-General W. J. Bowser, who warned them that after seven years of forbearance the government was prepared to enforce the Community Regulation Act, but that no military training or religious teaching would be forced on Doukhobor children in provincial public schools.²

1 - Statutes of B. C., 1914, chap. 11.

2 - Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 715.

By 1916 two schools had been built at Brilliant, and a third and fourth were added in 1918 and 1920. Glade got two schools in 1916 and 1917. In the latter year schools were established at the Doukhobor settlements of Krestova, Outlook, and Pass Creek, and three years later at Spencer and Champion Creek. Thus by 1922 there were eleven Doukhobor schools and adequate accommodation was available in Grand Forks city schools for those living nearby. In that year attendance in most of the schools declined appreciably. Certain parents were prosecuted and fined, and when they refused to pay, distress was levied on community property, but before this was sold the vice-president of the community forwarded a cheque for the amount of the fine and undertook to arrange that the children should return to their classes.¹

During the 1920 session of the legislature a new provision for community school districts² had been inserted in the Public Schools Act, to provide that if the attendance at any such school declined unduly, the community could be called upon to pay the full cost of the school and of the teacher's salary instead of receiving liberal aid from the province, and if necessary such amount could be collected by distress seizure of community goods. In May 1923 the first school arson case took place, when the Outlook building was burned. Other schools were fired during that summer, and in only one case was there an arrest and successful conviction. Provincial

1 - B.C. Public Service Bulletin, v. 1, No. 1, June 1925, p. 6

2 - Statutes of B.C., 1920, chap. 82, sec. 22.

police became especially vigilant, but although the community and its members disclaimed responsibility for the fire, they could not or would not indicate or testify against the guilty ones. By February 1925 nine schools had been burnt, including two large buildings built by the government at Brilliant. The local school and provincial police inspectors addressed a mass meeting at Brilliant in April, explaining that the Doukhobors must send their children to school and either rebuild the destroyed buildings or bear the cost of the government's doing it. The meeting and its leaders -- amongst whom Peter Veregin was not numbered, as he had been killed in October 1924 -- refused to obey the school laws. Parents of absent children were prosecuted and fined at Grand Forks. When they refused to pay the penalties totalling \$4,500, police seized some \$5,400 worth of movable community property and in the face of strong appeals by Doukhobors to the government, the goods were sold at auction for \$3,360. Some timber was later seized to make up the difference, but on payments by the community of what was owing, this was released.

The following official figures show the enrolment and average daily attendance at Doukhobor schools until 1924:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Enrolment</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
1916-17	76	41
1917-18	183	98
1918-19	197	102
1919-20	266	143
1920-21	414	209
1921-22	389	153
1923-24	188	115

The potential school population during these years could only be estimated by the government. The inspector of Doukhobor schools placed the number of children of school age at 500 in 1921. The enrolment of 414 was therefore 82.8 per cent of what it might have been, but the average daily attendance of 209 was little more than 50 per cent of the enrolment.¹

Although most of the schools which had been destroyed in 1924 and 1925 were rebuilt by the Doukhobors in time for the opening of the term in September 1925, attendance and other difficulties of administration have remained unsatisfactory since. During the three years between the death of Peter V. Verigin in 1924 and the assumption of the leadership by his son Peter P. Verigin, who arrived from Russia in September 1927, Doukhobor officials would not commit the community to accept education. Information from Russia led to the belief that the new leader would favour schooling for his people. For this reason the governments and many of the educated young Independent Doukhobors hoped to see a more peaceful and enthusiastic acceptance of schools by the community after the younger Verigin had taken the lead. This view seemed to be substantiated by statements made by the new president of the community upon his arrival and the improvement in the enrolment and attendance at community schools. But soon incendiarism broke out again, with the police having no success

1 - B.C. Pub. Serv. Bul., June 1925, pp. 6-7.

in identifying the persons responsible. Verigin has consistently blamed the "provocators" and cranks among the Sons of Freedom sect, whom he and his community organization frequently repudiate in public statements. But from the point of view of the provincial governments the significant fact is that with schools being intermittently destroyed the attendance of community Doukhobor children is still very irregular.

Enrolment in all schools of all Doukhobor children during more recent years was as follows: 1925-26, 600; 1926-27, 750; 1927-28, 657; 1929-30, 719. From one to five high school students were reported in this period, and boys formed 60 per cent of the total.¹

In spite of the Doukhobors' almost constant alterations, both as a community and as individuals, with Dominion and provincial authorities since they have lived in Canada, the issues over which the differences have arisen are few, and the only crimes prevalent amongst even a small portion of the sect are indecent exposure and, apparently, arson. The only satisfactory explanation of why certain civil obligations only have been repudiated, and yet recurrently repudiated over a period of many years, is found in the persistent and calculated aim of the leaders to preserve the germ of the community system by which power might remain centred in themselves. In maintaining the group consciousness and solidarity by which alone the community could function permanently, the Doukhobors'

1 - Figures from annual reports of B.C. Dept. of Education for years indicated.

experience in Russia had shown that external human pressure or hostility was even more effective than isolation. With the question of military service settled indefinitely if not for all time before they arrived in Canada, new points of difference had to be emphasized. Homestead, registration, and school laws in turn fulfilled this function. But in each of these instances the Doukhobors and their leaders realized that passive attacks on the community would be involved in an attitude of ready obedience, and that, indeed, the hope of bringing about disintegration of the community was a not inconsiderable motive in the public policy of the governments and the public opinion to which the governments responded. In desiring to withhold education from their children these leaders were accused of being afraid to allow them to become able to choose intelligently between a life of virtual slavery and the quasi-free existence ensured by individualism. To such statements Verigin and his associates replied that the insidious nature of conventional education would prepare their children for anything but an intelligent choice, and that any freedom which was associated with the acquisitiveness of the individualist world was contrary to Christian precepts and Doukhobor principles. To the reproach that they wished to utilize as early as possible the free or cheap labour of the growing boys and girls, and therefore would not spare them the time to attend school to learn how to compete in other vocations than farming, the same leaders answered that true education was apart altogether from the school room,

and that as agriculture is for them the fundamental industry the children were much better occupied in the fields.

If both the public and the Doukhobor attitudes are sincere -- and without doubt most of the advocates of each have felt themselves to be sincere -- one cannot help but observe that they are based on opposite postulates; the one view takes for granted the advantages of individualism, and the other rests equally firmly on the desirability of co-operation and group action. Although the latter may seem to be the more social of the two philosophies, its social-mindedness in practice extends not at all beyond the bounds of its own specific group.

CHAPTER VII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF
UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD AND ITS MATERIAL PROGRESS.

The futility of attempting to base not only a general decision in favour of communism, but also the secondary details of the scheme, on quasi-moral grounds, was amply illustrated during the four years in which the Doukhobor immigrants were without Peter Verigin's leadership in Canada. Most of those who took part in the frequent bickerings in and between the villages at that time were really anxious to adopt communal living. Verigin was able to introduce unity and direction into these efforts because he recognized the need for making arbitrary decisions as to details, in order that the really essential elements of co-operation and effective discipline might be insured. The system which he soon evolved maintained the villages as important economic units, in recognition of the Russian peasant customs and practices which the Doukhobors had already followed in the physical layout of their holdings.¹ It provided also for a central management having adequate control over the villages and administering a central fund by means of which large co-operative industries and plants could be conducted for the benefit of all villages, and

1 - For description of the Russian Mir vide "The Economic History of Russia", by James Mavor, 1914, pp.49 ff.

which would permit business to be carried on with the world outside the Doukhobor community advantageously on a wholesale basis.

The central office was first in Otradnoe village¹ and later, after the Canadian Northern Railway had been built through the midst of the South Colony, it was moved to Verigin station eight miles south. Simeon Reiben, Verigin's Secretary for some years until 1910, was in charge of this office as manager until that year, when Michael W. Cazakoff succeeded him. The books kept by these men showed a ledger account of each village's dealings with the central fund. Each village had between 150 and 200 inhabitants, who worked the lands of their village as defined by the community managers. A village was required to contribute to the central fund an annual levy of a uniform amount for each working man. In 1912 this sum was \$200, a recent increase from \$100 to facilitate the move to British Columbia and the land purchases there. Each village owned its own live stock and implements, which were replaced and augmented with any surplus money that might remain from the sale of its crops after the levy had been paid. The villagers were collectively the owners of the village property, considered apart from the central fund. Annual balance sheets for all of the 47 villages were also computed and recorded at the central office.

1 - Poterpevshie, "That has suffered", was called Otradnoe, "The joyful", after Verigin arrived in Canada; Maude, op. cit. p. 233.

Other ledger accounts gave each individual's contributions to the central fund. These included all surplus wages earned outside the community, frequently wages for work in community industries, and other voluntary gifts.¹ During the years of uninterrupted progress from 1903 to 1907 this central fund was used for extensive land purchases adjoining the reserves, in buying the large-scale machinery with which the land was chiefly worked, and in establishing the flour mill, brick plant, and saw mills at Verigin and elsewhere. The central office carried out the purchases of food, clothing, and other consumption goods, buying them at wholesale in Winnipeg and other cities. It built elevators which not only handled all saleable community grain but also that of Independent and non-Doukhobor farmers on the regular commercial basis.²

The central fund was indispensable in financing the move to British Columbia after 1908. Whereas the proportion of men working on railway construction and other jobs declined appreciably after 1905 when the large crops being harvested from community land provided ample work for many of them at home, in 1907 the pressure for cash led Verigin to send three-quarters of his labouring force of 2,000 to outside work, and he placed on them the obligation of bringing back definite sums. In 1911 these

¹ - Rep. of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, pp. 27 & 39
² - Ibid., pp. 57-58.

assessments yielded \$214,000. The difference between this amount and the total income for the year of \$342,099 came from the contributions of persons entering the community, from the sale of stock and implements of villages whose inhabitants had gone to British Columbia, and from the sale of town lots owned by others who had left. As payment for the current year on lands purchased in the Kootenay, \$134,772 of this was expended. A bank overdraft of \$17,939 carried over from 1910 was paid off. To defray the living expenses of the as-yet unproductive British Columbia colonists, \$112,000 was necessary. Freight and transportation payments to railways totalled \$182,827, and sundry expenses brought the year's outlay to \$375,999.¹

The balance sheet for the Saskatchewan section of the community for 1912 showed assets of \$332,300, including 12,500 acres of land listed at the cost price of \$15 an acre. The community property administered by the separate villages, including certain land, buildings, and implements, and of a total value almost as great as the central fund, was not included in the above amount.²

Although in British Columbia all land was held for the community as a whole, yet something of the economic if not the physical aspect of the villages was preserved there. In the early prairie colonies the houses had been built of logs and clay, or, where timber was not so easy to obtain, sod buildings had been constructed. These had been usually one-storeyed

1 - Rep. of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, pp. 40-41; figures for year ending Aug. 1912.

2 - Ibid, p. 27.

structures of which each village contains several dozen. In the new province, where farming was obviously to be more intensive than in a district where grain was the chief crop, the houses have been built at first of lumber but latterly of brick, according to one standard model, three storeys high, 30 by 32 feet, in pairs about 50 feet apart and connected by a low shed. Each of these pairs of houses, which may be within a few hundred yards of each other, is called a "village". Several families totalling as many as 40 or 50 people live in each village, and for certain purposes of cultivation and communal living they constitute a unit in the books of the central office at Brilliant or Grand Forks. The gardens and orchards around each village are cultivated by the women and some of the men of the village, while the other men occupy themselves in the general community work of clearing land, operating the jam factory, saw mills, brick plants, and other industries, or they work outside the community for wages. In British Columbia the central office continued to purchase the goods needed by all members, and for many years under the older Verigin's regime these were distributed on a true communistic basis so that any reasonable amount could be obtained at the warehouses without payment of any kind.

Although Verigin registered the name "Doukhobor Trading Company" soon after his arrival in Saskatchewan, he was virtually the sole person legally responsible for the obligations of the community. His record in this role of trustee has been frequently commended, and few of his enemies

have questioned his integrity though they have questioned the merits of the whole theocratic communistic system. In Saskatchewan there had been provision for a member's withdrawing and securing his equitable portion of the property of his village though not of the central fund. Complaints that this provision had been infringed or withdrawn in British Columbia were made before the royal commission there in 1912. In examining Peter Veregin and other witnesses the commissioner learned that the leader still admitted the right of members to their share of goods if they left the community, but that the magnitude of the undertakings in connection with the new colonies had saddled the community with a considerable debt. Veregin claimed that as partners to this undertaking seceding members were unreasonable in expecting prompt and complete payment when they withdrew. The commissioner found that, though Veregin's execution of his trust had been mainly in the interests of his people, yet steps should be taken to place the land titles and the ownership of the community assets in general on a sounder legal footing.¹

No action was taken to bring this about until 1917, when letters patent were issued by the Secretary of State to "The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Limited", thus giving the organization a Dominion charter.² The terms of incorporation are in conventional terms which might apply to an ordinary joint stock company, with no indication of the

1 - Ibid, pp. 41-42

2 - April 25, 1917.

co-operative nature of the Doukhobor community. Peter Verigin, M.W. Cazakoff, and seven other Doukhobors of Grand Forks, Brilliant and Verigin, are named as the corporate members. A capital stock of 10,000 shares of \$100 each, or \$1,000,000, is named, and the head office is designated as Verigin, Saskatchewan.¹ The named corporate members constituted the board of directors, and they and their successors have held the stock. This incorporation had the effect of obviating the legal difficulties which might present themselves to an association of more than a certain number of men in an enterprise with a view to profit. But the interest of the thousands of members has remained with no protection other than the integrity of community leaders.

The situation was apparently thought to be still unsatisfactory, and at the 1918 session of Parliament Verigin petitioned for a special act of incorporation of The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.² This body was to have the power to set up subsidiary companies and to acquire the capital stock of The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Limited. The bill insured to seceding members the right to their equity in the community property, providing the creditors of the community consented. All by-laws were to be subject to the approval of the Minister of the Interior, and a complete report as to officers, assets, and other information was to be made annually to the same minister.

