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THE DOUKHOBORS IN CANADA

One of the many perplexing immigration problems which the Canadian government has had to face in recent years is that connected with the presence of the Doukhobor sect. This sect, calling itself the "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood," found refuge from Russian persecution within the Dominion of Canada during the year 1899. The records concerning the rise of the Doukhobors are scanty and uncertain, and very little that is definite is known of them as a sect before the second half of the eighteenth century.[1] In seeking to trace the origin of the currents of opinion and the doctrines which have entered into their faith, it is evident that this movement is more or less closely connected with various phases of the opposition to the church since early Christian times.[2] Among the move-

[1] The name Doukhobór is a religious nickname and was used at least as far back as 1785. It comes from the Russian words *Douk* (spirit), and *borets* (champions), hence it means champions of the spirit or spiritual things. In pronouncing it the "k" is scarcely heard at all and the accent is on the last syllable. There are other forms of the name but this is the simple and short form now usually employed. One form of the plural of the name is Doukhobortsi but Doukhobors is equally correct.

[2] They have no written records of their own and have always been unwilling to have outsiders inquire into the secrets of their faith. Accustomed to connect such questioning with trials, fines, banishment, and other forms of persecution, they have learned through long years of such experience to conceal their true beliefs. According to their own tradition they originated with three brothers, Cossacks of the Don, who through the teaching of the spirit and a searching of the scriptures were led away from the ceremonies of the orthodox but corrupt Greek church of Russia. As has been the case with other sects, the views of the Doukhobors have varied from time to time, but in spite of their fluid creed the main trend of their thought is easily discernible. Their strong tendency to reject all external authorities is noticeable. They carefully conceal their superstitious customs.

ments which may be considered as contributing to the formation of this sect may be included the Judaizers, Paulicians, Anabaptists, Manicheans, gnostics, Russian rationalists like Báskin, Kosóy, Tveritínof, the Raskólniks, and the early Quakers. There is also a remarkable likeness between the doctrines of the Doukhobors and those of the Lollards as taught by Wycliffe. The assertion that the sect was founded by a Quaker who visited Russia in the eighteenth century is considered very doubtful. About the middle of the eighteenth century, however, there lived in the Ukraine, in what is now the province of Kharhof, a foreigner who had no fixed place of residence and whose identity is unknown, though he was thought to be a Prussian noncommissioned officer, and a Quaker. This interesting character is thus described: "A man of high character who was devoted to the service of his fellows. He taught that governments are unnecessary, all men are equal, the hierarchy and the priesthood are a human invention, the Church and its ceremonies are superfluous, monasticism is a perversion of human nature, the conspiracy of the proprietors is a disgrace to mankind, and the Tzar and Archbishops are just like other people."[3] He found many followers and around him the nucleus of the Doukhobor sect formed itself, his relation to them being that of adviser and instructor.

The only personal connection that the Quakers had with the Doukhobors before the recent persecution came from a visit of certain English Quakers during the last century. There is an undoubted resemblance between the opinions of the Doukhobors and those taught by the early Quakers. Indeed their doctrine may be described as a very interesting aberration of the somewhat superior doctrine of the Quakers. Among the points in which Quaker influence must have strengthened Doukhoborism are: their attention to the inward voice, their rejection of church ceremonies, their disapproval of oaths and of war, and their independent attitude to authority exemplified by their refusal to uncover their heads even before magistrates or kings.[4] "By early Quaker and Doukhobor alike, Christ was

[3] Aylmer Maude, *A peculiar people: the Doukhobors* (London, 1905), 111.

[4] The Doukhobors are said in many cases to have refused to remove their hats when before officials, magistrates, and governors. *Ibid.*, 101, 102.

identified with the 'inward voice,' and with the capacity to see a moral issue clearly and feel sure of what is right.''[5] To them the life and death of Christ was of less importance than the ''Christ within.'' The early Quakers gave a second place to the bible while the Doukhobors, for the most part illiterate, attached scarcely any importance to it except those portions which had passed into the chants or psalms, learned by heart and recited at their meetings. To this unwritten collection of psalms, preserved in their memories, they apply the expression ''the living book.'' To-day the Quakers and Doukhobors seem farther apart. ''Among most modern Quakers the Bible, the Atonement, and the Scheme of Redemption, occupy a prominent place, while the Doukhobors attach but slight importance to the Bible as a book, and, for the most part have never heard of the 'Scheme of Redemption,' which they would consider immoral were it narrated to them.''[6] There is also a great contrast between the quiet Quaker meetings and the ''sunrise service'' of the Doukhobors. Another most striking difference exists between these two peace-loving sects in the matter of education and governmental support. The Quakers have always been foremost in educational development and have ever been law-abiding citizens, faithful to the governments under which they have lived. To the Quakers a defective civil government seems better than none at all; while to the Doukhobors, civil government seems to be of itself an evil. Nevertheless, the Doukhobors adhere to a Quaker type of religion which allows man to use his powers of thought and conscience to their utmost, and freedom to express the truths he discerns unhindered by what his predecessors may have said.

Probably the best account of the beliefs of the Doukhobors is the one by Orést Novítsky, which, although written from the point of view of an orthodox Russian, is a fair statement of the Doukhobor beliefs and is accepted as such by the Doukhobors themselves.[7] According to Novítsky, they believe in one God. They do not deny the Trinity but their statements about it are

[5] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 102.

[6] *Ibid.*, 103.

[7] Novítsky made a careful study of the Doukhobors and their creed. His account, which was written as his thesis for a doctor's degree, was published in Kief in 1832.

to the effect that God may be approached from three sides. They accept the external sacraments only in a spiritual sense, hence reject infant baptism; they reject as useless all church rites and ceremonies and condemn church officers. Marriage they say should be accomplished without ceremonies. An external knowledge of Christ is not essential for salvation for "the inward word" reveals him in the depths of the soul. Those enlightened by the spirit of God will after death rise again; what will become of the other people is not known. They regard it as sinful to go to war, to carry arms, or to take oaths. They reject all decrees of churches and councils. Icons and saints should not be worshiped; and government, if needed at all, is necessary only for the wicked.

Peter Verigin, present leader of the sect, has expressed his version of the Doukhobor faith as follows: "The chief article in the Doukhobor's profession of faith is the service and worship of God in spirit and in truth. They do not believe in the mere theory of goodness, but in the fact that conduct alone brings to man salvation. For this it is not only sufficient to understand the ways of God, but to follow them. The conception they have of Christ is based on the teaching of the Gospel, they acknowledge His coming in the flesh, His teaching and suffering in the spiritual sense, and affirm that all contained in the Gospel should be accomplished in ourselves. Thus Christ must in us be begotten, born, grow up, teach, suffer, die and rise again. Concerning baptism they say it takes place when a man repents with a pure and willing heart and turns to God, and not to the world. The foundation of the Doukhobor communism is not based on the economic but spiritual factors, for which the individual psychology is taken as the fundamental issue of everything. The individual is everything, institution is nothing. But the individual has to be in as perfect communism with his spiritual self as possible. Only by keeping the equilibrium between himself and the universe man obtains the highest happiness and freedom. We are our own lawmakers; our individual laws must be in perfect harmony with the laws of nature and universe and not contradict them. The fundamental idea of our principles and laws is the gospel of human love, which originates in the conscience of an individual and leads up

to the conception of whole humanity and God. According to this all living creatures are equal brethren for one and the same life-essence manifests itself in every living being. This is the chief argument why we refuse to eat any meat. We extend this idea of equality also to government, and for this reason deny its superior authority especially when it operates against the conscience of individuals. However, in all that does not infringe what we regard as the will of God, we willingly comply with the law of a government."[8]

As Maude remarks in this connection, we continually find in the Doukhobor statements of belief two different notes. "The one is calm, moderate, persuasive, couched almost in the orthodox phraseology of the Eastern Church, but importing a philosophic truth into the conventional phrases, and at dangerous points taking refuge in mysticism. The other is clear, resolute, radical; there is no mysticism or secrecy about it; but it is often harsh, contemptuous, and inimical, not merely to all authority in Church and State but towards all who do not agree at once and absolutely. It answers to the harshest note sounded by the first generation of Quakers, in their scorn of 'steeple-houses' and 'hireling priests.' These two notes correspond, no doubt, to the views of the milder and more spiritual Doukhobors on the one hand, and the more rigid and logical Doukhobors on the other."[9] We find many inconsistencies in their sayings and they are not above twisting facts to suit their theories. They state they have no bible among them and no need of external revelation, yet when questioned about their faith reply with words from the holy scriptures. According to Tcherthoff "the Doukhobors perhaps furnish the nearest approach to the practice of Christ's teachings that is to be met with in modern life." It is a significant fact that Doukhoborism has been a peasant faith. It has never had any success among the upper classes, and no priest has ever been converted. They have at the most only an intuitive conception of the great aims for which modern culture strives.

[8] *Independent*, 75: 24, 25. A more complete account of the tenets of the Doukhobor faith may be found in Maude, *A peculiar people*, in which Novítsky's classification is reproduced in almost his own words.

[9] *Ibid.*, 105.