1 - Canada Gazette, May 5, 1917, p. 3887.

2 - Bill 0 of Senate and 96 of H. of C., session of 1918.

Speaking to the bill for the Government, Hon. Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior, was somewhat doubtful as to the advisability of perpetuating a communistic enterprise, but he consented to second reading because he felt that without the bill the right of an individual to withdraw from the community with his individual assets would not be protected.¹ At his instance, the Senate, which considered and passed the bill before it went to the Commons, had inserted a clause limiting the annual value of the real property which the corporation might own in any one province to \$500,000.²

The bill never became law, as Parliament prorogued before it was reported from Committee of the Whole.³ Its effect would have been to place on an unquestionably legal basis the activities and practices of the community as a trading establishment, such as contracting debts and loans, purchasing, selling, and renting land, and operating subsidiary industries; it would have designated the officers definitely as trustees for the members, besides guaranteeing more fully the individual rights of the latter; and it would have placed the Doukhobors back under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior even more completely than in the years when the bulk of their land was owned by the Government. The present situation is that the charter of 1917 is still in effect, in such a way as largely to protect persons and corporations who do business

1 - Hansard, May 14, 1918, p. 1950-51.

2 - Sec. 7:3; Senate Hansard, May 10, 1918, p. 504.

3 - Journals of H. of C., 1918, p. 392.

with the community, but leaving the interests of members wishing to withdraw to the discretion of the leader.

The lack of corporated existence of the community or its members previous to 1917 had never seemingly prevented Verigin from transacting a great deal of business and obtaining credit on the security of the community's assets. In Saskatchewan previous to the establishment of the Kootenay settlements he had frequently obtained bank loans and overdrafts. His first long-term borrowing of any magnitude was done in connection with the financing of the new land purchases and other expenses of moving 5,000 of his people a thousand miles. In 1912 a \$250,000 mortgage was obtained from the Sun Life Assurance Company on the security of certain of the British Columbia improved lands.¹ This company has maintained its interest in the community since, and so satisfactorily have the interest payments and other charges been met that the mortgage has been allowed to increase markedly, until today it is probably between one and two millions of dollars. For the most part the community's assets have increased more than in proportion, although considerable of the borrowed money has been used in investigating possible fields for colonization in Alabama, California, Mexico, and other places, schemes which were never carried to successful conclusions. However, the Community was very successful during the War, selling its wheat and fruit at high market prices, and hiring out its surplus labour at enhanced wage rates.

1 - Vancouver Province, July 20, 1918.

In 1916, shortly before the incorporation of the community, a survey of the British Columbia settlements showed that they comprised 19,000 acres of land, 7,500 of which were under cultivation. Seven hundred members lived in the Grand Forks colonies and 5,000 at and near Brilliant; there were about 1,000 working men and the rest were women and children. Their eight lumber mills shipped two or three cars daily, two brick yards turned out two and a half million bricks a year, and three flour mills ground only for community needs. The jam factory which had been built at Brilliant packed and shipped to the prairie some 35 cars of preserves in a season. The power and light and irrigation instalments were valued at \$125,000, and the buildings used for all industries were worth \$400,000. Fruit trees to the number of 25,000 had been planted, and the live stock was worth \$105,000. With government aid of \$20,000, members had built a suspension bridge, with their own labour and a total outlay of \$60,000, across a gorge of the Kootenay River at Brilliant. As had been the case on the prairie, cash income was at first derived much more from wages than from sale of surplus product. In 1916 about half of the annual marketable production of \$50,000 was available for sale.¹ As has been suggested, the later years of the war augmented this amount a great deal.

Since the British Columbia settlements had been established they had obtained their grain and flour supplies

1 - J. Bruce Walker, Commr. of Imm., Winnipeg, to W.D. Scott, Supt. of Imm., Ottawa, Oct. 5, 1916.

from the prairie lands of the community, and had supplied fruit and jam in exchange. The necessity of hauling wheat a thousand miles in effecting this exchange led to the purchase of several thousand acres of land at Cowley and Lundbreck, Alberta, two neighbouring stations about thirty miles from the Crowsnest Pass in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. With the capital and man-power at the disposal of the community, they were able to sow some 5,000 acres of wheat in the first season and proceed with the breaking of an additional 3,000 acres. The present community holdings at this point are 11,260 acres, or about eighteen sections of land. Although there are a few families of Independents near the colony, and the children attend public school, this settlement has remained a community enterprise. The population of two or three hundred is no larger than is necessary to operate the grain growing lands and tend the few cattle, and frequent exchanges of workers and families are made with the Saskatchewan and British Columbia colonies. For the most part, they do not register births, marriages, and deaths.¹

Another similar small colony for the production of wheat was established two years later at Kylemore, Saskatchewan, 70 miles west of Verigin on the Canadian Northern Railway. In May 1918 Peter Verigin purchased 10,000 acres there, with payments to extend over a period of ten years.² With wheat production as its chief object, this colony has not a large population, the 1921 figure being 154.

1 - Memorandum from G. G. Coote, M.P., for Macleod, Alta.

2 - J. Bruce Walker to W. D. Scott, May 4, 1916.

Before estimating the nature and results of the elder Verigin's community system, it may be well to record the growth and changes in the Doukhobor population of Canada. Since religions were not recorded in the census of the Prairie Provinces in 1926, the latest official figures available are those for 1921.¹ The number of Doukhobors, community and Independent, in that year was 12,648, an increase of only 44 per cent over the 1901 figure, although the population of Canada increased 65 per cent in the same period. Possibly in 1921 some Independents omitted to state their religion or reported themselves as members of churches to which they had been converted. But in any case it may be said that Doukhobor families are not large, and that the 1931 returns will not likely show a great increase for the previous decade.

The 1901 total of 8,775 was distributed as follows: Assiniboia Territory (Yorkton and Thunder Hill colonies), 5,975; Saskatchewan Territory, 2,725; Manitoba, 75.² In 1911 there were 8,470 in Saskatchewan, 1,931 in British Columbia, and 92 divided between Alberta and Manitoba, making a total of 10,493. No details of the distribution within the provinces were recorded.³ In 1916 the total for the three Prairie Provinces was 6,009, and the Saskatchewan total had declined 2,590 to 5,880. In the country north of Yorkton there were 4,872; at Blaine Lake, 657; and 343 between there and Saskatoon.

1 - Census of Canada, 1921, v. I, Population.

2 - Ibid, 1901, v. I, p. 144.

3 - Ibid, 1911, v. II, p. 2.

There were 113 in Alberta, while the Manitoba figure was negligible.¹

Except for 306 in Alberta, 233 of whom were in the Cowley colony, and a scattering in three other provinces, the Doukhobors in Canada in 1921 lived in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. The total in the latter province of 5,074 was not as great as that recorded in the royal commission report of 1912, indicating either that some had moved back to Saskatchewan, or that the census was not complete, or that there was a natural decrease. The data were not sufficiently detailed to indicate what the cause was. In the Grand Forks colony there were 996 Doukhobors, comprising nearly 45 per cent of the population of the municipality outside the city. In the Columbia and Kootenay valleys near Brilliant there were 3,890, and 178 were in the Slocan Valley and Nelson City. The Saskatchewan total of 7,166 represented an increase of 1,286 in five years, comprising gains in all the Doukhobor areas, community and Independent.² Although there is of course nothing in the census to show it, probably not more than half of the total Doukhobor population was still in the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood in 1921.

On October 24, 1924, at Farron, a station on the Canadian Pacific Railway between Grand Forks and Brilliant, Peter Verigin was killed in an explosion which wrecked the railway coach in which he was riding. It was later learned

¹ - Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916, pp. 208, 210, 212.

² - Census of Canada, 1921, v. i, pp. 597-602, and unpublished data.

that the mishap, in which eight other people died, was caused by dynamite which was being carried illegally in the passenger coach, but whether it was an accident or a conspiracy has never been established. Unfriendly public opinion during and after the War had led Verigin to contemplate once more the recurrent question of whether he should keep his people in Canada or not, and he had made statements which led to newspaper reports in 1918-20 that the Doukhobors would sell out their Canadian holdings and return to Russia. Public opinion lost its intensity and they stayed. But it is clear that there was considerable dissatisfaction with his rule inside the community previous to his death. His apparent favourable attitude toward schools and his general friendly attitude toward the government is said to have displeased many of the older and more fundamentalist of the members. Whatever the cause, his violent death had the effect of making him a martyr not only in the eyes of his followers but amongst many of those who had in appreciable numbers left the community in the post-War period. Any natural disintegration of the community or gradual alteration in its character from communism to a looser form of co-operation was thus checked indefinitely, and his son, about whom little more was known than his name and the fact that he was somewhere in Russia, was elected to the leadership at a large meeting at Brilliant on December 10, 1924. It was three years before Peter P. Verigin arrived from Russia, and during this time M. W. Cazakoff, general manager of the Saskatchewan communities, was the operating head of the organization.

Since it is evident that the death of Peter V. Veregin marked a significant point in the history of the Doukhobors, and especially in their communal organization, it will be profitable to estimate critically the communism which they practised under their first Canadian leader. These remarks will be concerned almost entirely with the community and the members who acknowledged Verigin as leader; the progress of the Independents at Rosthern, Buchanan (Devil's Lake), and elsewhere is another story.

After having visited Peter Verigin and having watched the community in operation for several weeks in 1904, Professor Mavor wrote as follows: "This Doukhobor community is the largest experiment in pure communism that has ever been attempted."¹ To the extent that there was no privately owned land, live stock, or implements, the system was indeed communistic. Yet although many of the members who stayed in the villages might seldom handle money or even compute values or exchanges in terms of money, not only did Verigin not succeed in eliminating money from the economy of his community, but virtually the whole of the remarkable material success of the enterprise was made possible by the money which his men earned by working for wages in the capitalistic outside world. In the same way though intra-community loans were always made without interest and sometimes without the obligation of repayment, yet the community in its outside dealings had to recognize interest to the extent of paying tens of thousands of dollars annually in fixed charges. The annual assessments

1 - Quoted in Maude, op. cit., p. 256.

on the villages for the central fund were based on the number of working men. But as the acreage of the village lands were usually proportional to the number of families, the payment had some of the aspects of rent. The conclusion seems to be that although equality was provided for within each village, a strict application of the system would have permitted appreciable inequalities to arise as between villages. However, as the administration was in practice so effectively centralized, and such inequalities which appeared likely to infringe the spirit of the system to too great an extent could be adjusted.

The British Columbia royal commissioner after his investigation in 1912 commented thus on the communal organization:

"Reduced to its simplest elements, the system is that the people contribute their toil, and in return receive from a common fund their food and clothing. The surplus passes into the direct, and, one might say, sole control of Mr. Verigin, acting through his business managers."¹

What might be regarded as an amplification of this conclusion is found in a statement made by Mavor in 1904:

"The reserve is really worked by Mr. Verigin on the principles of estate management on a large scale; he compels the community to save, and he manipulates the capital so saved, as it were, in one mass."²

To the extent that the community was self-sufficient -- and it was so in many respects -- it constituted a real "experiment in pure communism". And since its participation

1 - Rept. of B. C. Royal Commn. on Doukhobors, 1912, p. 41.

2 - Report to H.M. Board of Trade on the Northwest of Canada, 1904, by James Mavor, p. 17.

in a capitalist economy was concentrated in the control of one man, any adulterating tendency was minimized. But during the greater part of Peter Verigin's 22 years in Canada as leader of the Doukhobor community he was faced with problems which hinged on this very factor of forestalling or eliminating the disintegrating effects on his people of the individualistic world surrounding them.

The men who carried on the management after his death, although intimate with the work, could not hope to exploit any tradition of unquestioned obedience to a leader which may have been characteristic of the sect. It was probably in recognition of this probability that they allowed the absent son to be elected leader. Some of those who observed the community in the interregnum found that secession seemed largely to have ceased, and that the leaders of the community, having immigrated from Russia as boys, were more tolerant of Canadian institutions.¹ M. W. Cazakoff, one of these leaders, stated shortly before the arrival of the younger Verigin that the Doukhobors generally were moving toward independent ownership and citizenship, and that the community would remain as a co-operative venture in buying and selling. This may be taken as an indication of the program which many Doukhobors, both members and Independents, were eager to pursue under the leadership of Peter P. Verigin.

On September 16, 1927, he arrived in Canada from Russia accompanied by Paul Birukoff, the associate of Tolstoy

¹ - Thus J. Passmore Elkinton, Calgary Herald, July 19, 1927, and The Friend, Philadelphia, Ninth Month 21, 1927, p. 163.

who had made the investigation which led to the letter in the London Times in 1895 by which the situation of the Doukhobors was drawn to the attention of philanthropists.¹

Birukoff came to Canada with the object of leading a new educational scheme in the Russian language within the ranks of all the Doukhobors in this country, emphasizing the best features of their religion which had first attracted the Quakers to them. In less than two years Birukoff returned to Russia thoroughly disillusioned. He had not conducted one class in Russian, and a manuscript of the first issue of The Doukhobortsy, which was to be the official organ of the sect, was never placed in the hands of the printer.

With leading Independents and community men side by side in his train, Verigin inspected all the colonies in the three western provinces. He announced plans for re-organization and expansion of holdings. With the idea of uniting under his lead both large factions of the sect, he instituted in 1928 the Society of "Named Doukhobors". All community members came automatically into the new society, about half of the Independents joined at first though many have since withdrawn, and most of the few hundred Sons of Freedom were members for a year. The executive of this society drew up a declaration of policy on military service, marriage and divorce, census taking, court proceedings, and education, which followed Doukhobor tradition without urging defiance of law.²

1 - Vide Chap. 1.

2 - Approved at Kamsack, June 27, 1928.