A suitable leader is essential to the starting of a sect, and to its continuance if it meets with persecution. The Doukhobor sect was no exception, and capable leaders early appeared among its adherents. Under the influence of Sylvan Kolésnikof, who was active as a religious teacher among the Doukhobors of the government or province of Ekaterinnoslóf from 1750 to 1775, the doctrines of the sect seem to have been at their best. Thoughtful, tactful, prudent, remarkably well informed, his influence was very great and his leadership successful, for he did not come into conflict with the authorities. He taught his followers that the externalities of religion are unimportant and that they might conform to the ceremonial religion of whatever country they found themselves in. One of his sayings was, "Let us bow to the God in one another for we are the image of God upon earth." This is probably the explanation of the bowing customs of the Doukhobors. Another man, not himself a Doukhobor, whose service was of great value to the sect was the wandering philosopher Skovorodá. Though he was too well educated and intelligent to belong to the Doukhobors, he greatly influenced their history. He is said to have formulated some of their views in his time.[10] To the next leader of importance, Ilarión Pobiróhin, belongs the honor of having first made an attempt to draw the sect into a compact community, and of having first assumed divine authority. Pobiróhin was a well-to-do wood dealer of the village of Goréloe in Tambóf, and was chiefly active about 1775 to 1785. Eloquent and of attractive character, he became a leader of the Doukhobors of his district, collecting them together in one place and introducing communism among them. Not satisfied with recognizing himself to be a son of God like the rest of the brethren, he claimed to be Christ. Similar claims have repeatedly been made by later Doukhobor leaders.

[10] This extremely interesting character lived from 1722 to 1794; he was born in the Kief district. Although his parents were common Cossacks, he received a good education. To avoid priesthood he pretended to lose his wits. He visited various countries and on returning to Russia soon adopted the life of a wanderer. He lived very plainly, carrying a Hebrew bible and a flute on his travels, devoting his life to migratory instruction and discussion. Among his accomplishments he counted that of being a musical composer, and the Molokans, who in some respects resemble the Doukhobors, still use some of his verses and tunes. The wandering habit of life which he practiced is still quite common in Russia.

Pobiróhin chose twelve apostles, and appointed twelve "death-bearing angels" to punish all who relapsed after once becoming Doukhobors. He taught that "truth is not in books but in the spirit, not in the Bible but in the 'Living Book'," and he claimed that his church was infallible. The Doukhobors seem to have accepted the theocratic despotism he established without a murmur. Increasing in self-assurance and dictatorialness, Pobiróhin finally came into conflict with the civil authorities, was tried and banished to Siberia with his children and some of his apostles. The most remarkable of all the Doukhobor leaders was Savély Kapoústin, born in 1743, who succeeded Pobiróhin and founded the dynasty which has borne the name of Kalmikof.[11] According to some accounts, he was a son of Pobiróhin and was taken as an army recruit to punish him for being a Doukhobor. After leaving the army he became a leader of the Tambof Doukhobors about 1790. He possessed remarkable ability and his influence over them was very great. In 1805, many of the Tambof Doukhobors joined the Milky Waters colony and Kapoústin was invited to become the leader of this settlement. Under his domination the Doukhobors lost the freedom of thought that had been characteristic of the sect, and became a clan, yielding blind obedience to hereditary leaders.

Because of their peculiar religious views and their open preaching that rulers were not needed, the Doukhobors were looked upon as enemies of both church and state; and they suffered early persecution and banishment in spite of the policy of toleration followed by both Catherine II and her successor Paul. Toward the close of the eighteenth century they were scattered about over southern Russia, southward and westward from the Volga, with adherents in various parts of the empire.[12] Small groups were also living in banishment in Finland, Archangel, and Siberia. During the reigns of Catherine II and Paul, the Doukhobors were severely though intermittently persecuted.

[11] Kapoústin, to avoid military service for his son, arranged to have him made officially illegitimate, and had him pass by the name of his mother's people, the Kalmikofs.

[12] The tenets of the sect were variously expressed by the different groups of Doukhobors, but they were all united in rejecting church authority and church rites, and in disapproving of civil authorities, wars, and oaths.

Alexander I, who reigned from 1801 to 1825, seems to have recognized the futility of the persecutions of the preceding thirty years as a remedy for religious error. On learning of the foolishly harsh treatment that the sect was receiving at the hands of various local authorities, he allowed many Doukhobors from various parts of Russia to migrate to Milky Waters, a fertile district named after the river Molotchna that flows through it into the sea of Azof. The object of the government in allowing the Doukhobors to form a settlement of their own was to hinder them from proselyting. The success of the settlement of thirty families, transported to this district north of the Crimea in 1801, led to requests from other Doukhobors of various governments or provinces to be allowed to join them. At first, these permissions were readily given, the governments sometimes even paying the cost of the migration beside making a liberal grant of fertile land and allowing freedom from taxation for a period of five years. A general permission, however, was not extended to all Doukhobors. Each government was inclined to treat them differently, and no Doukhobors who were serfs of private proprietors could migrate. After 1812, they met with increasing difficulty in getting leave to migrate, at first on account of the Napoleonic invasion and later because it was not thought wise to permit an increase of sectarian settlement. Finally, just before the death of Alexander I in 1825, further migrations to the Milky Waters colony were prohibited. In spite of the beneficent intentions and humane decrees of Alexander I, the persecution of the Doukhobors by local authorities continued on one pretext or another. We have many instances of knouting, brutal treatment, and banishment; several persons were even flogged to death. Harsh measures were passed against them; their right to hold property was limited in order that they might not increase in numbers; and in 1819 they were prohibited from holding public office and a heavy tax was imposed on the whole community for their release from such service. They were restricted in other ways and promised many privileges if they would return to the orthodox church. Severe measures seemed only to strengthen the Doukhobors; their Milky Waters settlement gradually increased and by 1816 there were nine villages to be found there, numbering 3,000 inhabi-

tants, while a much larger number remained scattered over Russia.[13]

The migration to the Milky Waters settlement marked a turning point in the history of this group of Doukhobors. The sect now became an industrial and economic community and ceased to be propagandist. The community was organized without any difficulty and prospered from the first, and for many years it gave little trouble to the authorities. The members quickly adopted agricultural improvements from Mennonites settled near their colony. Agriculture, cattle breeding, carving, carpentry, and masonry were encouraged, but trading and commerce were discouraged by the leader, Kapoústin, for he feared the influence of outsiders. The common members of the sect were also discouraged from learning to read and write. Kapoústin ruled like a prophet and used every means to retain the allegiance of his people. Thirty elders and twelve apostles, appointed by himself, aided him in governing them. They carried on intercourse with the Russian government and paid the taxes for the whole colony so that it appeared to the Doukhobors that Kapoústin's rule was recognized by the authorities. Kapoústin introduced the communal system, but it was abandoned after some years and for a time the members could hold private property. This leader expounded the tenets of the Doukhobors in a manner to turn them to his own profit. He attached special importance to the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which was already known among the sect. He taught that Christ is born again in every believer, and that the soul of Jesus from generation to generation continually animates new bodies. Thus born again he was called pope; false popes arose but the true Jesus retained a small band of believers. These believers, it is held, are the Doukhobors, among whom Jesus is believed constantly to dwell, his soul animating one of them. "The result of Kapoústin's influence was to convert what had been an ultra-democratic, anti-Governmental sect, into a society in which he was an autocrat controlling not only the persons and property, but even the very thoughts of his subjects."[14] They were trained to conceal their real beliefs from outsiders and to be careful not

[13] The Doukhobors of this settlement were the ancestors of those now in Canada.
[14] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 132.

to involve their leader in any difficulty by admitting that he dictated their actions. "Any course decided upon by the Doukhobors is, even to-day, usually justified to outsiders by the use of texts from the Bible, not because such texts are authoritative to the Doukhobors, but because they are a safe way of expressing their decisions."[15]

Kapoústin preferred that the Doukhobors should not apply to the Russian courts of justice, hence urged that all their disputes should be settled among themselves. The "orphans' home," founded ostensibly to secure the welfare of aged widows and orphans, added greatly to the leader's power. This institution was in reality a disguise for the seat of government; it formed a treasury to meet emergencies and centralized the power of the sect. For the maintenance of this institution, a large estate was placed practically at the uncontrolled disposal of the leader, who for official purposes, in relation to the Russian government, figured as the manager of the orphans' home. The members of the sect were sober, well-to-do people, punctual tax payers, and submissive to the government. They considered themselves a "holy people, the King's annointed, a people renewed, and without sin." Exceedingly suspicious of outsiders, then as now, their clannishness went so far that they used all possible means to conceal the misdeeds of their coreligionists. They thoroughly believed in the divinity of the leader and the evil this belief occasioned explains much that is remarkable in their history. The community flourished and its prosperity attracted converts, whose petitions to join the Milky Waters colony caused the Doukhobors trouble. They were charged with proselyting and on the accusation of some of the worthless renegade Doukhobors several of the brethren were arrested and kept in prison.[16]

When Kapoústin died, the office of Christ passed to his son,

[15] Maude, *A peculiar people.*

[16] A characteristic story is told of the Doukhobors in this connection. Their leader, Kapoústin, was arrested on a charge of making converts to his heresy. He met with harsh treatment but was released on bail. Soon after, the Doukhobors declared he had died November 7, 1817, and had been buried the next day. They clung to their story in spite of the fact that the corpse was disinterred and found to be that of another man. Kapoústin lived in hiding for some years after this. *Ibid.*, 137.

Vasily Kalmikof (1792-1832); and his son and heir was Ilarión Kalmikof (1816-1841). Neither of these leaders possessed ability and they fell into evil practices and became drunkards. The council of thirty elders and the twelve apostles ruled in Vasily Kalmikof's name; a period of maladministration began. A mere suspicion of treachery was punished by torture and death by the council of elders, which had constituted itself an inquisitional tribunal. A governmental investigation of their outrages followed in 1834-1839, and revealed a frightful state of things. Among the proved cases of terrorism might be mentioned the fact that some unfortunate victims were found to have been mutilated and even buried alive. The result was that the Emperor Nicholas I ordered all members of the sect to be transported to Tiflis in the Caucasus, except those who would return to the orthodox church. Surrounded by wild hill tribes in the Caucasus, it was thought that the nonresistant Doukhobor sect would soon abandon their principles or be exterminated by their wild neighbors. Several leading Doukhobors have since acknowledged that this expulsion was due to their own misdoings.

In all, more than four thousand exiles went from the Milky Waters to the Caucasus between 1841 and 1843. Though this removal involved many hardships, only twenty-seven Doukhobors were found willing to return to the orthodox church. Later, however, this number was considerably increased when they came to realize what a hard life they would have to lead in the Caucasus. Their leader, Ilarión Kalmikof, died soon after the migration, and they were ruled for a time by an elder named Lyovouska, who soon got into trouble with the Russian authorities and was banished to Siberia. He was followed by Peter Kalmikof, one of Ilarión's sons, who led them successfully until 1864, when he died, still a young man. On his death, his wife Loukeriya became the leader of the Doukhobors and proved exceptionally successful. Instead of dying out as the Russian government had hoped, the new community flourished in spite of the severe climate and other difficulties encountered. This prosperity was largely due to their industry, their practice of communism, and the spirit of coöperation and mutual aid among them. Located six thousand feet above sea level, even barley grew with difficulty, but they practiced agriculture successfully

in spite of the altitude and poor soil. They were also wagoners and cattle breeders, and became a well-to-do peasantry. They spread out and formed settlements in the provinces of Tiflis, Kars, and Elizavetpol between the Caucasus mountains and the Persian frontier.[17] Fifty years after settling there, they numbered nearly 12,000 in the Tiflis government, about 5,000 in the Kars government, and in the Elizavetpol government about 4,000, making a total of 21,000 Doukhobors in the Caucasus. They offered no objections to conscription and were in good repute with the authorities and with their neighbors the Mohammedans, who surrounded them. A new "orphans' home," also called "the Fatherland," which was established in this period, accumulated a large capital, the exact amount of which is not known as the leaders never rendered accounts to the people.

After Loukeriya died, in 1886, trouble arose among the Doukhobors not only over the succession but also over the disposal of considerable property of which she had had charge. According to an official report of 1895 by the governor of Tiflis, a claimant to power immediately appeared in the person of Peter Verigin, from the village of Slavyanki in the government of Elizavetpol. He had for many years been in attendance on the leader, whose nephew he was through his mother, and he claimed also to be the son of Peter Kalmikof. He met with strong opposition from the head men of the village of Goreloe, the seat of government where the head of the sect lived, and the seat of "the Fatherland" or "orphans' home." Though the outlook of the Doukhobors had been much broadened and they had ceased to believe in many of the old superstitions, yet on the confirmation of his relationship to the former leader, Peter Kalmikof, the people of his village and others accepted him.[18]

[17] The Russian authorities induced the Doukhobors by special privileges to take part in the colonization of these districts, added to the Russian empire after the war with Turkey in 1877-1878. "During that war the Doukhobors rendered valuable service to the transport department of the army." Maude, *A peculiar people*, 150.

[18] After his mother announced in solemn gathering that Verigin was the son of Peter Kalmikof, she and her husband fell at his feet with the rest of the village people. They then took the oath of allegiance and signed attestations of allegiance. Thus Verigin established his connection with the holy reigning dynasty, his title being acknowledged on the strength of his birth. *Ibid.*, 153.

Consequently, about seven tenths of all the Doukhobor population swore allegiance to Verigin. The opposition or "small party," which looked upon the unprincipled Verigin as something of a scamp, thereupon appealed to the Russian law courts for the first time in fifty years, asking that they be awarded the custody of the "orphans' home" property. Loukeriya's brother, a member of the "small party," claimed the management of the estate in question and won his case, although the other side charged him with bribery. As a disturber of the peace, Verigin with his brothers and principal followers were banished without trial to Siberia, by administrative order. Verigin's banishment, which was to last five years, from 1887 to 1892, was later extended so that altogether he spent fifteen years in exile. At first he was confined in the government of Archangel and later in other places like Obdorsk at the mouth of the Obi. The Doukhobors, however, took almost incredible pains to keep up intercourse with the exiled leader, whose influence was as great as ever. The Russian authorities removed him to more inaccessible places but the indefatigable persistency of the messengers overcame all obstacles. Thus they were able to receive his instructions in spite of all the government could do to prevent it. These instructions, in some instances, roused great excitement among his followers as they contained new principles which he advised them to adopt for their spiritual welfare.

During his exile, Verigin came into contact with exiles from other sects; he also met friends of Tolstoy and became familiar with books by this author. His ideas were much altered as a consequence and many of the injunctions he sent to his followers at this time were greatly influenced and colored by Tolstoyan ideas. Verigin, however, has always been unwilling to acknowledge that his views have been modified by those of Tolstoy. In 1896, the very year that Verigin asserted that he had not read Tolstoy's works, he composed a letter to his followers made up principally of passages borrowed verbatim from Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is within you.* That epistle, now a part of the sacred lore of the Doukhobors, was signed by Peter Verigin, but it contains no acknowledgment of the facts that he had borrowed its contents from Tolstoy. It serves to show how far Verigin accepted Tolstoy's ideas; he passed on to his followers

Tolstoy's ideas of nonresistance, vegetarianism, repudiation of governmental authority, law courts, and the ownership of property. Some of these theories the Doukhobors simply translated into forms already familiar to them.

All during his banishment, Verigin prompted a marked religious revival by the advice he sent through his messengers. He recommended the re-introduction of communism, strict abstinence from strong drinks and tobacco, the practice of vegetarianism, the destruction of all arms possessed by his followers, and an adherence to nonresistant principles. In 1887, conscription was introduced by which all male adults became liable for army service. The Doukhobors had at first complied with the law but when the above-mentioned reviva took place they decided they could no longer slay their fellow men. The decision to refuse army service was the result of a message sent by Verigin early in 1895. Their refusal was followed by a severe persecution. Not all the Doukhobors would accept Verigin's regulations, so that there was a split in 1895 resulting in a middle or "butchers' party," which rejected Verigin's advice, and a "fasting party" which accepted it. The former, which consisted of nearly three hundred families out of the seven hundred or more families, begged the Russian authorities not to confound them with the "fasting" Doukhobors and their undertakings. They remained true to their traditional secretiveness, however, and would not reveal what their opponents proposed to do. There was great excitement among them for the "fasters" demanded the return of the "Fatherland" or "orphans' home" with the property belonging to it. They refused also to pay their taxes, which the manager of the "orphans' home" had attended to. They even went so far as to attempt to arouse the surrounding Mohammedan tribes against the government. Their young men began to refuse conscription, but the crisis came when this group prepared to leave the country. The "small party," disturbed by the suspicious preparations of the "fasters" feared an attack from them. The local authorities were perplexed by the difficult situation and the government, misled by false reports and confused by the mutual recriminations of the two parties, found itself in an uncomfortable and unenviable position. The Doukhobors could not be exempted from con-

scription in a military empire. The local authorities, therefore, commenced persecuting them, though in their reports to the higher authorities they were careful to misrepresent what they had done. It must be admitted that the behavior of the Doukhobors was very troublesome. They were often impudent and disrespectful and even deliberately insulted the governor of Tiflis and his subordinates, who thought it necessary to visit the district where the trouble took place.

Verigin had sent instructions in 1895 that on his name-day, June 29, old style, his followers were to collect and burn their arms to show their firm resolve not to use physical force against their fellow men. This they did publicly and the next morning before the fire had quite burned out, the Cossacks who had been sent into the district to keep order came upon the Doukhobors and flogged them brutally. Following this inhuman proceeding the Cossacks were quartered in the villages, as in a conquered country, and they committed many outrages. Many of the sect suffered violent death by flogging while others yielded to the pressure brought to bear on them. The government went further and broke up the homes of the "fasters" in the Tiflis government and scattered about 4,000 people among the Georgians and other tribes. As a result, in less than three years these people were reduced to such straits that about 1,000 of them died from sickness caused by want, change of climate, and other hardships.[19] More would have perished but for the help which the Doukhobors of Kars and Elizavetpol were able to give them in spite of the police regulations which forbade communication with these dispersed people. Those of the men available for military service were sent for eighteen years to the Siberian criminal battalion. It is impossible to justify the inhuman treatment accorded to these people who had really committed no crime. The first to suffer were those serving in the army who laid down their arms. Imprisonment, banishment, flogging

[19] In the winter of 1894-1895 Tolstoy first made the acquaintance of the Doukhobors. Externally they seemed to meet the requirements of his teachings and he naturally fell into the error of regarding them as examples of true Christianity in practical life. "Rejecting the Church and State, acknowledging (apparently) no human authority, they lived together and coöperated in a closely knit community. They professed the very principles of Christian anarchy dear to Tolstoy." Naturally, therefore, he was prominent in appealing for help for the sufferers. Maude, *A peculiar people*, 174.