At the same time Verigin induced many Independents to return within the confines of the community. Some of these were wealthy, but they turned over all their property to Verigin's keeping. Subsequently he obtained written waivers from all members, old and new, in which they relinquished all their rights in the community property. It is in this sense that one should understand his recent claim that he has had \$720,000 given to him by his followers during the four years he has been in Canada.¹ Those who secede quite definitely have no rights to community property, and those who enter must relinquish personal title to the wealth they have accumulated.

In consolidating the central control once again, Verigin has instituted a system of letting out the land to groups of six members, whose families number about 25 persons.. These men are required to pay to the community a yearly rent which was at first \$1,800 and was later raised in successive stages to \$2,000. The 1932 quota is \$365 per man. If the land does not return this amount in any one year it must be made up from the surplus of other years; if there still remains a surplus it may be used for the support of the families for the current year, but in any case a strict accounting of the transactions of all members is kept. The stated need for this money is the desirability of enabling some thousands of Doukhobors still in Russia to emigrate to Mexico or South America. Reports have been current in newspapers, for three years, that this plan was about to be consummated and Verigin and some

1 - Verigin's testimony in court at Yorkton, Jan. 28, 1932.

of his officers have visited Mexico and Colombia. Such visits took place in October 1928 and May 1931, but no extensive migration has yet been commenced.

Shortly after his arrival in Canada Verigin re-organized the community. The reason for this, according to a statement of the Members of the Supreme Council of Community Economics, was as follows:-

"Upon the arrival of Mr. Peter P. Verigin in Canada, newly elected President of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, the general auditors were appointed by leading members of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, to examine the old accounts and to originate more systematic book-keeping records. During the auditing as above stated it was discovered that swindling, extortion, dissipation and misappropriation of the Community goods and money had been committed by many of the responsible officials of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. This is the reason which compelled them to leave....."¹

Cazakoff is no longer an active officer. Operations are now directed from Brilliant, where J. P. Shukin is general manager and W. P. Reiben secretary.

Although the Brilliant jam factory is known as Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Works, there is no subsidiary company to operate this or any of the other Community industries. An Alberta corporation has been organized to evade the extra taxation which devolves upon Dominion corporations in that Province. This Lordly Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood reported 435 members in 1928.² The Dominion Department of Labour has published annually since 1928 information which the community has supplied voluntarily. It is

1 - Dated at Brilliant, Aug. 18, 1930.

2 - First Annual Report on Co-operative Associations, 1928, Dept. of Labour, p. 11.

classified as a co-operative of the Marketing and Distributive group, in which it ranked second in total sales in 1930, with a total of \$771,940.48. In the same year its paid up capital was \$700,000, assets were reported as \$6,410,822.17, and general liabilities \$698,300. There was a loss for the year of \$42,612.50.¹ The figures for 1931 are not so complete. Assets were reduced to \$6,385,922.17, and the only other item reported was a loss of \$647,425.36.²

There is little doubt that the figure mentioned above for general liabilities is incomplete. Recently with the object of negotiating a loan of a million and a half dollars, Verigin stated the community's assets as follows:-

In the Province of British Columbia a total of 17,972 acres of orchard and pasture lands,	\$4,361,148.50
In the Province of Alberta farm lands consisting of 7,268 acres,	486,227.00
In the Province of Saskatchewan farm lands totalling approximately 36,000 acres,	1,400,000.00
Saw mills, buildings and machinery, and timber limits in British Columbia,	317,508.00
Buildings, elevators, warehouses, as well as residences, etc., in all the three provinces listed under "Department of Commerce",	358,120.00
"Department of Industry", including flour mills, elevators, buildings for residences and warehouses in the three provinces,	<u>242,000.00</u>
Total Assets	<u>\$7,165,003.50</u> =====

To just what extent the above figures exceed present-day values is difficult to determine. Assuming that depreciation and

1-Third Annual Rep. on Co-op. Assns, 1930, p. 95.

2-Fourth Annual Rep. on Co-op. Assns, 1931, p. 103.

gross liabilities reduce the total to \$5,000,000 as the equity of the community in its property, the share of each of the 5,000 members reported in 1931 averages \$1,000. Adjusting this to the supposed family unit, for purposes of comparison with the financial standing of individualist farmers, gives a figure of \$4,000 to \$5,000, which is presumably greater than the equity of many Saskatchewan and British Columbia farm operators in their enterprise in 1932. However, the indication is that the net assets of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood have in this computation been over- rather than under-estimated.

The probability of a Saskatchewan royal commission to investigate the whole Doukhobor situation is now indicated. This has been asked for by the Society of "Named Doukhobors", which is anxious to forestall the likelihood of their leaders being deported. There has been agitation for this action from various organizations and individuals in British Columbia and Saskatchewan for at least three years. Verigin will obtain Canadian domicile in September 1932, after which his deportation, even should he be convicted on a criminal charge, will be very difficult to effect. One of the outstanding problems which a royal commission would attempt to solve is that of the school burnings in Doukhobor settlements. A theory held by some of those in touch with the situation is that the leader himself is directly or indirectly responsible, and of this charge the "Named Doukhobors" will endeavour to exonerate him.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDEPENDENTS; SONS OF FREEDOM.

Independents

Although there is a Society of Independent Doukhobors with affiliations in several districts of Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and California, the leaders of these people have not found them eager to organize. The present society is rather a religious and cultural movement than one with an economic function. Many Independents are very proud of their faith and especially its record in opposing war and force generally. They consider themselves true Doukhobors quite as much as the members of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. But apart from their religion their main common interest has been their opposition to communism and the particular form of economic organization directed by the Verigins. Whether an Independent left the community in the first years of the century before it was uniformly organized and directed, or whether he withdrew at the time of the McDougall Commission, or during any one of the several subsequent tests of the community, he usually had to suffer the reproach of abandoning his faith along with communism. Accordingly he hesitated to align himself with a religious body lest it involve economic subordination again.

In his efforts to preserve the membership of the community in 1907, Verigin removed nearly a thousand community

Doukhobors from the Rosthern district to the eastern reserves. More than half of these returned during the next five or six years and entered for homesteads on Doukhobor reserve lands. In the same way but to a lesser extent the Yorkton reserves were alienated, so that by 1918, when the community had purchased adequate land, the last of the reserves set aside in 1907 was withdrawn and opened to homestead entry to Independent Doukhobors and others.

Knowing that Doukhobors did not readily lose their group consciousness even when they did not live communally, Verigin never ceased to attempt to induce them back into the community. It is claimed that during the War he tried to have Independents excepted from the immunity from conscription to which members of the sect were entitled. And even though he failed to get Government acceptance of the plan, he assured young Independents that their only escape from military service was to return to the community. Over 100 Doukhobors joined the Canadian army voluntarily, and many Independents contributed money and goods for relief during and after the War, directly and through Quaker relief channels.

After the Russian revolution in 1917 the thoughts of many Doukhobors, community and Independent, were turned toward their native country. At the same time representatives of the Bolshevik government, anxious to attract capital and skilled men to assist in the reorganization of industry, made

offers to Independent Doukhobors in Saskatchewan in 1921 and subsequent years to induce them to return to Russia. The scheme was first promoted by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which in July 1923 had a plan which would embrace most of the Independents on the prairies to the number of 3000. Their land totalling 300,000 acres was to be sold at \$25 an acre, and the proceeds used by the society to finance the return of the people to the Ukraine and the equipping of their farming operations there. Although the plan proved much too ambitious, a few hundred Doukhobors did return to Russia in 1923 and the three following years. In July 1926 Ivan J. Kulik, official agent of the Soviet Government in Canada, visited Kamsack and conferred with Doukhobors there. In replying to charges that he was spreading propaganda with the object of inducing Doukhobors to leave Canada, he made the following statement:

"About three years ago an appeal was made to the Russian Soviet Government, signed by about 300 families of Independent Doukhobors of Canada, asking for land in Russia. This application was granted and sufficient good land set aside gratis for these people. However, since that time only 50 families out of these 300 have emigrated to Russia, consequently the peasants of that country are requesting that they be allowed to farm it. Therefore the Government has instructed me to visit the Doukhobor settlements in Canada and find out if the other 250 families intend to return to Russia or not. I have held two meetings in Kamsack and one at Verigin; also executive meetings with the committee and with the Ukrainian Colonization and Immigration Association who are looking after the emigration of these Doukhobors. We are not trying to rob Canada of good farmers but are merely giving these people who were exiled from Russia under the Czarist Regime an opportunity of going back to their own country if they wish."¹

1 - Kamsack Times, July 15, 1926.

Only a small number of farmers responded to this further offer, and one year later those who had gone to Russia began to negotiate for re-entry to Canada. Some were naturalized and some natural-born Canadians, and a few had remained Russian citizens. In July 1928 a party of 130 was allowed to return to Canada. Nearly all of those who went to Russia have now returned to their homes in the Kamsack and Verigin disttict.

The attitude of Independents toward education has never been openly hostile, although many of the older people are not friendly to the materialism they see in the modern world. However, in common with their foreign-born neighbours of other nationalities in the northern parts of Saskatchewan, they have been somewhat indifferent to the benefits of advanced education. Between 1915 and 1931 six Doukhobors took degrees at the University of Saskatchewan. Peter G. Makaroff, who has educated in Quaker Schools in Pennsylvania and Petrofka, Saskatchewan, and later at Rosthern German-English Academy, has practised law in Saskatoon since taking the LL.B. degree there in 1918. He is regarded as a leader by many young Independents. Four of the five later graduates took degrees in Arts; one proceeded to Law, and two are now in medical courses at the University of Manitoba. A fifth graduated in accountancy. During the 1931-32 session there have been at least six Doukhobors enrolled as undergraduates at Saskatoon.¹ A statement from the Society of Independent

1 - Letter from A.R. Weir, B.A., registrar, U. of Sask., Feb.20,1932

Doukhobors (Blaine Lake Section) states that there are nine public schools amongst the settlements there, most of which are supervised by Doukhobor trustees, and teachers. The settlement has thirteen qualified teachers, four doctors, one practising lawyer, about twelve university students, and approximately 30 high school students.¹

The Doukhobor students in the University of Saskatchewan in 1923, some of whom had studied the writings of Tolstoy and other idealistic writers, formed themselves into a society for the purpose of demonstrating that the best elements of Doukhoborism could be promoted by education. Besides meeting regularly during the college term they held annual summer conferences at Blaine Lake and Buchanan, during which they were advised by Philadelphia Friends and interested Canadians. In the face of apathy in its ranks and hostility on the part of older Independent Doukhobors, including parents of the students, who had been trying to revive the traditional chants and ceremonies of the sect, the student society suspended in 1926 pending the arrival of Peter P. Verigin, to whom the members looked hopefully. The leader agreed to endorse the movement at first, but when his "Named Doukhobors" were organized he repudiated the intellectual movement. There is now a society of young Doukhobors sponsored by the latter

1 - Blaine Lake Echo, April 13, 1932.

organization, but it embraces none of those who have attended university, some of whom hesitate to acknowledge their membership in the Doukhobor faith.

In the social and educational welfare of the Independents has failed to keep pace with their material prosperity, they are not less progressive than many other colonies of Europeans in the northern prairies.¹ It is reported that in Blaine Lake municipality, of which Doukhobors form 74 per cent. of the population, inter-marriage between racial and religious groups is on the increase, a factor that frequently is associated with assimilation; and that though there is a lack of interest in community enterprises, grain, livestock, and poultry pools receive fair support.² A fair conclusion would seem to be that the economic organization of community Doukhobors is the chief but not the only factor in obstructing or delaying their assimilation into Canadian society.

Sons of Freedom

The Sons of Freedom are the puritans of the Doukhobor sect. Most Doukhobors still affirm the tenet of their faith which was set forth by Novitsky in 1832 that "Inasmuch as all men are equal, and the children of God do good willingly, without coercion, they do not require any government or authority over them."³ But for loyal members of the community,

1 - Cf. "Central European Immigrant in Canada," 1929, by Robt. England

2 - Reps. of judges, C.N.R. community progress competitions, 1930-31.

3 - Quoted in Maude, op. cit., p. 16.

anarchy begins only after they have subjected themselves to a very thoroughgoing government by their own leaders. The logic of the Sons of Freedom is such that they acknowledge no leaders, even within their own comparatively thin ranks. Their habits of diet are not only vegetarian, but forbid the eating of any animal products or cooked food. They object to all violence and try to practise the simplest agriculture without horses and machinery on land the personal ownership of which they will concede to no one. They admit no tax obligations, and their objection to school education is complete.

It would appear that many obedient community members have recognized in the practices of the Sons a genuine exemplification of their own ideals, and that, in fact, most Doukhobors have from time to time wished to be known as Sons of Freedom, but the material sacrifices and the risk of incurring the discipline of their leader have kept the numbers down to less than a hundred for many years. It is not until comparatively recently -- since the Great War -- that the small sect has not always found itself tolerated in the community or its vicinity. In former years, though usually segregated in one or two villages or settlements, they participated in some aspects of the communal economy.

The several notorious parades and pilgrimages of the first decade of this century were either promoted or most enthusiastically participated in by Sons of Freedom and those

who for the time being had espoused their principles. The extent to which such views tend to remain dormant in the Doukhobor mind is shown in the fact that though one-quarter of the people were involved in the October 1902 pilgrimage, upon Verigin's arrival most of them eagerly went to work for the community. A few dozen who continued to behave fanatically were the nucleus of the group which carried on the tradition, with occasional spectacular but unimportant demonstrations, until after the Great War. The designation "Sons of Freedom" did not come into general use until that time, although the Russian name Svobodniki, still used by the Doukhobors, had been interpreted as "free men".

In the summer of 1907 about 75 men and women comprising nearly the whole of this group marched from the Swan River colony through Winnipeg to Port Arthur, a distance of 800 miles. The manner in which they had learned to combine a political motive with seeming complete abandonment was shown in the fact that, in order to reach the warmer climate which they sought, they were ready to continue their march along the north shore of Lake Superior, though they did not reach the lakehead until November; but they were also not unwilling to be forcibly stopped and lodged at the expense of the city while the Dominion Government negotiated to have them returned to Russia. After two months these negotiations terminated only when the Russian consul explained that one of the conditions of re-entry

to the Empire would be agreement to fulfil the requirements of military service. Meanwhile the pilgrims, who had been living in one house on the edge of the town, had received attention from the police because of infringements of health laws, because of a nude parade on January 1, 1908, and because when one of their number died they had followed their usual custom of leaving the corpse on the surface of the ground. Nineteen of them went to jail and the rest refused to leave town until April, when, having heard of Peter Verigin's land purchases in British Columbia, they were anxious to return to Saskatchewan so that they might be sent to the new colony.¹

After an investigation of the Swan River colony, Michael White of the McDougal commission reported from Kamsack on July 29, 1907, that the "free men", as they called themselves, numbered only 64 in the Thunder Hill area, counting those then on the pilgrimage at Winnipeg, and he had prepared a list of their names. The number left in the colony was small, and they were making no converts, but good news from the advance party would likely induce them to join the pilgrimage. The report continues:

"The creed of the free men is 'live just as Adam and Eve did.' They deny the necessity of work. Hence their desire to go to a warm country where it is possible to live on fruit and where one does not need to work. The free men are now much more moderate in their opinions than they used to be. They are easier to handle, and I believe a mistake was made in allowing the pilgrims to proceed on their journey."²

1 - Cf. Chap. X.

2 - Reps. & maps re Doukhobor homestead lands, 1907, pp. 9-10.

The small sect dwindled in numbers to about one hundred people, mostly elderly folk who had marched to Port Arthur, and they seem to have given no trouble either to the community or government authorities until after the War. The ample outlet for the energies of the members, first in clearing their Kootenay fruit lands, and then in producing food and other products for an eager war market, apparently aided Verigin in the matter of discipline during this time. In 1918 and 1919 the members of the very small community colony on the North Fork of the Kettle River near Grand Forks made a practice of occasionally divesting themselves of their clothing as they worked in their fields near the railway. Protests were made by passengers to the government and in the press; When police investigated they found they were dealing with a group whose misdemeanour could readily be used as a form of passive resistance and protest against arrest.

Encountering hostility both from the government and from Verigin, whose acceptance of schools they did not welcome, one of the members of this group of less than 50 distorted the idea of passive resistance to the extent of setting fire to the Outlook school near their settlement; if there were no school the children could not be forced to attend. Other school fires followed this first one, which had taken place in May 1923, and although one offender was caught and convicted, it became apparent that community Doukhobors, few of whom were

really enthusiastic about education, would not inform on those setting the fires. But though it was clear that Sons of Freedom were responsible for the early incendiarism, the origin of the later wholesale destruction of Doukhobor schools has never been satisfactorily determined.

The elder Verigin, faced in the post-War period with problems of desertion from and dissent within the ranks of his followers, frankly blamed the Sons for the arson. In an open letter to Premier John Oliver of British Columbia, published in the Nelson Daily News on April 28, 1924, he described the schisms amongst his people, and asked that action should be taken to arrest the incendiarists. After describing the first of the three parties of Doukhobors, his own loyal followers, and the second party, those "products of the American free spirit" who had left the community in Alberta and Saskatchewan, he dealt with the third small faction:

"These people under the name of 'Nudes' have worked out a principle absolutely against the cultured arrangements. They understand that it was I, Peter Verigin, who had opened up the schools in the Doukhobor colonies and this is why they have burned my house together with the schools as accordingly their belief I am working together with the Canadian government.....

"There will be about twenty or not more than thirty of such people who are living around the Community colonies;... Whenever there is a meeting in the Christian Community then these 'Nudes' are causing disorder, very often they are beaten badly for indecent actions, but I consider this altogether unlawful. The British Columbia government should take more cultured measures for removing these people from the settlement of peaceful inhabitants. If the government will appoint an inspectorate to pick out the 'Nudes' or in other

words Anarchists, I will give exact list of names and surnames of such people."¹

The government could not, of course, take direct action on this request, and six months later Verigin was killed in an explosion which observers of the sect did not find it difficult to believe was caused by his Doukhobor enemies, of whom the Sons of Freedom were reputed to be the chief. During the following three years community discipline was more lax, and the Sons of Freedom dwindled in numbers and spirit until the arrival of Peter P. Verigin in 1927. In line with his plan to unite under his lead all factions of Doukhobors, he spoke words of encouragement to the few dozen Sons of Freedom in the colonies, and induced them to join the Society of "Named Doukhobors". The "Named Doukhobors" prepared at one time banners inscribed, "The sons of liberty cannot be the slaves of corruption."² Within a year Verigin and his officers of the Christian Community were openly disowning and denouncing the Sons, explaining that the queer but sincere ideals of the sect had been neglected since a group of disgruntled ex-community members had joined them as "provocators".

On August 29, 1929, Sons of Freedom staged a nude parade on the public highway at South Sloan between Nelson and Brilliant. Provincial police usually ignored occasional disrobing which took place on private land, but because this

1 - Hansard, May 13, 1924, pp. 2058-59.

2 - Open letter of Peter P. Verigin, Verigin, Sask., July 29, 1929.

demonstration was a definite protest against the announced policy of the department of education that all children would have to go to school in the new term just opening, one hundred offenders were arrested and one week later each was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Oakalla jail near Vancouver. Two hundred Sons of Freedom from Grand Forks and Thrums who sympathized with them, camped near Nelson during the trial, and on September 8th, six of their number obtained an interview with the crown prosecutor and the police and school inspectors. To statements of the government spokesmen that tax and school laws would be enforced equally on all people of the province, Fred W. Pepin of Grand Forks is reported to have replied:

"We have come to the conclusion that we cannot fulfil any man-made law. We do not want to break the peace, but seek the truth with deeds and not with words."¹

The spokesman for those from Grand Forks said they would return only if they could get some land there. The camp remained near Nelson until September 26th, when, without nine of their number who had been convicted of resisting arrest and vagrancy, they were transported by provincial officers to an abandoned Christian Community lumber camp at Porto Rico, fifteen miles south of Nelson.² The danger of starvation in the colony was averted by the action of Independents of the district shipping in truckloads of food, and, with their numbers increased to 400 by the arrival

1 - Nelson Daily News, Sept. 9, 1929.

2 - Montreal Star (C.P.), Sept. 25, 1929.

of Doukhobors and other Russians from Saskatchewan and California, and of community members who had either been forced out of the organization for default of their remittances to the treasury or had left voluntarily because of dissatisfaction with the leadership of Verigin, the colonists spent the winter at Porto Rico. Some of the hundred prisoners released from jail in March went to their families at the old lumber camp. One of the activities during the winter was the preparation of a "protocol" indicated as coming from Doukhobors of Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood -- Sons of Freedom".¹

In the summer of 1930 some 300 people from Porto Rico moved onto community land at Glade eight miles east of Brilliant, and when the schoolhouse there was dynamited the 600 community members left. The Sons subsequently encountered violence from community members as well as from the police. The attitude of community officials is shown by the following description sent out from the Brilliant office on August 25, 1930:

"The Sons of Freedom consist of about 400 men, women, and children, but only twenty per cent. can be so called whb by their peculiar faith and belief, not to mention nude parades etc., have set themselves as a group apart, and rightly so for the Community are not off them. Another 30 per cent. of the Sons of Freedom are those who joined them from the ranks of the Community, and the balance 50 per cent. are from the group of Independents, gathered from all Provinces of Canada as well as outcasts from other Countries.

"The first and the third groups never were members of the Community and the majority of the third group consists of

1 - Porto Rico, March 14, 1930.

criminals and parasites, who are professing sympathy with the Sons of Freedom movement for the gratification of their depraved tastes and material advantage. Many of course of this group are terribly mis-guided by the ring leaders and agitators, who, in the interests of peace and sanctity of property should be deported."

With continued fires and explosions in schools and community buildings, the name of the Sons of Freedom remained prominently before the public in 1930 and 1931. On April 24, 1931, part of the elaborate grave of old Peter Verigin at Brilliant was destroyed by a blast which had been prepared in a brief absence of a watchman. Although community Doukhobors joined the police in the hunt, no one was arrested for the incident. The community removed all the belongings of the Sons of Freedom to Porto Rico again, but only some of the small sect followed. In response to requests made by the Sons to the government for support, Attorney-General R.H. Pooley announced that he was now prepared to enforce the law in the Doukhobor settlements, and in the middle of May he sent the assistant commissioner of provincial police from Victoria with an ultimatum that lawlessness among the Sons of Freedom must cease, and that the Community would be held responsible. Verigin was reported to have offered them 2000 acres of land, which they refused.¹ They answered the official by renewing their refusal to pay taxes or to accept schools.

With Verigin pleading helplessness, the situation remained inconclusive until the taking of the census in June.

1 - Calgary Albertan, May 28, 1931.

One hundred and seventy-five members of a Sons of Freedom colony on the Graham ranch north of Grand Forks refused to give the enumerator any information. After further futile attempts by more responsible officers, communication was had with the census head office at Ottawa, which recommended the issue of warrants for the leaders of the recalcitrant group. After more delay nine members of the colony were apprehended and jailed for three months.¹ Although complete information about this group of 175 was not satisfactorily recorded, no difficulty was experienced in enumerating the Independents and community members.

Critics of the administration of Verigin believe that his outward repudiation of the Sons of Freedom masks his secret co-operation with them in school burnings, and that they still feel themselves to be indeed the elect of the Doukhobor sect, both in respect of the traditions of their faith and in their leader's eye. Whether or not this be the case, the community's contention that the growth in numbers of the Sons of Freedom is largely a reflection of the addition to their ranks of seceders from the organization is probably true. So that even if for a time Verigin exercised some effective control over the Sons, perhaps he realizes that the membership is now so mixed that their actions can no longer be foretold. The beliefs of the original Sons would lead them to harbour without question any people who had been cast loose from the community, be they sincere protesters against an absolute leadership or mere disappointed cranks.

CHAPTER IX.

REVIEW OF PUBLIC POLICY TOWARD THE SECT

Federal Policy

The Dominion Government remained actively interested in the Doukhobors until 1907, chiefly because the homestead difficulties, coming within its jurisdiction, were settled only in that year, and more generally because immigration was an essentially Federal affair. However, Hon. Frank Oliver's attitude, after he became Minister of the Interior in 1905, was that the Doukhobors who came to Canada in 1899 were long enough resident in the country to be out of the immigrant class, and that no further members of the sect were being admitted on special terms.¹

Dominion public policy in subsequent years has concerned only fresh immigration and conditions of military service exemption. The original Doukhobor order in council of December 6, 1898,² which exempted the people unconditionally from service in the militia, drew its sanction from a section of the Militia Act which exempted all religious conscientious objectors, though specifically naming Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers.³ When the Act was revised in 1904 this clause was redrafted in more general terms. This new clause had the technical effect/^{of} rendering ineffective the order in council of 1898, and though the later has frequently been cited since

1 - Hansard, March 14, 1910, p. 5548

2 - P.C. 2747.

3 - R.S.C. 1886, Chap. 41, Sec. 21:3.

in discussing Doukhobor privileges, it must be regarded rather as evidence of a promise which no government would likely infringe, than the precise legal provision for Doukhobor army exemption. This privilege now rests on the clause of the 1904 statute¹ and subsequent orders made under it.

The Doukhobors' continued apprehension -- which seemed groundless for many years -- that their exemption might be withdrawn was intensified at the outbreak of the Great War. Those in British Columbia had encountered unfriendly public opinion during most of their six years there, and their one statutory privilege served as a convenient issue by which government action against the Doukhobors might be secured. The official policy was definitely revealed in the Military Service Act of 1917,² in which the Doukhobors' exemption was confirmed by both the general and a particular provision. A schedule of seven classes of exempted persons included: "Those persons exempted from Military Service.... by order in council of December 6th, 1898"

That those hostile to the Doukhobors did not cease to press their objections to the military service exemption is evidenced in the provisions of an order in council passed on October 25, 1918,³ which limited exemption only to original migrants of 1899 and their descendents who had lived continuously in Canada.

1 - 4 Edward VII, 1904, Chap. 23, Sec. 12.

2 - 7-8 George V, 1917, Chap. 19.

3 - P.C. 2622.

As European immigration was very much curtailed during the War and no Doukhobors at all applied for admittance, no special Government action was required to meet the very definite public hostility which would have been shown toward fresh Doukhobor arrivals. Such hostility was only latent, especially in British Columbia where feeling against the prosperous Doukhobors had been intense. It led in 1919 to an order in council which "prohibited the landing in Canada of any immigrant of the Doukhobor, Hutterite, or Mennonite class".¹ This regulation was explained in a preamble which stated that public opinion had led to the measure. Three years later the specific exclusion of Hutterites and Mennonites was repealed.² The situation then existed that Doukhobors were the only people excluded from Canada on religious grounds. J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., drew the attention of the Department of Immigration and Colonization to this fact early in 1926. Accordingly, in order to make immigration regulations uniform and on other than a religious basis, the order in council of June 9, 1919, was wholly repealed.³

The 1930 immigration regulations effectively blocked further admission of Doukhobors at the pleasure of the Government. This policy is directed generally at all immigrants, and does not reflect any special objection to Doukhobors.

1 - P.C. 1204, June 9, 1919.

2 - P.C. 1181, June 2, 1922.

3 - P.C. 418, March 17, 1926.

Saskatchewan

The nature and scope of provincial official policy toward Doukhobors has necessarily been different and more comprehensive than that of the Dominion Government. At the same time, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, the provinces really concerned with Doukhobor elements in their population, have appreciably different records. The reason is twofold. In the first place, both the community and the Sons of Freedom elements have been relatively more numerous and united in British Columbia, at least until quite recent years. Secondly, the Saskatchewan government has had a much longer, more varied, and more important experience in educating and otherwise governing European peasants and sectaries. The policy in the prairie province has in general been more patient and more conciliating than that in British Columbia, where, except for the Doukhobor and Oriental elements, Anglo-Saxons and northern Europeans nearly everywhere predominate. The result has not been so much that Saskatchewan Doukhobors have invariably been better schooled than those in British Columbia; rather little or no bitter controversy has been permitted to arise between the government and the Doukhobors. School burnings have become a problem only since the arrival of Peter Verigin in 1927, when Sons of Freedom and those who call themselves Sons of Freedom have travelled back and forth between Kootenay and prairie Doukhobor settlements. At present internal conflict between the various divisions of the

Doukhobor sect, and unsolved crimes in their settlements, are problems of some moment before the Saskatchewan government as before that of British Columbia.