in various degrees, and other minor hardships were inflicted on them. The policy of the officials between 1895 and 1898 seemed to be to make the Doukhobors abandon their principles or allow themselves to be slowly exterminated. Still the sect had some sympathizers among the officials, and moreover, the government was anxious that news of the persecution should not spread. The Russian press was forbidden to allude to the matter and outsiders visiting the Doukhobors were expelled. But publicity was obtained through Tolstoy and his friends; representatives were sent to the Caucasus to investigate matters and a petition was presented to the tzar by a delegation sent to St. Petersburg. Through the English press were published unintentionally several extremely biased accounts of the Doukhobors and reports of the persecution. Tolstoy's representative, V. Tchertkoff, appealed for help to be administered through him for these people who were being persecuted "for having realized the Christian life." On the other side the Russian government in St. Petersburg sent out a general to investigate the whole matter. A number of Doukhobor elders were summoned before him and they were offered the restoration of land and property if they would take oaths of allegiance and submit to conscription. This official heard what they had to say and did all he could to persuade them to yield. He went so far as to acknowledge the excellence of their views, but asserted that the time had not yet come to put them into practice. To this they replied, "The time, General, may not yet have come for you — but it has come for us!"[20]

Finally, in March, 1898, the Doukhobors received permission to leave Russia on condition that they should go at their own expense. It was stipulated, however, that those who had been called on for military service should not be released, that those (including Peter Verigin) who were in Siberia, should remain to work out their sentences, and that if any of them ever returned, they should be banished to distant parts of Siberia. It would have been impossible for these ignorant, illiterate, and impoverished peasants to avail themselves of this permission but for the aid they received from the Society of Friends in London and in America, and from volunteer workers elsewhere.

[20] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 36.

It is said that Tolstoy wrote his last great novel, *Resurrection*, to get money to pay for the emigration of the Doukhobors to Canada. The Doukhobors were anxious to move at once for fear the permission would be rescinded, and on the first of September, 1898, Prince D. A. Hilkoff, Aylmer Maude, and two Doukhobor families who were delegates for the Doukhobors, sailed from Liverpool to Canada.[21] Prince Hilkoff and Aylmer Maude accompanied the Doukhobors, Ivan Ivin and Peter Mahortof went with their families at their pressing request and at their own expense, to advise with them and act as interpreters. They were to ascertain whether Canada was a suitable country for Doukhobor settlement and what the Canadian government would do to help the migration.[22] Prince Hilkoff's knowledge of the Doukhobors made him an admirable negotiator, especially in the matter of selecting land.

Meanwhile an influential committee of the Society of Friends had interested itself in the project of transporting the Doukhobors to the island of Cyprus. Prince Hilkoff, Ivin, and Mahortof had visited Cyprus in July, 1898, and reported that the island was altogether unsuitable for a Doukhobor settlement. This report came too late to prevent a temporary migration thither of 1,126 Doukhobors, who later came to Canada.

As the Canadian government was anxious to attract immigration, the delegates found its representatives ready to give every possible assistance. The government undertook to give each male over eighteen years of age 160 acres of good land subject to the payment of an entrance fee of ten dollars, which payment could be deferred for three years. Assistance by government interpreters and accommodation in the government immigration halls was also offered on their arrival in Canada, and lastly

[21] Prince Hilkoff's career is very interesting. He left what promised to be a brilliant career in the army because his conscience troubled him for taking human life. He incurred the displeasure of the tzar because he divided his estate among his peasants and incited them to resist the extortions of their priests. Persisting in his course, he was banished to the Caucasus, where he lived among the Doukhobors. Joseph Elkinton, *The Doukhobors, their history in Russia, their migration to Canada* (Philadelphia, 1903), 173-175.

[22] This contemplated migration was not without precedent. Twenty years before, a successful settlement had been made in southern Canada by Mennonites from Russia, who had refused to do military service. Maude, *A peculiar people*, 39.

a grant of one dollar was provided for each immigrant, man, woman, or child, reaching Winnipeg by June 30, 1899.[23] As a further inducement the immigrants were to be exempt from military service, the militia act of Canada being supplemented by an order in council which named the Doukhobors as a sect which was to have exemption from the provisions of this act.

As the Doukhobors, Ivin and Mahortof, were unable to speak English and reluctant to take the responsibility of the decision, and as it was difficult and expensive to communicate with the Doukhobors in the Caucasus, Prince Hilkoff and Aylmer Maude found it necessary to take this responsibility, although they were not fully trusted by the two Doukhobor delegates. The ever suspicious Doukhobors were ready to believe the suggestions of some Russian Jews of Winnipeg that Prince Hilkoff had a selfish motive for helping them. At this time Aylmer Maude, who was a personal friend of Tolstoy, was mistaken as to the real character of the Doukhobors. He accepted the Tolstoyan version of the matter to the effect that "They were supposed to have practically solved the great problem which divides anarchists from socialists, and to have shown how to combine complete individual freedom with equality of opportunity and material condition, and also with peace and good order in the life of the community."[24] Tolstoy, with his dislike of conscription, had hoped also that the collective protest which the Doukhobors had made would have a widespread result. The imperfections of their system became obvious soon after they reached Canada, and Maude was completely disillusioned.

The Doukhobors were anxious to settle as a compact community with their lands as closely together as possible. A promising location was selected in the district near Edmonton, Alberta, consisting of twelve townships where the Doukhobors might settle in a single group. But this arrangement came to naught because unfavorable accounts, which had found their way into print, furnished the conservative opposition to the lib-

[23] Usually the one dollar bonus was paid only to male adults. The government paid a similar bonus to agents of steamship companies to encourage immigration into Canada, but as there were no agents in this case, the bonus went into a fund out of which the government paid the expense of supporting the Doukhobors on their first arrival. Maude, *A peculiar people*, 48.

[24] *Ibid.*, 59.

eral government with weapons against the proposed immigration. Absurd reports were published in the Canadian newspapers, and for these several reasons pressure was brought to bear on the government and the Doukhobor delegates found that they could not get this desirable land. It was impossible to find another suitable location large enough for the Doukhobor community, so that finally three different locations were selected. These were subsequently called the North (or Thunder Hill) colony, situated at the northeast corner of Assiniboia; the South colony (with an annex called the Devil's Lake colony), situated about eighteen miles southwest of the North colony; and the Saskatchewan colonies, divided into the Duck Lake and the Saskatoon settlements, also called Prince Albert or Rosthern colony, situated about 250 miles to the west or northwest of the others. In these settlements the Doukhobors were given more than 600 square miles, comprising some of the most fertile land in the northwest. To get the Doukhobors settled as nearly *en bloc* as possible, it was necessary for the government to give the Canadian Pacific railroad an equivalent elsewhere for the odd numbered sections held by that railway in the townships selected. This was satisfactorily arranged except with reference to a small part of the land allotted, which was held in trust for educational purposes.

Maude, who met everywhere with promptness, cordial assistance, and encouragement during this difficult and critical time, arranged with the Canadian Pacific railway to carry the Doukhobors from the coast, i.e. from St. John, New Brunswick, or Quebec, to the station west of Winnipeg nearest to their future location. The distance was over 2,000 miles and the rate was six dollars per adult, the colonist cars taking two days and eighteen hours, including stoppages, to make the journey. The Canadian authorities were quite explicit about the conditions on which the Doukhobors might come to Canada. In addition to the privileges already noted, they were not at first required to perform on each separate homestead the work legally necessary but were allowed to do this work on any part of the township they took up, in order to facilitate their communal arrangements. On their part the Doukhobors were to supply vital statistics, pay their taxes, and conform to other Canadian laws. Later, when trouble arose, they claimed that they had not understood

what was expected of them, especially in the matter of statistics, although Maude had explained these demands and offers of the government to the two Doukhobor delegates, and they had made no objections to the requirements.

By December, 1898, negotiations and arrangements were so far advanced that Leopold Soulerzhitsky, at Batouni, on the Black Sea, had been empowered by the Doukhobors and their friends in England to engage the Beaver line steamer, *Lake Huron*, to convey the first party of about 2,000 Doukhobors direct from Batouni to Canada. In January, 1898, the *Lake Huron* left the port of Batouni and after nearly a month's voyage reached Halifax. Soulerzhitsky had the Doukhobors of this steamer in charge as well as the third party which consisted of the Cyprus Doukhobors, already mentioned. The second steamer, the *Lake Superior*, which arrived January 27, brought about 2,000 Doukhobors in charge of Count Sergius Tolstoy, the second son of Leo Tolstoy. Each of the steamers made a second trip, and the last steamer, which was the most crowded of all, carried 2,318 Doukhobors besides several Russian helpers whose assistance was invaluable.[25] On account of several cases of smallpox two of the shiploads had to stay in quarantine for a month at Grosse island in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Altogether, 7,363 Doukhobors had reached Canada by June, 1899; about 12,000 of them, who did not wish to emigrate, were left in the Caucasus, while about 110 were in Siberian exile. The Doukhobors were able to furnish a part of the expenses, while the Canadian government spent about $20,000 in settling them, in addition to the $35,000 bonus money due according to the agreement. The Doukhobors agreed to refund a portion of the $20,000 spent by the government.

Among the many whose services proved invaluable during the difficult time of arrival and settlement of the emigrants, the members of the Society of Friends took a prominent part. It was through the efforts and assistance of the Doukhobor com-

[25] Among the workers whose unselfish exertions in behalf of the Doukhobors are noteworthy are: Herbert P. Archer, who continued Maude's work as an intermediary between the Doukhobors and the Canadian government; J. Elkinton, who also met them and accompanied them to their new homes; and Prince Hilkoff, who remained in Canada until all the Doukhobors were settled in their new locations.

mittee of Friends, in London, that the last three steamers were chartered for the migration.[26] They not only furnished able leadership for the movement but also generous financial assistance.[27] One of the Friends, Wilson Sturge, was also foremost in removing the Doukhobors from Cyprus, where they landed in 1898. The climate of the island proved unsuitable, and about 100 Doukhobors died in a few months. There was much discontent among them and a strong desire soon developed to go to Canada to join the others. Wilson Sturge, to whom the Doukhobors were very grateful for his services, wound up their affairs in Cyprus. The *Lake Superior* was chartered and after a prosperous voyage the Doukhobors landed at Quebec, whence they were promptly transported to Yorkton.

The Friends have also been foremost among the Doukhobors in educational work, many men and women of high character giving their services freely to them. Since the Doukhobors reached Canada no other body of men has assisted them so liberally and indefatigably as the Philadelphia Quakers.[28]

The majority of the Doukhobors arrived in Canada almost utterly destitute, for their transportation from Russia had used up what slight resources they possessed and even this voyage itself was made possible only through the help given so generously by the Society of Friends. Their first year in Canada was very trying for they had to face more than the ordinary trials of the pioneer. "They were located on the bare prairie almost without tools or building materials, distant from sources of supplies, without money, harassed by sickness, subject to the rigor of a strange climate with winter fast approaching."[29]

[26] "The members of this committee were William A. Albright, Edmund Wright Brooks, Frederick G. Cash, Samuel F. Hurnard, Thomas W. Marsh, Henry T. Mennell, Arthur Midgly, Thomas P. Newman, Medford Warner and John Bellows, who acted as clerk to the committee." Maude, *A peculiar people*, 76.

[27] The English Friends had to raise a guarantee fund of $80,000 before the English government would allow the Doukhobors to land in Cyprus. Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 183.

[28] The author of this article has in her possession a letter from J. Elkinton, Jr., which gives a good account of what the Philadelphia Friends have done for the Doukhobors, as well as other interesting information about them. It serves to show, also, why the Friends have taken so much interest in the welfare of this sect.

[29] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 99.

Their first task was necessarily that of making habitable shelters for themselves. As almost all the Doukhobor men were scattered over Canada as laborers on farms, railways, and in other places to earn wages sufficient to carry them through the winter, the women took their place as workers, building the villages and preparing the ground for harvest. The enterprising spirit and superior ability of the women was well shown in the way they faced the situation and built their homes. From the immigration halls the Doukhobors had moved into huge barracks, built by the government in convenient places on the Doukhobor reserve. Using these as centers of operations, the women energetically began to build up their villages. They carted the logs for miles with the aid of two simple little wheels. They trod the mortar which they used in deep trenches and used their hands as trowels. They carried the earth for the mortar in willow baskets on their backs, while the water was often carried half a mile in two buckets, rough hewn out of tree trunks, hung on the end of a long pole. The weaker women chopped up hay or grass to mix with the mortar; several women, with their skirts kilted up, trod the mortar until it was as smooth as paste while another gang carried it in wooden troughs to the houses where six or eight women neatly and skilfully plastered the logs inside and out until the walls presented a smooth surface. The women also began the work of cultivating the soil. As few draft animals were available, they plowed much of the land by harnessing themselves, twelve pairs of women to a plow, with one to hold the plow. Pictures of this novel method of plowing caused much unfair comment on the supposed cruelty and laziness of the Doukhobor men; the fact was that the women rose to the occasion and did this necessary work in the absence of the men. Besides there were many more women than men among them and in many families there were no men to help bear the burdens, for Siberia had taken them. Out of the 7,361 Doukhobors which came to Canada, only 1,500 were men; the others had been killed or were in exile.

Much sickness appeared among them the first fall and winter, due to the insufficient food, exposure to the bitter weather, overcrowding and living in poorly ventilated rooms, and the fact that they were worn out by excessive labor. They suffered

from scurvy, and from the fever brought by the Doukhobors who came from Cyprus. As they had no physicians, and no medicine in most of the communities, conditions were very bad for a time. They could not get through the winter without assistance and it was only by means of the united efforts of all their friends that they escaped starvation during the winter of 1899-1900. The necessary help was furnished by Friends in Philadelphia and London who had already spent large sums of money to stock the Doukhobor farms and provide them with agricultural implements. The Friends in Philadelphia at this critical time raised $30,000 in a few weeks. Taking advantage of the law permitting settlers' effects to be carried at reduced rates, they were allowed by the authorities to ship in carloads of food and necessaries, which the Canadian officials distributed among the needy of the communities. Other organizations, among them the Dominion national council of women, rendered valuable assistance in this trying time. The Canadian government supplied the immigrants with seed for the spring sowing and through its agents also donated several thousand head of livestock.[30] In spite of the charity they have received, however, the Doukhobors have never shown signs of becoming paupers but have utilized the aid given them in helping themselves. In 1902, matters had somewhat improved, especially in the more progressive communities. From this time on, the Doukhobors prospered and soon began sending money to their brethren in exile. By 1902, they had also begun to pay off the loan advanced by P. N. Birukova and her sister, A. N. Sharapova, to pay for the chartering of the vessel that brought the Cyprus Doukhobors to Canada. Since they could not perhaps be held legally responsible for this loan, this action testifies to both their honesty and their remarkable industry and frugality. According to Dr. William Saunders of the experimental agricultural department of Canada, who visited the Doukhobors of the North colony the first year, the estimated cost of living was two dollars a month per capita, debt was almost unknown among them, their credit with merchants was high, and they saved their money in banks instead of keeping it in a stocking or an old teapot.

[30] *Harper's weekly*, 46: 1779.

The Doukhobors disapproved of private property for the most part and a communal form of property holding, which many hold to be erratic and impossible, is general among them. The Doukhobor community of the North and South colonies is the largest experiment in pure communism ever attempted. Communism seems to have become with them a religious principle for it is based not on economic but on spiritual factors. The village property, stock, and implements are owned in common. They raise most excellent stock, are fond of fine horses and take very good care of them. Certain personal property is not regarded as common but a Doukhobor does not hesitate to ask his brethren for any article that takes his fancy and a good Doukhobor will give to any who ask. They till their fields in common and divide up the produce according to the number of members in each family. The system has its advantages and disadvantages. The mutual support that they have been able to give each other by their communal system has made it possible for them to survive the persecutions to which they were formerly subjected. The system has its advantages, also, in the purchase of supplies of all kinds and implements for agricultural uses. It also makes it possible to utilize small resources so that if any village communes are improverished they are succored by the other Doukhobor communities. On the other hand, the system has the disadvantage of being a hardship for the individual. It is said that occasionally there has been a redistribution of property so that all might be approximately on one level of material well being, though these attempts have not been wholly successful. Communism is rendered possible by strong leadership, dominating the entire group. The Doukhobor communities have been firmly centralized by Peter Verigin, who is supreme among them. He is an adroit and able politician, although he seems too perplexed himself to guide the Doukhobors in finding the truth.

Prince Hilkoff and others interested in getting the Doukhobors comfortably settled were keenly anxious to induce them to adopt or retain communism, but at that time the Doukhobors seemed to prefer individualism, and from 1899 until 1903, when Peter Verigin assumed active leadership, they were unable to come to a decision; some villages became communistic and oth-

ers individualistic. The number of communistic villages gradually diminished, although they prospered more than the individualistic villages. In August, 1900, only one of the ten villages of the Saskatchewan Doukhobors was communistic. Among the Swan river villages three were really communistic, one was individualistic and in the rest there was a struggle between the two forms of ownership. Among the Yorkton villages a few were communal. All this was altered when Verigin arrived from Siberia in 1903. The individualistic villages of the North and South colonies resumed communism and the communism of the different villages was centralized so that the communal funds of both North and South colonies are now controlled by a committee of three. Peter Verigin came at a time when the Doukhobors needed leadership badly and he has given it with judgment and ability, not sparing himself the drudgery of attending to details. According to his own account the Canadian government, afraid of serious trouble with the Doukhobors at the time of the first pilgrimage, offered negotiations with the Russian government for Verigin's liberation from exile in Siberia before the expiration of his term of imprisonment in Siberia. Verigin was liberated and on his arrival in Canada he assumed autocratic control of the Doukhobors. He is in every sense a remarkable man, cultured and intelligent, but he seems at times to be capable of questionable acts, and of insincerity. On his arrival in Canada he brought order out of chaos both in the North and South colonies. Firmly and tactfully he took hold of the situation and induced his followers to adopt modern methods of agriculture and modern machinery, including the steam plow. He has introduced first class stock, horses, and cattle, and by his advice the Doukhobors have broken several thousand acres of land; by 1905 they had purchased additional land to the value of $60,000. They now operate by steam several flour, saw, and flax mills, which they change from one kind of work to the other. They also have at Yorkton an excellent brick- and tile-making plant, one of the largest and best brickmaking plants in Canada. All goods for the colony are brought in wholesale quantities and there is a large warehouse for the distribution of these goods among the villages.