Premier J.T.M. Anderson, of Saskatchewan, was for some years a provincial school inspector with special duties connected with foreign bloc communities, and apparently at that time he found the Doukhobors to be more backward, anti-social, and difficult of assimilation than many other nationalities and groups in the province.¹ However, though he has always been strongly opposed to the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood and its leaders, he has considered favourably a request from Verigin's "Named Doukhobors" for a thorough probe of the sect, hoping to get at the root of the incendiaryism.

British Columbia

The British Columbia government's earliest difficulties with the Doukhobors were concerned with the neglect of some of their number to register births and deaths, and the action of others in withdrawing from classes even the few children whom they had permitted to go to school, in sympathetic protest against the imprisonment of their brethren who ignored the registration law.²

1 - Vide "The Education of the New Canadian", by J.T.M. Anderson, 1920, pp. 33-34.

2 - Rep. of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, p. 34.

However, the government realized it was dealing with a type of law-breaker previously unknown in its jurisdiction, and it decided to ascertain the history, beliefs, and peculiarities of the people so that it might better be able to frame future public policy. Another allied motive for the appointment of the Royal Doukhobor Commission in 1912 was the wish to appease the feeling of hostility to the sect which had grown up in the Nelson and Grand Forks districts.

William Blakemore, the commissioner, after a personal investigation and a study of historical data lasting four months, submitted his report on December 21, 1912. The only objection to the sect which he found to be valid was that based on the refusal to comply with registration laws and the Schools Act. He concluded his detailed and largely commendatory report with the general recommendation that rather than take drastic steps to enforce immediate compliance, attention should be given to Peter Verigin, who had sufficient influence with his people to effect compliance in due time. If in the meantime infractions of the law could not be entirely ignored, the penalties should take the form of fines so as to emphasize upon the leaders the attitude of the government.¹

The provincial government did relax for some years its attempt at strict enforcement of the troublesome laws.

1 - Rep. of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, pp. 65-66.

However, the 1914 session of the legislature passed "An act to make provision for the welfare and protection of women and children living under communal conditions",¹ which was intended to provide better legal machinery in enforcing the laws to which Doukhobors objected. Every member of the community - so defined as to include only the Doukhobor settlements - was to have the responsibility for the compliance with the laws by every other member, and in addition to the penalties provided in the Schools and Vital Statistics Act, additional fines, to be levied by distress sale of goods and chattels if necessary, were imposed. That the statute has never been consistently or completely enforced is not surprising, and apparently its terms were made so sweeping in order to provide for emergency dealing with extraordinary incidents. In addition it places a premium on independence from the community.

The response of the legislature to the War and post-War hostility to the Doukhobors was the enactment in 1919 of an amendment to the Provincial Elections Act disqualifying Doukhobors from voting on the general ground that they were "entitled to claim exemption from military service.... by Order of the Governor in Council of December 6, 1898".² As few of the Doukhobors were British subjects and none born in Canada was more than 20 years old, the disability was at most a provision for the future carried out in the height of war feeling, and hardly an attempt to meet an emergent situation.

1 - Community Regulation Act, Chapt. 11, 1914.

2 - Statutes of B.C., 1919, Chapt. 25, Sec. 2.

Experiments in placing Russian teachers in Doukhobor schools had been defeated by the people themselves, who have allowed very few of their number in British Columbia to continue formal education long enough to become teachers. However, the government regards non-Doukhobor teachers as most satisfactory in community schools. A 1912 suggestion of a permanent Doukhobor agent was acted upon when, in the 1920 amendments to the Public Schools Act, community school districts administered by an official trustee were provided for.¹ The school inspector has always acted as trustee of these schools. The Doukhobor school inspector, though administering chiefly educational matters, frequently acts alone or with the local police inspector in representing to the Doukhobors government policy on more general matters.

The government has followed only in part the recommendations of its royal commission of 1912. One new factor never anticipated by William Blake~~more~~ is the repeated burning of schools in all Doukhobor colonies. Rather he had been able to note the absence of crime amongst the people, and his basic recommendation for dealing with their civil disobedience was that patience and diplomacy should be used. Possibly this issue - whether to apply the law rigidly and impartially or to deal with the Doukhobors as admittedly a peculiar people - explains to some extent the enduring Doukhobor problem of British Columbia. On the one hand the government is faced

1 - Statutes of B.C. 1920, Chapt. 82, Sec. 22.

with the views of its own special investigator of 1912 and of liberal-minded citizens and sociologists today, who feel that the community system and clanishness in general are only fostered by a repressive and thorough application of the law. On the other hand, there is the agitation from citizens of the Kootenay and Grand Forks areas, whose resentment at Doukhobor economic competition is most readily expressed in demands for equitable law enforcement on all people alike. The liberals do not claim that their method will mould Doukhobors into ordinary Canadians in a year or two years. In the meantime spasmodic experiments with "diplomacy" are bitterly attacked in local newspapers which indicate that the method has "failed for twenty years" and that the investigation of 1912 "got nowhere"¹.

The extent to which the Doukhobors of British Columbia are a significant economic threat to storekeepers, ranchers, manufacturers, and wage-earners in their vicinity is difficult to determine. In 1912 the commissioner found many members of all these classes who spoke favourably of the community and its effect on the country. However, that there is definite and articulate hostility to all members of the sect is evident. But considering the comparatively small proportion of the Doukhobor population to that of the whole province, and the

1 - Grand Forks Gazette, April 24, 1931.

natural segregation in two or three localities, there is ground for the belief that any problem with which the government may be confronted was mainly in the past and is still to some extent of a political character.

CHAPTER X.

CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THE DOMINION AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS
CONCERNING THE DOUKHOBORS

Although the Doukhobors were from the first years of their residence in Canada intermittently the subject of discussion and controversy between the Dominion Government and the governments of the Territories and provinces, yet it was not until after the migrations to British Columbia in 1908 that there arose any consistent conflict in public policy toward them. British Columbia from the first encountered difficulty in enforcing its own school attendance and registration laws amongst these newcomers to the Kootenay district. But as the Doukhobors bought all the land they occupied in British Columbia, and all such transactions were with private citizens or corporations, the province has had no lever in the granting or withholding of homesteads by which to force the issue amongst the people. Of course, ordinary law-enforcement is theoretically, and to a large extent practically, unconnected with land tenure. In any case the province was not consulted and did not need to be consulted by the Doukhobors or anybody else when members of the sect began moving west.

"The Administration of Justice in the Province" is an exclusive power of provincial legislatures and governments under the British North America Act.¹ Immigration is stated to

1 - B.N.A. Act, 1867, sec. 92:14.

be a matter for both provincial and Dominion legislation and jurisdiction, but a Dominion law prevails in event of repugnance between it and a provincial statute.¹ But although provinces have this right to control immigration into their confines, as a matter of fact no province has ever set up the machinery to supervise all immigration coming from other provinces. Within Canada most inhabitants may move freely, as far as legal restrictions are concerned, from province to province. British Columbia's contention that the Dominion Government should accept a large measure of responsibility for the behaviour of Doukhobors -- by bearing a substantial proportion of the expense of administering justice among them and otherwise -- has rested not merely negatively on the fact that the province had not been able to pass on either their original entry into Canada or their later interprovincial migration. Spokesmen for the province have claimed quite correctly that the Dominion Government actively sponsored the arrival of the original 7400 in 1899, and granted them immunity from military service. These arguments frequently proceed to state that other immunities and exceptions from ordinary civil obligations were part of the agreement. Such claims are for the most part either deliberately misleading or based on incomplete knowledge of the facts.²

The kinds of representations which provinces have made to the Dominion Government in connection with their Doukhobor problems have ranged through requests and demands for

1 - Ibid, sec. 95.

2 - Cf. Chaps. II and IV.

deportation of certain troublesome members of the sect and barring of further entry of Doukhobors to Canada, and appeals for special legislation and for police and cash aid or subsidy in dealing with specific episodes or campaigns of law-enforcement. In 1902 there was an incident falling within the last category, when the Department of Agriculture of the Territorial government asked the Department of the Interior to arrange the printing in Russian and other foreign languages of its births and registration ordinances, and the distribution of the circulars among the Doukhobors and other immigrants.¹ Although this request was not granted,² the incident is hardly typical of any strained relations between the two administrations. The Northwest Territories government was the creature of the Dominion Government, although in practice it had considerable independence. But as at this time the Dominion Government, regarding the Doukhobors as still being immigrants, was actively supervising them in adjusting themselves in Canada, more often Federal authorities made requests to Territorial officials for legislative machinery. In this way the Territorial Marriage Ordinance³ was amended in June 1901 to make legal the "Quaker or Doukhobortsy" form of marriage.⁴ The contingent terms of this amendment providing for registration of the union were never observed by most Doukhobors. But from the point of view of this discussion, it is worthy of note that just two months earlier Mr. Sifton had

1 - J. Obed Smith, Commr. of Imm., Winnipeg, to Frank Pedley, Supt. of Imm., Ottawa, April 19, 1902.

2 - Pedley to Smith, April 19, 1902.

3 - Consolidated Ordinances of N.W.T., 1898, Chap. 46.

4 - Ordinances of N.W.T., 1901, Chap. 17, sec. 5.

stated in the House of Commons that his department did not propose to undertake to enforce observance of the marriage law by the Doukhobors, as the matter had already been discussed with the Territorial government, whose members were competent to deal with it, and who then had it under advisement.¹

Manitoba was the first province to inform Ottawa of its stand on a Doukhobor incident. On November 1, 1902, in the midst of the first pilgrimage from Yorkton to Minnedosa, Premier R.P. Roblin in Winnipeg telegraphed Hon. Clifford Sifton at Ottawa as follows:

"Doukhobors, whom we believe to be deranged, are rapidly approaching Manitoba boundaries. Will have to be dealt with either as lunatics or criminals. We do not want them to cross the boundaries. We have no facilities for handling them. Immediate steps should be taken by you to prevent their entering Manitoba. With change of weather, a serious fatality is sure to overtake them. Please say if we will be relieved of all responsibility, financially and otherwise, should they reach Manitoba."²

Mr. Sifton's reply was as follows:

"The officers of my department, with necessary police assistance, are giving their best attentions to the Doukhobors; Every precaution possible is being taken to prevent harm arising from the movement. I see no reason for giving any special guarantee to your government. I have no opinion to offer as to any action you may take. If you should decide to interfere with the officials whom I have placed in charge of the work, such action will be taken on your own responsibility."³

Premier Roblin's apprehensions were without foundation for, as

¹ - Hansard, April 12, 1901, p. 2981.

² - Manitoba Free Press, November 3, 1902.

³ - Ibid.

has been mentioned,¹ Mounted Police and Dominion immigration agents handled the march and brought it to a successful termination without the assistance or intervention of provincial authorities. The slightly sharp tone of the notes may be explained by the fact that the two ministers were on opposite sides of politics.

The next occasion on which representations were exchanged between provincial and Dominion governments in a matter involving Doukhobors was five years later at the time of a pilgrimage of some 75 "free men" from Swan River to Fort William in the winter of 1907-08. These pilgrims lived, men and women, in one house in the midst of the town. Their behaviour was such as to call for action by town health officers, and later nineteen of them were committed to Port Arthur jail as a result of a nude parade on New Year's Day and other misdemeanours.² In April officers of the Ontario government, which could with difficulty find room in its prisons for those sentenced, canvassed the possibility of returning the people to Saskatchewan. It was learned that the Dominion Government would not treat them as immigrants and would not accept responsibility for their movements within the country. Arrangements were therefore completed by Ontario officials alone, except that the Federal Department of Justice arranged pardons for the prisoners so that all might return

1 - Vide Chap. III.

2 - Cf. Chap. VIII.

home together, and with Ontario footing the bill the seventy were escorted in special cars to Yorkton.

Immediately Yorkton citizens through their Board of Trade objected strongly to harbouring the fanatics whom, it was stated, village Doukhobors refused to acknowledge. Their appeal to the provincial government was referred to Ottawa, and the incident was cited in the House of Commons by R.L. Borden. Sir Wilfrid Laurier replied that his government had no jurisdiction and that the matter was one for provincial authorities to deal with, and this was the stand that he and his Ministers of Justice and the Interior, Messrs. Aylesworth and Oliver, took throughout the entire controversy. There had been an evident change in public policy from 1902 when Clifford Sifton had the Interior portfolio. Several telegrams were exchanged between Premier Walter Scott of Saskatchewan and Mr. Oliver, but eventually the provincial government took charge and gradually got the wanderers back to their former homes. To facilitate this it set up a temporary camp on an unoccupied section of Dominion Lands ten miles northwest of Yorkton, having readily obtained use of the ground from the Department of the Interior in May.¹

Although problems of administering provincial laws amongst the Doukhobors were deemed to justify the setting up of a royal commission within four years of their first

1 - Hansard, March 13, 27; April 21, 23, 30; May 1, 1908; pp 5007-19, 5753, 6847, 6983-85, 7620-30.

arrival in British Columbia, any grievances the provincial authorities may have had against the Dominion Government were not expressed officially or formally until after the War. In the summer of 1919 a small faction of Doukhobors in the Grand Forks district made trouble for the police and the government by presenting themselves in public without clothing. Premier John Oliver visited Ottawa in August and presented the situation very fully before officials of the Interior and other departments. He asked that some 45 offenders, to whom Peter Verigin as well as many of their non-Doukhobor neighbours objected, might be deported. As the people had presumably been resident in Canada for many years, it was not possible to act on the British Columbia premier's request.