Agriculture and cattle raising are still their principal occupa-

tions. They also engage in lumbering on government lands, for which they hold permits. Then, too, they have made large earnings in cash on railroads built in their vicinity. Annually about 1,000 adults are sent out to labor on the railroads, and after dividing the living expenses, the greater part of the wages of these laborers goes into the common treasury. Some few of the better class look with jealousy on Verigin but the majority have implicit faith in him and he does his best to retain their good will by warding off all outside influence. Maude remarks on this subject: "There is no denying the service that Peter Verigin renders to the Doukhobors by acting as their leader. But there is also no denying there is a considerable element of secrecy and covert despotism about it, and the opposition to it is, in some cases, a moral revolt entailing heavy material sacrifices."[31] There is at present growing dissatisfaction with the Verigin régime and the entire communal system. Some are probably dissatisfied from selfish motives, others because they see the system spells despotism. The poor individual is quite helpless for the way out is exceedingly difficult. Many have not the moral courage to show their disapproval, since it would mean for them a good deal of unpleasantness. They are told, for instance, that they are not individualistic Doukhobors, but Galicians, whom they despise, and this appellation constitutes a heavy reproach against the would-be rebels. Those disapproving of Verigin are reviled, debts are brought against them, and every means taken to compel them to remain in the commune.

Verigin, with pretended humility, claims no authority for himself, but somehow what he desires to have done comes to pass. It is said that when he came to Canada he ascertained who were influential men among his people and made friends with them, converting them into his obedient tools.

That their life in Canada has from the first been a strenuous one has been already shown. In their own words: "We founded steam mills, we acquired steam plowing engines, and steam threshers, we organized steam brick factories, we finished the construction of a great flour mill which, with the machinery, will cost us $30,000, and though we lived in this

[31] Maude, *A peculiar people.*

region during eight years, yet we have had no joy in our life, as the life itself did not allow it. We had nothing and often we had to work more than was good."[32]

The Doukhobor women show great deftness in manual labor; but apart from their outdoor work they play an important part in the industrial life of the community. Besides having the household management they spin, weave, dye, embroider, and practice tailoring and millinery as far as they have use for the art. They are skillful with the needle and they do some exquisitely fine work in making and decorating linen for household use and for the church. Among the pieces used in religious ceremony is the marriage scarf, the sacred emblem of marriage with which each woman is presented when she is married. The texture of some of their table linen is equal to that produced by the best looms of Belfast. They make their linen cloth from the flax raised by themselves. The dyeing, spinning, and weaving are all done by the community. For the spinning they use the old-fashioned distaff, while their wooden loom is very primitive. The clothes of the men and women are made of similar material, those of the latter being generally lighter in color. "The women wear a very picturesque and comfortable hood, with a rosette of bright color on the front of it. The velvet band which encircles the head is invariably black, otherwise there is considerable variety in the color used, although the shape is always the same."[33] This hood is reserved for special occasions, for they wear a white shawl or kerchief in the fields and whenever they are working. They are neat in their appearance. They keep immaculate their kerchiefs and their white aprons, which they wear over their dark cloth skirts when in the house.

Elkinton thus describes their physical appearance: "The Doukhobors are people of the purest Russian type, large and strong, men and women both being of magnificent physique. They are characterized by broad square shoulders, heavy limbs and a massive build generally. Their features are prominent, but refined and bear the marks of a life that is free from vice. The most striking characteristic of all is the bright, kindly sparkle of their eyes, which gives a winning expression to the

[32] *Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries* (Ottawa, 1907), 15.

[33] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 46.

whole face, and quickly wins confidence in their character. All their habits demonstrate that they are possessed of keen minds."[34] The men are grave, deliberate, and slow of speech; the women are tender-hearted and their feelings are easily touched.

Village life has great attractions for them and this perhaps is one reason why they have objected to making homestead entries singly. Their villages are clean and well kept. Each village has a public bath house which is used daily, as the Doukhobors are very cleanly in their personal habits. Their houses during the first years may be said to have been of three kinds. Where logs were procurable, substantial homes were built; the roof was made of poles on which was laid prairie sod four inches in thickness. Where no wood was available, they built wonderfully neat and compact houses of sod. Mention is also made of half dug-outs, damp and dark. In one village, where neither timber nor sod were to be had, the houses were made in a remarkably ingenious manner by the use of poplar sticks five or six inches in diameter. These poles were driven into the ground one foot apart to form an enclosure thirty by twenty feet, and in and out of these, willow withes were tightly woven like baskets. The whole structure when completed was plastered inside and out by the women, who used their hands as trowels in plastering the walls with a thick tenacious clayey mixture which they had already prepared for the purpose. This style of house is durable, and well adapted to resist cold weather. Each room has a window or two and a door, although little provision is made for ventilation. The floors are of hard, smooth-packed earth or sand. Their storehouses and stables are built like the houses, are similar in size and appearance and are often under the same roof. In each house the great oven of sun-dried bricks, which serves for warming the hut and cooking the food, is a characteristic feature. The oven front stands six or eight feet high and five feet wide; the interior baking space is approximately three by four feet. The whole family sleep on the oven in extremely cold weather.

The interior of the houses of the North colony has been described by one who visited the Doukhobors shortly after they

[34] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors.*

built their villages. The Doukhobors have made their own furniture, which consists of a few rough stools to sit on and higher benches for tables. The beds are made of a series of poplar poles about six feet long and three or four inches in diameter, placed close together along the wall. These are covered with hay, with a piece of felt over it, or in a few cases, feather beds. On this framework they sleep, using such bed clothes as they can command. Some use curtains to divide the sleeping places into compartments, for most of the houses consist of one large room used as living-room, bedroom, dining-room, and kitchen. The Doukhobor families are not large and they aim to have in all their villages a house for each family. Absolute cleanliness is characteristic of every house, even that of the very poorest family. The houses of the Swan River villages in the North colony of a later date show great improvement over those already described. One observer says of them: "They are built on either side of a wide street, are of unsawn timbers, covered with clay, painted white and ornamented with yellow dados. The roofs project and form verandahs ornamented with carved woodwork. The yards in front of the houses are spread with sand, swept and watered once or twice a day. The interiors are all white-washed and spotlessly clean, and mostly consist of three or four rooms. Many of their houses to-day are comfortable and attractively clean."[35] The rooms in all the houses are lighted by large iron lamps.

Most of the Doukhobors are vegetarians, and in their own houses they live principally on vegetable soup made of potatoes, onions, and water. A big panful or bowl of soup is placed on the table and each Doukhobor with a wooden spoon helps himself from this common dish. They eat also black bread, fruit, cereals, and vegetables. Eggs and milk are tabooed, the latter because as vegetarians the Doukhobors consider it sinful to take the natural food from the calves. On Sundays, as a special treat, they have pancakes made of flour and water. When sick or away from home they permit themselves a more liberal and nourishing diet. They are not as strict vegetarians now as they were during the time of the persecution, 1895-1898, because

[35] Arthur G. Bradley, *Canada in the twentieth century* (Westminster, 1903), 298, 299.

the fish in the waters near their new home is a constant temptation. They refuse to eat animal fat and when offered food by outsiders they look at it with suspicion and inquire, "Grease?" Many of their Indian neighbors in northwest Assiniboia do not care to have the Doukhobors visit them as they regard them as "queer," and a story is told of a Cree who, desiring to keep a Doukhobor away from his tent, held up a piece of bannock with a deprecatory gesture, at the same time uttering the word "Grease."[36]

The Doukhobors are kind-hearted, thrifty, honest, industrious, and are noted for being extremely hospitable. A simple, kindly, gentle folk of integrity and pure morals, they are appreciative of kindness done them, and are charitable toward the needy. Most of their neighbors praise them for their many admirable virtues. Upright and God-fearing, they regard the family bond highly and love their homes. They are non-smokers and drunkenness is practically unknown among them. Although most of them are exceedingly industrious, there are some lazy Doukhobors, and they spend much time visiting because as guests they are not required to work. They are possessed of infinite patience and cheerfulness under sorrow, suffering privations bravely, and they are noted for their readiness to sacrifice themselves.

The Doukhobor children are very interesting; they are remarkably well-behaved and polite, and impress one very favorably. They have won much praise by their good conduct in school and their eagerness to learn. Respect for parents is strictly observed by all children and the older people in turn regard them as spiritually their equals.

The Doukhobors are extremely peaceable; some of them will not even kill a mosquito. On their journeyings in the mosquito season, when the air is literally full of these pests, these individuals carry a portable smudge which consists of a little vessel of burning charcoal covered with clay and grass, and carried by a string; this makes a dense smoke which surrounds and protects them as they swing it along. No punishments are to be found among the Doukhobors. They admonish each other in a brotherly way, according to the gospel, and if this is not

[36] *Outlook*, 72: 353.

sufficient, the offender is brought before a general assembly of the villagers. Therefore, though they have no written regulations, disagreement and disorder are rare, and they have no use for lawyers. While the Doukhobors have religious meetings, they do not for the most part have any special place for them as they do not attach sanctity to locality, nor do they have special days for their meetings. Any member of the community can arrange one at his house by inviting his friends and neighbors. If he is too poor to provide and serve food, he is supplied beforehand, for all who attend are usually served with food afterwards. At the meetings they recite prayers and read the bible. The Doukhobor ritual or creed is not printed or written for it is altogether a matter of tradition. The men are the more devout church-goers than the women who are not encouraged to attend church services. They often use the Sabbath to talk business. In spite of the fact that they reject all church rites, there have been established among them meetings for worship, the forms of which are as strictly maintained as those of most churches. A striking instance of this kind is their "sunrise service." The Doukhobors rise about four o'clock in the morning to take part in this service, which takes place in one of their largest houses. The men and women form in two lines; the children not taking an active part in these devotions until they are fourteen or fifteen years of age. The oldest man present takes his place at the head of the men's line, and the oldest woman at the head of the women's line, and so on down according to age. Then each of the men gives a recitation, beginning by the eldest, in order.[37] This may be a prayer, a part or chapter

[37] The first two recitations here given are samples of the recitations given at the sunrise service of the Doukhobors. The third is a secular song not used in services. All three were furnished by Mr. M. de Sherbinin of Winnipeg, Canada.