In subsequent years the provincial government had no alternative but to accept the Dominion Government's strict construction of the Constitution, which bestows upon the provinces the responsibility for the administration of justice. For the most part, until the change of government at Ottawa in July 1930, British Columbia officials dealt with the intermittent infringements of the Public Schools and Vital Statistics Acts, which chiefly constituted their internal Doukhobor problem, with no outside assistance. As the arrival of more Doukhobors in the province was largely uncontrollable if they had Canadian domicile, and was not possible to foreigners under War conditions nor under the terms of order

in council P.C. 1204 of June 9, 1919,¹ which was repealed with respect to Doukhobors only in 1926,² the provinces had no reason to be concerned about Federal immigration policy respecting Doukhobors until the latter date.

In August 1928 a Conservative administration took office in British Columbia. A year later, in September 1929, over 100 Doukhobor nude paraders near Nelson were arrested, convicted, and committed to jail for six months. At about the same time similar incidents near Kamsack, Saskatchewan, led to the imprisonment of about the same number of Doukhobors in Prince Albert jail. In addition to lodging a claim with the Dominion Government for compensation for its expenditure in hiring special constables to arrest the paraders, in bringing them from Nelson to the Coast, and in keeping them in jail for six months, the new British Columbia government announced a plan for using Darcy Island, a former Federal leper colony in the Strait of Georgia, as a prison colony for fanatical Doukhobors from all provinces, the costs to be shared by the interested provinces and the Dominion. Correspondence dealing with compensation and the colony scheme was exchanged between Premier S.F. Tolmie and Premier W.L. Mackenzie King and other Federal ministers. After having had the matter placed before it, the Department of Justice announced its familiar decision

1 - Vide ante, Chap. IX.

2 - P.C. 418, March 17, 1926.

that law-enforcement is a provincial matter. Thus when the British Columbia prisoners were released in March 1930 they were carried back to their homes in the Kootenay at the expense of the provincial government.¹

The Federal election in the same year and the "surprise" participation of some Doukhobors in the voting was the next incident to provoke the further airing of differences between the two governments. The citizens of British Columbia who were most incensed over the Doukhobor votes, after having learned apparently to their surprise that members of the sect could not vote in provincial elections,² added the demand for a change in the Federal franchise to those demands already made by the province to the Dominion. With the change of government at Ottawa, Premier Tolmie did get a re-hearing of the whole attitude of his government toward the Doukhobors. On September 23, 1930, he announced that Hon. Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, had promised a thorough investigation.³

In June 1931 some difficulty in getting census returns from about 175 Doukhobors in British Columbia brought the question of jurisdiction to public attention again. For several days, it was reported, both Royal Canadian Mounted and provincial police refused to execute warrants for the arrest of six of the leaders. It was announced that though the province

1 - Montreal Gazette, Sept. 13, 14; Oct. 2, 9, 1929; Mar. 5, 1930.

2 - R.S.B.C., 1924, sec. 6(b).

3 - Montreal Gazette, Sept. 24, 1930.

recognized responsibility for law-enforcement, that since it was a Federal law and Federal officers who were being flaunted in this case, Dominion authorities ought to undertake a greater measure of responsibility and expense. Proposals for setting up prison camps or compounds were made, but ultimately such of the offenders as were arrested were sentenced to the provincial jail.¹ The present Dominion Government has been only slightly more willing or able than its predecessor to share with the provinces responsibility for disciplining Doukhobor law-breakers. Its only action by way of legislation has been a measure to increase the maximum term of imprisonment which may be imposed on participators in nude parades.²

Within a few months of the repeal in 1926 of the embargo on the immigration of Doukhobors as such, newspaper rumours led the British Columbia government to inquire of the Department of Immigration and Colonization whether further Doukhobors would be admitted, and attention was drawn to continual neglect of the part of the Doukhobor inhabitants of the province in observing provincial laws. No new immigrants were admitted at that time, but several Independent Doukhobors, who had lived many years in Canada and some of whom were British subjects, re-entered Canada from Russia, where they had migrated after the War, and returned to their Saskatchewan homes.

1 - Grand Forks, B.C., Gazette, June 19 and 26, 1931.

2 - 21-22 George V, 1931, chap. 28, sec. 2.

Emphatic objections to further Doukhobor immigration were again forwarded to the Department of Immigration by Premier J.D. MacLean of British Columbia at the beginning of 1928, as a result of newspaper reports that Peter P. Verigin, the recently-arrived leader of the sect, intended to facilitate the emigration of several thousand of his people who were still in Russia. Verigin has frequently repeated such statements to newspaper reporters since, and in reassuring provincial governments and anxious members of the public, the Department of Immigration has always made it clear that Doukhobor immigrants would have to conform to regulations in entering the country and give adequate assurance that they would be law-abiding when admitted. Since 1930 immigration restrictions have been so stringent that the Department regards the immigration of Doukhobors as impossible. For example, on August 5, 1931, Verigin in Winnipeg announced that more than 20,000 Doukhobors from Russia would shortly arrive in Canada. Immediately the heads of the governments of British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan announced either that none would be admitted to their province or that they were placing their objections strongly before the Minister of Immigration at Ottawa. The Department issued a formal statement indicating that such immigrants would not qualify, that the present policy had been framed in consultation with the western provinces, and that therefore "there will be no Doukhobor immigration to this

country."¹

The governments of the five western provinces have all at one time or another negotiated with the Dominion Government in connection with problems of administration arising from the actions of members of the Doukhobor sect. However, British Columbia chiefly, and also Saskatchewan, have in the nature of the case been most persistent in this regard.

1 - Montreal Gazette, Aug. 7, 1931.

CHAPTER XI.

DOUKHOBORS IN POLITICS.

This chapter attempts to set forth the ways in which the Doukhobors have constituted an issue between political parties during their period of more than 33 years that they have lived in Canada, and the extent to which the people themselves have participated in politics through elections and otherwise.

In 1899, the year of the Doukhobor migration, the Liberals held office in the Dominion Government. During the next twelve years they continued in power, and one of the many issues upon which Conservatives attacked them, in Parliament and in election campaigns, was their immigration policy which had sponsored the Doukhobor movement. Not that the merits or shortcomings of the Doukhobors formed a major issue between the parties, but rather that the attitude of politicians from both West and East, at such times as matters concerning the Doukhobors were up for debate, was governed almost invariably by their party allegiance. Supporters of the Liberal Government always cited the admirable qualities of the people as industrious farmers. Opposition speakers viewed with alarm the peculiar customs of the community and their seeming flaunting of laws concerning marriage, registration, and land tenure, and the concessions and exceptions granted by the Government concerning military service and homesteading.

Apart from election campaigns, during which, at least in western constituencies, the quality of European immigrants and the motives of the Government in inducing them

to immigrate were always disparaged by the Conservatives, most of the acts of the Doukhobors which were sufficiently spectacular to get widespread newspaper mention had their echo on the floor of the House of Commons. However, for nearly two years after the arrival of the people in the country debate was not on clear-cut party lines. The petition of June 1900, purporting to come from the Doukhobors and objecting to homestead, marriage, and vital statistics laws,¹ was one of the earliest indications that the Doukhobors were essentially different from individualist immigrants. This petition did not get attention in Parliament until the session of 1901, and even then one of the sharpest critics of the Doukhobors and of southeastern Europeans in general was Frank Oliver, a Liberal.² Four years later he assumed the administration of the Interior Department, and became the minister chiefly concerned with defending the Doukhor migration. Mr. Oliver sat for the constituency of Alberta. The only other really violent critic of Doukhobors at that time was Uriah Wilson, an Ontario Conservative,³ who maintained his interest in the Doukhobors and broached the subject as often as any member in the House during the next ten years. During the same debate in April 1901, W.F. McCreary, former Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg and new Liberal member for Selkirk, Manitoba, spoke in favour of the Doukhobors⁴

1 - Vide ante, Chap. III.

2 - Hansard, April 12, 1901, pp. 2937 ff.

3 - Ibid, pp. 2886 ff. Wilson sat for Lennox.

4 - Ibid, pp. 2901 ff.

and cited many of the facts and impressions which had come to his notice when he was intimately concerned in settling and caring for the Doukhobors in 1899.¹

During the 1901 session the debate in the Senate was more patently on party lines. Conservatives led by Sir Mackenzie Bowell suggested that Liberal candidates in Alberta and West Assiniboia had herded Doukhobors to the polls during the election of the previous year.² Government supporters replied that no Doukhobors were naturalized and none were on the voters' lists; that no Doukhobors lived in either of these constituencies; and that any such reports concerned only Galicians, many of whom were naturalized.³ Three days previously Senator David Mills, Government leader and Minister of Justice, had made the following statement:

"I am informed that there has been no offence committed by any member of that body since they first came to Canada, and, so far as their observance of the law is concerned, they are as law-abiding a population as has come from any country in Christendom in order to find a home in this country."⁴

This has frequently been quoted by Doukhobor defenders, and is found in the Encyclopaedia Britannica article by V. Tchertkoff,⁵ whose publicity in the years 1895-98 did so much to aid their coming to Canada.

The pilgrimage of the autumn of 1902 did not

1 - Vide ante, Chaps. II and III.

2 - Senate Hansard, March 29, 1901, p. 176.

3 - Ibid.

4 - Ibid, March 26, 1901, p. 141.

5 - Eleventh edition, vol. 8, p. 449; fourteenth edition, vol. 7, p. 557.

call forth extended debate in either House but Conservative members questioned the Government closely as to the cost of returning the people to their homes and also as to the status of the \$20,000 loan made in 1899.¹ This loan was referred to frequently in the next year or two in the House and in the Agriculture and Colonization Committee, where, in the face of persistent questioning by a few Conservatives, the Government insisted less and less definitely that the loan was well secured by community homesteads.²

Except for an incident in 1905, when the case of an Independent Doukhobor, who held homestead entry for a quarter-section on which was situated a community village,³ was presented to the House of Commons, no extended debate on Doukhobors occurred until 1908. In that year a spectacular pilgrimage of some seventy Doukhobors to Fort William and their subsequent imprisonment for parading in the nude gave an opportunity for the old party differences to be presented again. Hon. Frank Oliver, going immediately on the defensive as Government spokesman, indicated that Doukhobors, having been eight years in the country, were no longer immigrants and therefore no longer under the jurisdiction of his department.⁴ When it became known that discussion had taken place between the governments of both Ontario and Saskatchewan

1 - Hansard, March 26, 1903, p. 542; April 6, 1903, p. 1030; June 29, 1903, p. 5587.

2 - Rep. H. of C. Agr. and Col. Comm., 1903, p. 30; *ibid*, 1904 pp. 641 and 706.

3 - N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 23, tp. 38, R. 6, W. 2nd, entered by I. Shukin.

4 - Hansard, Jan. 30, pp. 2218 ff.; Mar. 13, 1908, pp. 7621 ff.

and Dominion authorities as to the return of the pilgrims to Yorkton, Hon. A.B. Aylesworth, Minister of Justice, was drawn into the debate. He took the stand, which has been fairly consistently maintained by the Dominion Government since, that such difficulties, especially when they concern law enforcement, were provincial matters.¹ R.L. Borden, Leader of the Opposition, led the Conservative attack at this time.

During the same session the operations and decisions of the Doukhobor Commission under Rev. John McDougall formed the basis of sharp questioning by Conservatives. Mr. Oliver spoke at some length defending the commission and explaining its actions.² The essentially party complexion of such debates is shown in the fact that since the Government was defending an action not entirely favourable to the Doukhobors some members of the opposition were led not only to criticize the process but also to show some concern for the welfare of the people whom they had made it their business to attack for ten years.

The only other contentious Doukhobor debate until after the Great War took place during the revision of the Immigration Act in 1910. Conservatives were anxious that there should be provision in the bill for exclusion of Doukhobors, and Mr. Oliver, making no attempt to advocate further admission

1 - Ibid, April 23, 1908, p. 6083; May 1, 1908, pp. 7621 ff.

2 - Ibid, June 5, 1908, pp. 9953-58.

of the people, endeavoured to show that the general provisions were adequate to exclude them without further amendment. G.L. Campbell, Conservative, Dauphin, Manitoba, termed them "Sifton pets", an expression which had been prevalent in all Dominion election campaigns, but had hitherto been used seldom in the House of Commons, and he found the people to be a "disgrace to the people of the west and to the administration that brought them here".¹ Other familiar and less sweeping arguments were revived in this debate. Several Conservatives contended that the obligation to take the oath of allegiance and to render military service should go with the right to take up land, and Mr. Oliver agreed with this, claiming the policy of the Government had for some years provided that no exceptional privileges should be given to immigrants.²

The change of government in 1911 and the growing interest in larger political issues, together with the fact that the administrative interest of the Dominion Government waned after the land settlement of 1907, combined to keep all controversial mention of the sect out of the Dominion Parliament until 1919. And since then the old party alignment on the issue has not been so clear-cut, at least on the floor of the House. In the previous year, 1918, a private bill to incorporate the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood was passed through

1 - Ibid, March 14, 1910, p. 5504.

2 - Ibid, p. 5548.

all but its final stages without opposition from any member. It died only because Parliament prorogued before third reading could be obtained. In Parliament at this time were very few members who had taken part in or even remembered the debates of the first decade of the century. Even in May 1919, when Professor Mavor drew the attention of several members to what he termed "a scandalous proceeding which is now going on in British Columbia, ostensibly under the auspices of the Dominion Government", and the matter was mentioned in the House, it brought forth only formal statements from Sir Thomas White and Hon. Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior. The reference was to the appraisal by those who claimed to represent the Soldier Settlement Board of Doukhobor lands at Grand Forks, that they might be expropriated. The scheme was "clearly a conspiracy on the part of land speculators, local politicians and rival fruit farmers who are exploiting the returned soldier and proposing to rob a group of peaceable and industrious, though peculiar people, of the fruits of their industry," according to Professor Mavor.¹

Criticisms of Doukhobors in Parliament during the last decade have all been made by Conservatives, and occasionally these men have reminded the House of the original responsibility or connection of the Liberal Party with the migration. However, the most consistent critics of the sect

1 - Ibid, May 5, 1919, p. 2043.

have been members from British Columbia constituencies having Doukhobors in their population. Though these have always been Conservatives, they may be supposed to have spoken more as representatives of voters who resented Doukhobor competition in work and wages than as members of the political party traditionally opposed to the people. At the same time, though, Liberal and Progressive members from Saskatchewan Doukhobor constituencies have not seen fit to discuss the issue on either side in the House. The people have had a defender in J.S. Woodsworth, Labour, who advises discrimination in choosing further immigrants, while asking sympathetic treatment for such of this peculiar people as are already in the country.¹

In 1925 the present Minister of National Defence Hon. Donald Sutherland, in the course of his remarks on the address in reply to the speech from the throne, where extreme partisanship is in order, went back to Hansard of 1901 and quoted Frank Oliver against the Liberal immigration policy of the time.² But this was but one of many criticisms in Mr. Sutherland's speech, and it received no attention from Liberal supporters.

The most recent parliamentary airing of the Doukhobor question was in July 1931. In supporting a Government amendment to the Criminal Code providing heavier penalties for

1 - Ibid, May 23, 1923, p. 1340.

2 - Ibid, Feb. 16, 1925, p. 198.

nude paraders,¹ W.K. Esling again presented the attitude of many British Columbians living near Doukhobors. The only Liberal remarks were of a technical or facetious nature, and Mr. Woodsworth alone spoke sympathetically of the sect.²

In provincial politics Doukhobors have had a somewhat different role. In neither Saskatchewan nor British Columbia has there been a party uncomfortably aware of its having sponsored or been otherwise connected with the immigration of the members of the sect. It is true that the first government of Saskatchewan was in close sympathy with the Dominion Liberal organization, but it was not formed until seven years after the arrival of the Doukhobors, and it inherited the administrative difficulties in connection with registration and school attendance of the non-party Territorial administration which preceded it. There was even less reason for either party in British Columbia to befriend the sect.

The situation has rather been that all governments of Saskatchewan and British Columbia confronted with Doukhobor problems have been able to meet opposition criticism of their handling of such issues by indicating what they deem to be the primary responsibility of the Dominion authorities in the matter.³

1 - 2122 George V, Chap. 28, sec. 2.

2 - Hansard, July 24, 1931, pp. 4131-34 and 4143-45.

3 - Vide ante, Chap. X for fuller discussion of this aspect.

The other phase of the subject of this chapter is the attitude toward and participation in politics of the Doukhobors themselves, with further details of the attempts to exploit them as voters.

It will be at once recognized that the acceptance of the simplest implication of the doctrinaire tenets of his faith left no room for a Doukhobor's participation in any sort of law-making. The law of Christ was his standard, and it could not presumably be subject to change at the will of men. And even when one recollects that the theory and practice of Doukhoborism were often far removed, especially in the matter of authority, it is still true that the Doukhobor who refused to accept man-made laws from without his own group was nevertheless not at all anxious to impress his own standards on outsiders. Far from having a tradition of social participation on a national scale, his instinct was rather to repudiate legal restrictions without even examining them.

Even if one takes the attitude that the leaders of the Doukhobors in Canada have not been so naïve as to think that the "law of Christ" is sufficient to guide the everyday actions of men in an industrial, highly organized world, it is still apparent that the solidarity of the group and the stability of the leaders' authority hinged on the limitations or absence of participation of their people in law-making as in wage-earning, in common language as in school education. So that Community Doukhobors were not permitted even to take the oath of allegiance

and even if participation in politics had been otherwise possible it would have been discouraged by old Peter Verigin.

But the leader himself was quite alert to the fact that there could not be complete isolation between his people and the rest of the world. In constituting himself the chief link he made it his business to recognize and observe at the proper time the standards and conventions of the individualist world as of his own community. From the start he cultivated the good will of the Interior Department and was well aware that one of the Canadian political parties was necessarily more friendly to him and his people than the other.

For instance in March 1905 he wrote to James A. Smart, who had recently resigned as Deputy Minister of the Interior, though Verigin was not aware of the fact, congratulating him on the Liberal election victory of the previous year. He explained that Doukhobors were concerned rather with the laws of God, but that he had heard of a new proposed railway in which the Government was to be a partner. He was able to offer a hundred teams and a thousand men for the work on this line near the Doukhobor colonies.

With the change of both minister and deputy minister in that year, and with administrative attention being directed more and more to the Doukhobor homestead question, Verigin could not be said to have held to such an extent the sympathy of the Government and its officers in subsequent years.

One of his motives in moving many of his people and his virtual headquarters to British Columbia was, as he hoped, to get away from the necessity of obeying certain laws, of considering the larger political aspects of his and his people's actions.¹ During the rest of his leadership Verigin had a policy of keeping his community as self-contained as possible, politically as economically. But rather than force a showdown with provincial governments in such matters of law-enforcement as school attendance, he usually arranged a conciliation. As in his evidence before the Royal Doukhobor Commission in 1912, he was accustomed to represent himself as the spiritual leader of a peace-loving people.

By 1907 approximately one-quarter of the Doukhobors of Saskatchewan had entered for homesteads on their own account and had definitely left the Community for the individualist life. Usually this meant that they had taken or were prepared to take the oath of allegiance, by which they acquired citizenship and the right to vote. The extent to which such Independents have used the franchise is difficult to ascertain, but as they become in their external life very much as other foreign-born Canadians, their political consciousness is probably motivated by other considerations than their Doukhobor faith.

All people born in Canada (with few exceptions) are Canadians and British subjects. Thus after 1920, the

1 - Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912, pp. 31, 63.

twenty-first year of the Doukhobors in Canada, there was a growing number of Community members who, without any oath or deliberate action on their part, were eligible to vote. However, their traditional non-participation in extra-community affairs prevailed in all elections previous to that of 1930. Peter Verigin the elder was then six years dead, and although his son had been nearly three years in office as leader, discipline in the community was on a different basis, and worldliness was not so invariably discouraged.

In the campaign of July 1930 not only did community Doukhobors to the number of several hundred go to the polls for the first time, but the ethics of appealing for and organizing their votes became a prominent petty issue in the constituencies of Kootenay West and Yale, which contain nearly all the Doukhobors in British Columbia. The Conservative Nelson Daily News, during the week preceding July 30th, voting day, published front page editorials and news items on what it called a Doukhor election scandal. It alleged that less than 200 Doukhobors' names were on the voters' list for Brilliant; that most of these names were added at the final revision and were not sent promptly to W.K. Esling, the Conservative candidate; and that most of the thousand or more Doukhobors eligible to vote -- those between 21 and 32 years of age -- would be specially sworn in on election day as provided by the Dominion Elections Act.¹ The paper attributed this scheme

1 - R.S.C., 1927, Chap. 53, sec. 64.

to the campaign organization of D.D. McLean, the Liberal candidate, which was said to be circulating propaganda in the various colonies reminding the Doukhobors that the Liberal Party brought them to Canada and was their traditional friend; that loss of their exemption from military service would follow a Conservative victory; and that profitable road construction and repair work could be obtained if they controlled the election. If Doukhobors ever commenced to vote generally, said the Daily News, they would control the Federal ridings of Kootenay West and Yale, and five provincial ridings, enough to wield the balance of power in the provincial legislature if the party standing were close.¹

The Conservative candidate in Kootenay West took the stand that he wanted no Doukhobor votes, publishing in the local press on election day an announcement to this effect. He claimed there had been an agreement between the parties that neither would attempt to get eligible native-born Doukhobors to vote. Votes cast at the polling booth at Brilliant, to which several hundred Doukhobors came in from outlying colonies on election day, were as follows: D.D. McLean, Liberal, 248; W.K. Esling, Conservative, 2 (his scrutineers); A.E. Watts, Farmer-Labour, 1; total, 251.² None but Doukhobors live at Brilliant. At six o'clock when

1 - Nelson Daily News, July 24, 25, and 26, 1930.

2 - Chief Electoral Officer's report, 1930 General Election, p. 412.

the poll closed, several hundred would-be electors were still lined up outside the booth because, it is claimed,¹ with a voters' list showing only a fraction of the number of names of those who intended to vote at Brilliant, and with Conservative scrutineers challenging with as much delay as possible every person who entered the poll, facilities were distinctly inadequate for all to secure and mark a ballot. The rest of the constituency elected Mr. Esling by a majority of 1761.²

In Yale riding, which includes the Doukhobor colonies near Grand Forks, Doukhobors to a somewhat smaller number went to the polls. According to the Nelson Daily News, both community members and Sons of Freedom were amongst those listed, and they were told that a Conservative victory would result in their being sent to fight in India.³ But in Yale, too, the sitting Conservative member, Grote Stirling, was re-elected.

The political consequence of this first election participation of Doukhobors in British Columbia was an agitation on the part of Conservative members of the provincial legislature to have the people disfranchised. According to newspaper accounts,⁴ if they could not induce the Conservative Provincial government to act they would introduce legislation as private

-
- 1 - By Mr. Esling, M.P., Hansard, July 24, 1931, p. 4133.
2 - Chief Electoral Officer's report, 1930 General Election, p. 414.
3 - Nelson Daily News, July 25, 1930.
4 - Vancouver Daily Province, Aug. 5 and 13, 1930.

members. The ground of their opposition to Doukhobor votes was that law-observance should be a condition of the franchise. Later it was learned that while the Dominion franchise was of necessity out of the jurisdiction of the province, the Provincial Elections Act already ruled out those who are exempt from bearing arms.¹

That the Doukhobors who voted did so with the knowledge and approval of the community administration, and that the latter did not emphasize its traditional policy of isolation, seem indicated in an open letter sent out from the Brilliant office shortly after the election.² It contained the following paragraph, which is perhaps typical of the emphatic and not entirely subtle propaganda of Doukhobors both today and in times past:

"It is true that many of our younger Doukhobors are growing up to Canadian ways and traditions, and sought the right of self expression in the use of the franchise at the last election. In this we consider that Canadians should be proud for it is certainly an index as to our ability to assimilate the ways of the Country. If we used the franchise in a manner that offended the Nelson Daily News, it is our privilege; and one we shall continue to enjoy under British rule regardless of the Daily News. In defence of this, according to Canadian history we claim the right to vote and probably with more intelligence than the 'Indians' of the country whom Sir. John A. Macdonald crowded out of the voters lists in an election many years ago."

1 - R.S.B.C., 1924, Chap. 76, sec. 6(2)(b).

CONCLUSION

To dismiss the Doukhobors of Canada merely by deprecating the fact that they were ever allowed to come to this country is of little utility. The question for politicians and those charged with law administration is how best to deal with such as are already in the country. Almost inevitably one observes a connection between their communal economy and their slowness of assimilation and irresponsible attitude toward a broader citizenship..

"The branch of Doukhobors, which is now settled in Canada, has, during the nineteenth century, probably migrated more than any other sect in the world," wrote Aylmer Maude in 1904,¹ some years before the British Columbia move was contemplated. From various parts of Russia to Milky Waters, thence to Transcaucasia, and often to Siberia, to Saskatchewan, to British Columbia, and perhaps in the future to Mexico - nearly every generation has trekked into a new land. But the same old Doukhobor with his anachronistic philosophy has remained. Doukhobor community systems have been set up, have dissipated and have made their appearance again. The comparatively enlightened members have left the community in Canada as in Russia, but a nucleus has always remained.

1 - Maude, op. cit., p. 176.

The present chief appears to be exploiting to the utmost the tradition of an inspired leadership, so that critics are saying, as they have often said in the past, that ^{it} is only a matter of time until contact with free Canadian institutions will effect the end of the community and allow Doukhobors to see the error of their unsocial ways. Personality looms large in their history. Is there yet another successor?

A possible compromise which might forestall a complete disintegration of the community is that toward Michael Cazakoff, and other administrators in the period of 1924-27, looked forward before the younger Verigin took charge - the perpetuation of many phases of co-operation with individual ownership of land and citizenship. Individualism is regarded by many as a declining force in the world. The attempt to link up Doukhobor collectivism with such new world trends in group action would appear, however, to be futile. The place of a religious group in such an economic setting remains anachronistic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books - Leading sources.

Elkinton, Joseph S., The Doukhobors, their history in Russia, their migration to Canada, Philadelphia, 1903.

Evalenko, A.M. (editor), The message of the Doukhobors, New York, 1913.

Haxthausen, Baron von, The Russian Empire, Strassburg, 1848.

Maude, Aylmer, A peculiar people, the Doukhobors, New York, 1904.

Mavor, James, My windows on the street of the world, Toronto, 1923.

Stepniak, The Russian Peasantry, London, 1888.

Tchertkoff, V. (editor), Christian martyrdom in Russia, 2nd ed., London, 1900.

Books - Secondary references.

Anderson, J.T.M., The education of the new Canadian, Toronto, 1919.

Bell, Archie, Sunset Canada, Boston, 1918.

Black, N.F., History of Saskatchewan and the old North-west, Saskatoon, 1913.

Bridle, Augustus, Sons of Canada, Toronto, 1916.

Copping, A.E., Canada to-day and to-morrow, London, 1911.

Dafoe, John W., Clifford Sifton in relation to his times, Toronto, 1931.

Doland, A.G., History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada, Toronto, 1927.

England, Robert, The central European immigrant in Canada, Toronto, 1929.

Foster, Kate, The Canadian mosaic, Toronto, 1926.

Fraser, J.F., Canada as it is, London, 1905.

Graham, Stephen, Tramping with a poet in the Rockies, London, 1922.