For thy sake, O Lord, I have loved the narrow gate,
For thy sake, I have forsaken father and mother,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken both brother and sister,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken wife and children,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken my whole kith and kin,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken this life and its lust,
For thy sake, O Lord, I go about hungry and thirsty,
For thy sake, O Lord, I am afflicted and persecuted,
For thy sake, O Lord, I endure dishonor and reproach,
For thy sake, O Lord, I wander without shelter.

from the bible, a creed, a hymn, a part of a letter from a pious person, something that may have been handed down by their fathers as sacred or edifying; often it is of their own composition, learned by heart. When the men have finished, the women take their turn. Frequently one of the women stumbles and the nearest woman prompts her. They do not have any repetition; each gives a different recitation. After this service they devote some time to chanting their hymns or psalms, all remaining standing. Before they close, the man next to the eldest man takes his hand, steps in front of him and kisses him on both cheeks and returns to his own place. He then turns to the women and bows to them in one general bow. The third man in line salutes the elder and the second man in the same way, returns to his place and then makes a general bow to the women. So the ceremony proceeds, each man salutes every one in his line, and returning to his place, gives one bow to the women.

A great thing it is to know God the Creator.
There is not better, there's no greater thing in the world
Than if a man knows God.
If a man knows God he will also exalt him.
That man will also be one of the elect.
With Christ the prophets are always in conversation,
The holy angels sing their songs.
They glorify Christ.
Righteous men have lived on earth,
They knew God, they received all things from the world:
Distresses, oppression, dishonor, reproach, stripes and afflictions.
For this sake also the Lord loveth them.
He calls them to himself, he strengthens them by his word, he calls them his sons.
He sends them to his paradise to his most bright paradise, to the kingdom of heaven!

The boisterous winds are blowing
Lord, does the little bird sing.
O my liberty, my liberty
O thou my golden one!
Liberty — a falcon of the sky
Liberty — a bright morning dawn.
Not with the dew didst thou descend,
Not in my dream do I behold.
Surely the fervent prayer
Has ascended up to the King,
Certainly our Lord — provider
Has tested our life and living and need.
The Queen from Under Heaven (or the Sub-Celestial Queen)
Has come down to abide with us.

When the last man in the line has done his part the women do the same thing, saluting each other and bowing to the men. When this ceremony is over the men sing hymns or psalms together, purely from memory. Finally each person bows down to the ground, placing both hands flat on the ground with forehead on the earth. They all do this together; this concludes the ceremony and they go about their daily duties. This order of service among the Doukhobors prevailed previous to Peter Verigin's arrival in 1903. He has since then introduced some changes and modifications. For example, he has each man go to the front of the meeting to recite his piece of prose or poetry or to read from the bible. It is also said that he has abolished the kissing, handshaking, and bowing as superfluous and ridiculous. Under Canadian influences the Doukhobors no longer rise at the former early unusual hour for prayer. The "sunrise service" is held on Sundays and on the twelve Greek church annual holidays of Russia and some others, because on these holidays no Russians do any farm work. This rule holds good only for those holidays which are observed by the Doukhobors in Canada since they have settled there.

The marriage ceremony of the Doukhobors, if such it can be called, is very simple. There is no prayer or blessing, or any judicial act or agreement. The bridal couple merely make a declaration before their elders and this act is accompanied by the chanting of hymns and by a feast, if the parties can afford it. A number of Doukhobor men and women were united in marriage on the way to Canada, while taking the trip by boat between Halifax and St. John, Canada. The ceremony is thus described by an eye-witness: "It was the simplest thing imaginable. It took place on the spar deck. The young men approached the young women of their choice, who were attended by their parents, and asked the ladies to become their wives, having first shaken them by the hand. The wooed ones consented, the young gentlemen kissed them, and it was all over. But the brides' parents did not allow the newly married couples to depart without a word of advice."[38]

Ill-treatment of wives is rare among the Doukhobors, and in cases where it occurs the life of the husband is made intolerable.

[38] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 194, 195.

The Doukhobors generally marry at the age of seventeen; and on the whole the women are treated with great consideration.

Most of the Doukhobors are ignorant and unlettered; only about three in a hundred can read. As a result many of them are suspicious, fanatical, intensely clannish, and superstitious to the point of attributing divinity to their leader. To educate them requires tact and wisdom for they frequently mistake customs and traditions for dictates of conscience. Although seemingly anxious to learn English so as to be able to communicate with their neighbors, they look with suspicion on government schools, as a natural result of previous experience in Russia. The Saskatchewan Doukhobors have seemed more disposed to accept suggestions about the schooling of their children than the Yorkton Doukhobors, who are not so progressive as the others. Peter Verigin, while in exile, wrote to them recommending elementary training for their children, but for once his suggestions do not seem to have carried weight, because other leaders, influential with them, counselled the opposite. This attitude was strengthened by the act of an officious school trustee who seized some Doukhobor property as a fine for refusal to pay a school tax of $800, which the Doukhobors could not understand as being obligatory when their children were not yet admitted to the district school. At first many of the parents extended their hearty coöperation when they found that those who taught their children did not seek to undermine any of their religious tenets, but were working in a truly disinterested way. But their attitude has changed since Verigin came upon the scene, for he discourages schools among them. Most of them have since become indifferent or hostile on the whole matter of schools for their children.

Among the first to render educational services to the Doukhobors was Miss Nellie Baker, a cousin of Mrs. E. Varney, who established a dispensary among them during the first year. Miss Baker established a school the first summer at one of the Doukhobor villages on Good Spirit lake. She conducted her school very successfully in a tent twenty feet square, teaching by signs and objects her tentful of children, who did not understand a word of English. She found them possessed of strong minds and inexhaustible energy. Some even walked five miles to the

school; most of them were anxious to have home work assigned, and they were never satisfied with the amount of these tasks. Miss Baker's work was voluntary and quite unremunerated but she was highly successful because of her keen interest, sympathy, and high intelligence. She was the type of teacher most needed among the Doukhobors and others followed in her footsteps.

The Friends of Philadelphia desired to further the educational interests of the Doukhobors but though Peter Verigin, in the fall of 1903, promised that log houses should be built in the villages for school purposes, nothing came of it. Such school houses were started in both the Saskatchewan and the Yorkton district but were left incomplete in some villages for years, while in others they were converted into stables or meeting-houses. One school, however, was begun among them in Petrofka, Saskatchewan, though Verigin did not wish the Friends to spend money assisting the Doukhobors to start schools. He said he wanted his followers to support their own schools as they were wealthy enough to do so. The truth is that he was always hostile to English schools and discouraged them and all other attempts at education among his people for fear it might lessen his influence. A clear instance is found in the case where he utterly disapproved of accepting the offer of the Philadelphia Friends to build a large school in Terpenie. After stating that he was powerless to influence the Doukhobors in this matter he wrote a letter to the Friends refusing their offer, pretending this refusal was a decision of the general meeting in council of the Doukhobors. Verigin has also recommended that the Doukhobors should not consult physicians, and they have no doctors or druggists. They are prejudiced against schools from never having known any other but those of the Russian villages, which were in a miserable condition. They do not recognize their own educational needs, and to bring them to do this seems to be an essential step before anything further can be accomplished.

It early became evident that the Doukhobors were suspicious not only of the Canadian government, but of every other kind of government except their own. In 1900-1901 they were deeply stirred by the preaching of an eccentric theorizer and dreamer, Bodyánsky, who for months palmed off his opinions on the

Canadian government as genuine expressions of Doukhobor principles. Because his agitation happened to coincide with the suspicious state of mind the government was in, he succeeded in starting troubles which lasted for years, for they were only partially settled by Verigin when he reached Canada in 1903. Among other things, Bodyánsky issued in the Doukobors' name what he called an "Address to all people," explaining their disapproval of Canadian laws and inquiring "whether there is anywhere such a country and such a human society where we would be tolerated, and where we could make our living, without being obliged to break the demands of our conscience and of the Truth." He also drew up a special appeal to the sultan of Turkey, in the same strain, signed by a number of representative Doukhobors. In 1901, through Bodyánsky, the Doukhobors protested against making private property of God's earth. The Doukhobors seem to have accepted the suggestions of Bodyánsky, merely because they wanted to puzzle the Canadian immigration department and keep matters in suspense while they waited for instructions from Peter Verigin in Siberia, though at the same time they carefully concealed the real reason for their hesitation. Bodyánsky eventually returned to Europe; but in the fall of 1902 a religious fanatic, who posed as a prophet, preached to them certain doctrines which together with other causes increased the unrest among them and started them on a remarkable pilgrimage, the accounts of which electrified two continents. This zealot told the Doukhobors that it was wrong to till the ground when they could live on fruit in a warm country, that it was wrong to use money or anything made of metals which were obtained from the earth and prepared for use by their enslaved brethren. He told them it was against the divine law to use animals as beasts of burden or to utilize any of their products. He cited the example of Christ "who abandoned manual labor and went about preaching and teaching the law of God." This, he considered, the Doukhobors ought to do also. The sect immediately split. The majority of the Doukhobors refused to accept these teachings and abandon their settled way of life, while about one-fourth of them prepared to carry into actual practice these wild theories. Literal and foolish interpretation of familiar texts played a part in inaugurating

the movement. Much bitter feeling was aroused as families and villages were divided. Efforts were made by members of their own sect, like Gregory Verigin, brother of the leader, to dissuade them from their mad enterprise, but in vain. They first turned loose their stock, which the mounted police at once took charge of for the government. They next gave their money to the nearest immigration agent, cut off metal hooks, eyes and buttons from their clothes, threw away their leather footgear (as products of animal life), and exhorting their friends to join them, they started on the famous pilgrimage, increasing in numbers as they passed on.