- Grange, H., An English farmer in Canada, London, 1904.
- Gruchy, Lydia E., The Doukhobors in Canada, Toronto, 1928.
- Kennedy, Howard Angus, New Canada and the new Canadaans, London, 1907.
- Lumsden, J., Through Canada in harvest time, London, 1903.
- Maclean, John, McDougall of Alberta, Toronto, 1927.
- Mavor, James, The economic history of Russia, Toronto, 1924.
- Sissons, C.B., Bi-lingual schools in Canada, Toronto, 1917.
- Shortt, Adam, & Doughty, A.G., (editors), Canada and its provinces, Glasgow, 1912.
- Smith, W.G., Building the nation, Toronto, 1922.
- Smith, W.G., A study in Canadian immigration, Toronto, 1920.
- Woodsworth, J.S., Strangers within our gates, Toronto, 1907.
- Yeigh, Frank, Through the heart of Canada, Toronto, 1911.
- Young, The Ukrainian-Canadians, Toronto, 1931.

Government publications, official reports, documents, &c.

Dominion

- House of Commons Hansard, 1899-1932.
- House of Commons Journals, 1899-1932.
- Senate Hansard, 1901, 1918, 1931.
- Senate Journals, 1918, 1931.
- Papers concerning Doukhobor homestead entries, 1907.
- Reports and maps relating to Doukhobor homestead lands, 1907.
- Status of Canada.
- Canada Gazette.
- Reports of H. of C. Agriculture and Colonization committee, 1899-1904.

Chief electoral officer's report, 1930 general election.
Annual reports of Department of the Interior.
Annual reports of Department of Immigration and Colonization.
Annual reports of Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
Annual report of Secretary of State, 1917.
Annual report of Public Archives, 1903.
Censuses of Canada, 1901, 1911, 1921.
Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916.
Sessional papers, various.
1st-4th annual reports on co-operative associations in Canada,
Department of Labour, 1928-1931.
Public Archives vol. PF 183, Catalogue of correspondence
relating to the immigration of the Doukhobors
into Canada, 1898-1899.
Department of the Interior and Department of Immigration and
Colonization correspondence.

Provinces

Journals of B.C. Legislative Assembly.
B.C. Sessional papers.
Report of B.C. Royal Commission on Doukhobors, 1912.
B.C. Statutes.
Annual reports of B.C. Department of Education.
Annual reports of B.C. Department of Public Health.
B.C. Public Service Bulletin, June and September, 1925.
The Agricultural Journal, B.C. Department of Agriculture, July 1924.
Journals of N.W.T. Legislative Assembly.
Ordinances of N.W.T.
Annual reports of N.W.T. Department of Education.
Annual reports of Saskatchewan Department of Education.

Other

Mavor, James, Report to H.M. Board of Trade on Wheat production in the northwest of Canada, 1904.

Magazines, periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, &c.

Contemporary Review, Nov. 1895: Leo Tolstoy, Christian persecution in Russia.

Canadian Magazine, July 1903: John Ridington, The Doukhobor pilgrimage.

Mississippi Valley Historical Review, June 1917: Elina Thorsteinson, The Doukhobors in Canada.

Encounter

Canadian Magazine, July 1918: The Doukhobors: a community race in Canada.

Christian Guardian, Dec. 17, 1919: Exeter Hall, Meeting the Doukhobor at home.

Century Magazine, Jan. 1923: Maurice Hindus, Bookless philosophers.

Canadian Forum, July 1924: C.B. Sissons, What can we do with the Doukhobors?

Century Magazine, Dec. 1925: Maurice Hindus, As in the days of Adam.

The Friend (Philadelphia), Ninth Month 29, 1927: J. Passmore Elkinton, The Doukhobors in Canada up to date.

The Friend, Seventh Month 22, 1928: Alexander Nazarov, Doukhobors in Canada still need moral support.

The Friend, Eighth Month 21, 1930: Wm. B. Harvey, More about the Doukhobors.

The Nation (N.Y.), Oct. 8, 1930: J. Montagnes, Doukhobors in Canada.

North American Review, Jan. 1932: William Burke Teeling, The Spirit Wrestler.

Proceedings and transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. XX, May 1926, sec. II: E.H. Oliver, F.R.S.C., Settlement of Sask. to 1914.

Leo Tolstoy, The emigration of the Doukhoborts (pamphlet), April 1, 1898.

Aylmer Maude, A communist community (unpublished MS.), Nov. 10, 1924.

P.H. Bryce, M.D., The value to Canada of the Continental
immigrant (pamphlet), 1928.

Newspapers, various.

Private correspondence, various.

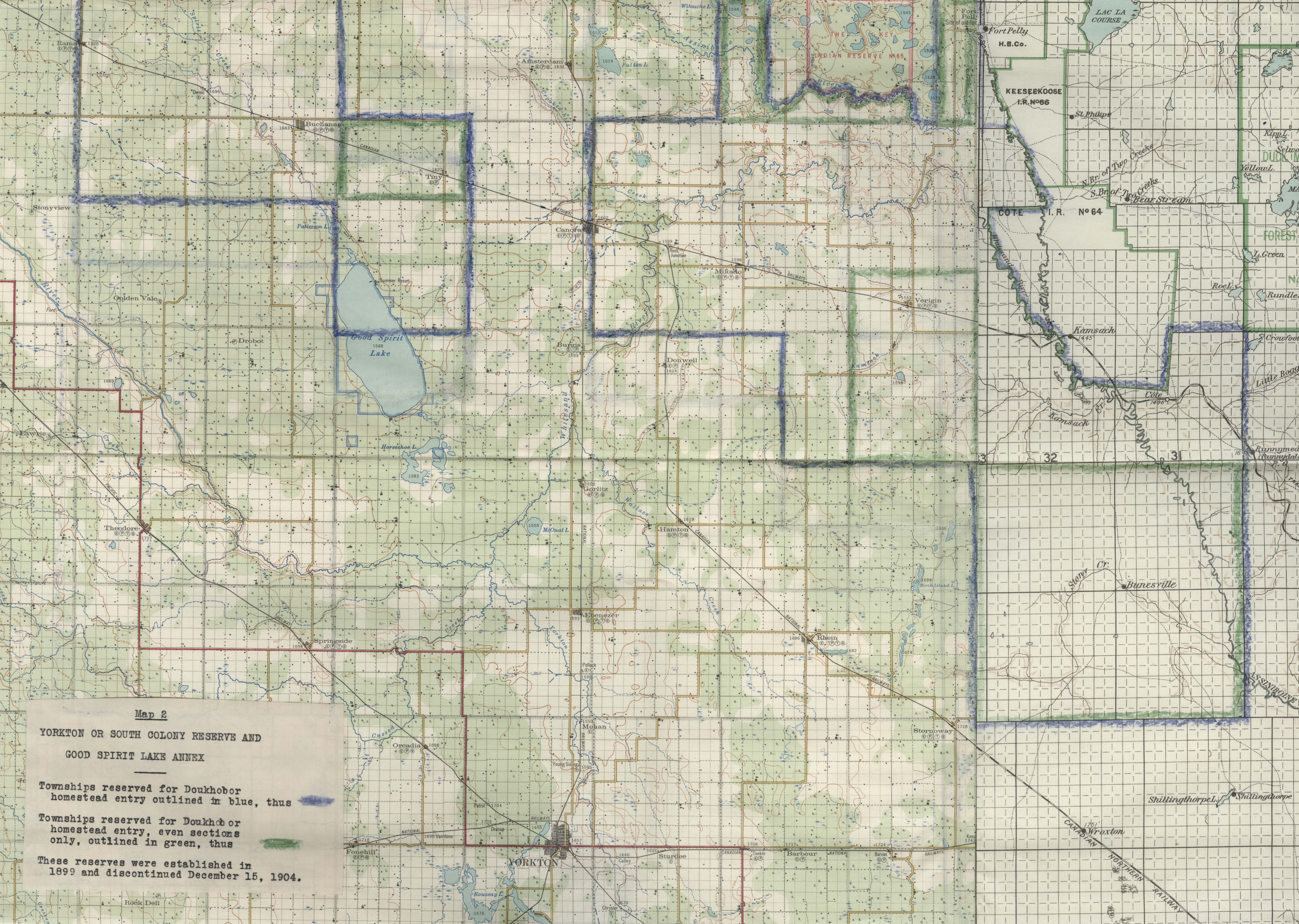
Reference Works

Canadian Annual Review, 1915, 1910, 1912, 1915, 1918, 1919,
1924-25, 1925-26.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th and 14th editions.

Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics.

Encyclopaedia Americana.



Map 2

YORKTON OR SOUTH COLONY RESERVE AND
GOOD SPIRIT LAKE ANNEX

Townships reserved for Doukhobor
homestead entry outlined in blue, thus

Townships reserved for Doukhobor
homestead entry, even sections
only, outlined in green, thus

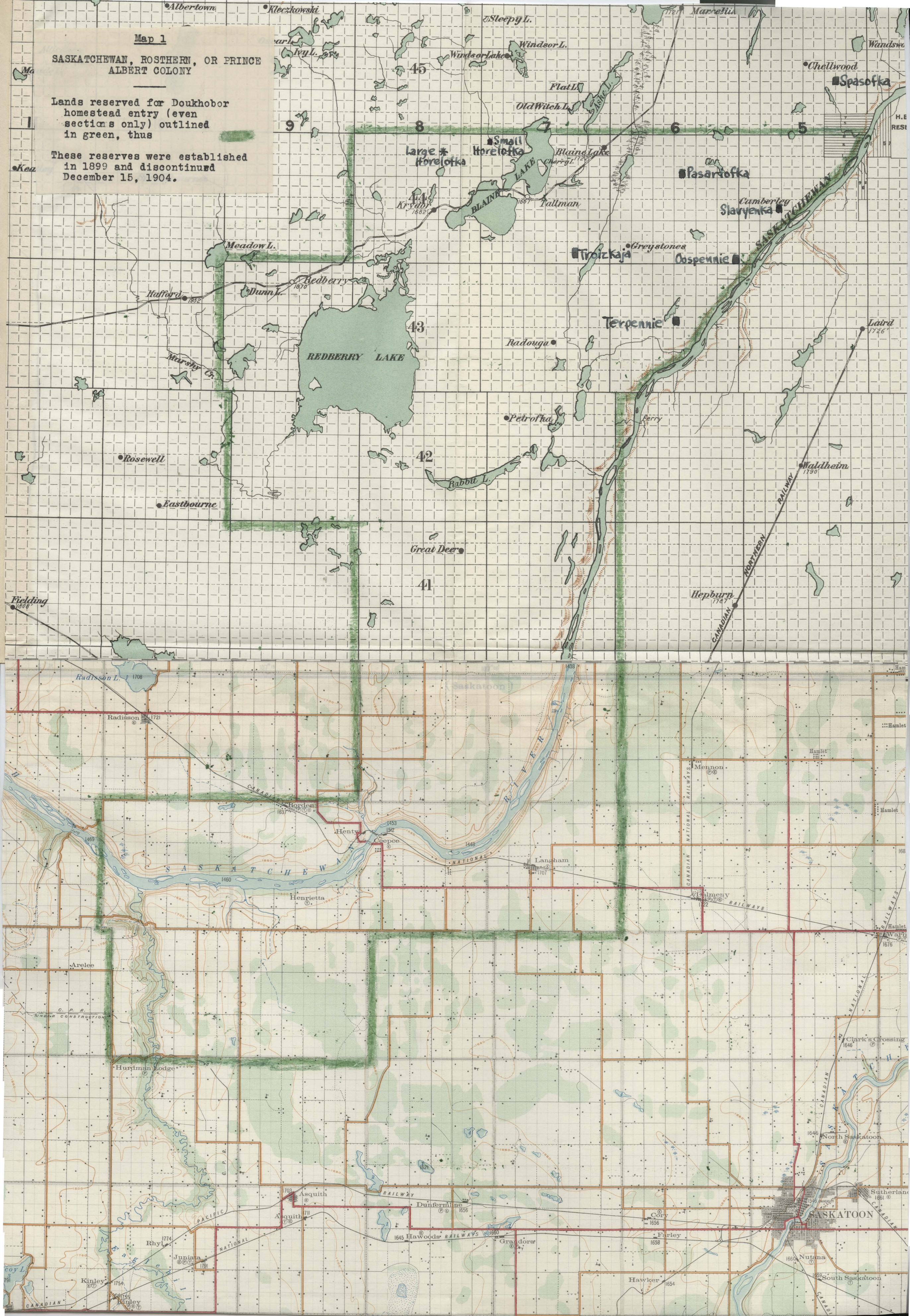
These reserves were established in
1899 and discontinued December 15, 1904.

Map 1

SASKATCHEWAN, ROSTHERN, OR PRINCE
ALBERT COLONY

Lands reserved for Doukhobor
homestead entry (even
sections only) outlined
in green, thus

These reserves were established
in 1899 and discontinued
December 15, 1904.



Map 4

DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENTS IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Christian Community of
Universal Brotherhood
holdings in blue, thus

Independent holdings in
green, thus

Sons of Freedom colonies
in red, thus

Doukhobor place-names
underlined, thus

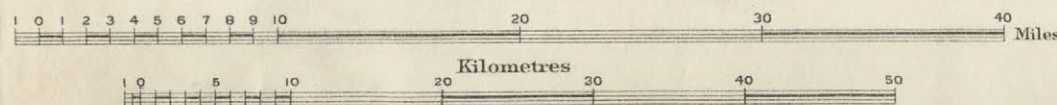


Thrums



BRITISH COLUMBIA
KOOTENAY SHEET

Scale $\frac{1}{500,000}$: 7.89 Miles to 1 Inch



CITIES, over 6000 population
Places, 4000 to 6000 population
Places, under 4000 population
International and Interprovincial boundaries
Township boundaries
Township numbers
Range numbers

Railways
Roads
Falls
Rapids
Indian reserves
Elevation of water above sea level
Elevation of land above sea level

PORCUPINE

FOREST

RESERVE

No. 2

Map 3

THUNDER HILL, SWAN RIVER, OR NORTH

COLONY RESERVE

Townships reserved for Doukhobor
homestead entry outlined in
blue, thus

These reserves were established in
1899 and discontinued December 15, 1904.