Their object was first to seek the messiah, whom they expected to find in Minnedosa or Winnipeg. Next they were to preach the gospel to all men and seek a rich, warm country where there would be no government and they would not have to work and "spoil the earth," but could live on fruit from the trees. They had another motive which they carefully concealed, but which became known years afterward. They had hitherto refused to pay taxes or enter their land individually or return vital statistics. They hoped that their march would so inconvenience the Canadian government that the officials would agree to their demands on the land question, the registration of vital statistics, the payment of taxes, and the transport of their whole number to a warmer climate. The religious element entered into the case, but one who has lived among them for years expressed the opinion that "the Pilgrimage like the Address to All Nations of two years previous, was partly a piece of politics masked by religious phraseology and Bible Texts."[39] The two most prominent leaders in preparing the people for the pilgrimage were Iván Ponomaróf and Vasily Abéydkof. They were influential among the sect and years before the emigration from Russia were the accredited messengers who brought back from Siberia Verigin's recommendation to his people that they abandon meat, tobacco, and strong drink. Among the pilgrims were some of the ablest of the sect, and although most of them seemed to be sincere, they

[39] This is the opinion of Herbert P. Archer, who has done a great deal for the Doukhobors. A direct impulse was given to the movement by Verigin's letters, which had been published in 1901 in Russia, and were in circulation among the Doukhobors. They were ready to put into practice the leader's views as expressed therein.

have never seen fit to give any satisfactory explanation of their conduct during this movement.

On the march, the pilgrims endured fatigue and hardships which would seem enough to kill ordinary men but to which some of them appeared quite insensible. They set out, many of them, barefooted, bareheaded, and with nothing but their clothes and some bread and apples. Early on the march they threw away their heavy outer clothing, for many believed that God would send them a second summer instead of winter, and this belief was strengthened by the singularly fine weather which they enjoyed for a time. They lived on what was given them in the villages through which they passed, and on grain and corn gleaned in the fields and picked up around elevators, supplemented by dried rosebuds, leaves, herbs, grasses, and anything of vegetable origin. They carried their sick and feeble on stretchers made of poplar poles and blankets. As they marched they sang their weird and plaintive psalms; they have always been fond of singing and some of their strange but beautiful music has come down to them from remote generations. A special correspondent writing a reliable account in the *Manitoba Free Press* said of them: "A razor has not touched the beard of one of the pilgrims since they adopted their new belief. All are unkempt, unshaven, hollow cheeked, and wild eyed. In front stalks the new 'John the Baptist,' his jet black beard and long hair floating in the autumn wind. Suddenly he will stop with eyes glaring before him, then leap forward, clutching at the air with extended grasping hands, crying, 'I see him! I see Jesus! He is coming! He is here!' The dementia can be seen to run through the procession like a wave at these words."[40] Their condition became serious after they passed the last of their villages October 25, 1902, for the sick would not take medicine for fear their souls would be forever lost. When they reached Yorkton, the 1,060 women and children were not allowed to go further, and the police by using a mixture of force and persuasion, dispatched them home. The authorities tried to stop the men also, but they eluded the police and tramped doggedly on. On November 3, the weather changed and the first

[40] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 237.

snows fell. A sharp wind came on, and as they had to sleep in the open, they suffered much from the exposure. Under the combined influence of the increased cold, starvation, exhaustion, and religious theories and superstitions, some of the pilgrims became quite demented. Finally the authorities took decisive action and through the efforts of the mounted police, the deluded men were taken in hand and more or less forcibly deposited on the cars of a special train by which they were sent back to Yorkton, November 8. This closing incident of the pilgrimage took place at Minnedosa but it was some weeks before the dissension and excitement calmed down. Peter Verigin, on his arrival, firmly and promptly set to work to restore harmony, but it was no easy matter. Another attempt at a pilgrimage was made in 1903 and came about in the following fashion. Verigin in visiting the different villages after the first pilgrimage, had deemed it expedient in villages where the pilgrims were predominant to approve of their zeal for righteousness. He even went to the length of reproaching the non-pilgrims for lack of zeal, and overplayed his part. Some of the non-pilgrims resolved to mend matters by starting a pilgrimage more thoroughgoing than the first. It never grew to any proportions, however, and was a small affair in comparison with the first one. Verigin discouraged it in every way for it was contrary to his real wishes, and it was promptly stopped by the police. The second pilgrimage had one additional feature not found in the first. During the march, at intervals, especially when entering a town or settlement, the pilgrims divested themselves of all garments and both men and women "following the example of Adam and Eve in Paradise," presented themselves in a state of absolute nudity. Some of these semi-sane fanatics were imprisoned in Regina for a term of three months. Disgraceful reports, which have never been either verified or disproved, were afterward circulated about the cruel treatment which they received while in various prisons in Canada. These statements naturally produced an unfavorable impression of Canadian justice among the Doukhobors. The whole movement materially injured the Doukhobors and reflected upon the good judgment of their friends and well-wishers. There have been no more pilgrimages since 1907, when one was undertaken by a small number — about sixty-four

—who called themselves "free men," but who are called by the others "wanderers" or "pilgrims." These Doukhobors, however, are still looking for a warm country where they need not work but can live on fruit. Both communistic and independent Doukhobors disapprove of them. They were even refused food by the former when they passed their villages on the march. The "free men" made their headquarters at Hlebododarnoe, a village where the extremists from all the other villages have gathered and lived for several years. The "free men," however, are now more moderate than they formerly were. The Doukhobors need careful attention on the part of the government until the influence of their environment and the public school system shall have their full effect in transforming them into good citizens.

The most perplexing phase of the Doukhobor problem to the Canadian government is the attitude which they have maintained toward the civil authorities. Many of them deny the authority and righteousness of any governmental control over the individual. From the first they have showed that they were suspicious of the kindest and most well-intentioned efforts of the Canadian government. They feared that any compliance on their part with the governmental regulations would involve some obligation conflicting with what they understood to be the "law of God." They objected to the Canadian homestead laws which required them to apply in severalty for their homesteads. Most of them protested against the civil registration of land titles, marriages, births, and deaths, declaring that these were no concern of the government. Communications from the Society of Friends in Philadelphia urging compliance with Canadian laws, and direct explanation by government officials were of no avail. The Doukhobors adhered to their views on the subject until the arrival of their leader, Verigin, when they began to comply with the registration laws to some extent. They refused to become British subjects because, they said, as believers in Christ, who forbade his followers to take an oath, they could not take the oath of allegiance. Besides, they consider themselves citizens of the entire globe and do not recognize the existence of national states and separate forms of government. They are also afraid

to sign their names to any document as they recall the trouble that came to them by doing this in Russia. Their instinctive and inbred attitude of antagonism may seem unreasonable and childish, but it can be largely explained by their long and bitter experience under Russian despotism.

Unwilling to proceed to harsh measures to enforce their authority, the Canadian authorities wisely adopted a policy of waiting in the hope that as their means increased and they became more enlightened, the Doukhobors would finally come to a more reasonable attitude. In this hope the government has been partially justified, for certain localities have made substantial progress, entering some homesteads and partly complying with the registration laws. This is true particularly of the Prince Albert settlers. On the other hand, many localities have made no progress at all for years and new vagaries like the pilgrimage are continually arising to vex the officials.

The government, for some years, has practically granted to the Doukhobors the privilege of possessing their land in common, for there was a provision in the law at the time the Doukhobors came to Canada which allowed the people to live in villages. As they lived almost entirely in villages and were entitled to hold their homesteads under this hamlet provision of the Dominion lands act, their right to their homesteads did not altogether depend upon their actual residence upon them. After having been in Canada for seven years the large majority of the Doukhobors were still cultivating their land in common and refusing to become British subjects. The Canadian government, which had made every allowance for them with the expectation that in time they would comply with the requirements, felt that matters could not be left in this condition indefinitely. The Doukhobors were not complying with the provisions of the lands act, and prospective settlers were persistently clamoring for the lands of the Doukhobors since the latter were not fulfilling the conditions or making use of them. A commission was appointed to investigate and secure accurate information in regard to the conditions among them. This commission reported November 25, 1906. "They 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 acres per head."[41] The large majority of the Doukhobors refused to acknowledge individual ownership of their homesteads, while a few of them, called independents, were complying or intended to comply with the terms of the Dominion lands act, although residing in the villages. "The total number of Independents was 849, they had made 211 homestead entries, with 6,906 acres total cultivation, an average of 8.1 acres per head."[42] The settling of the land question in a fair and just manner was a difficult and complex matter, for various difficulties had to be considered. For example, confusion had resulted from the fact that some of the Doukhobors had removed their residence from village to village without regard to the location of the lands entered in their names. Furthermore, community land already cultivated had also to be protected. After reserving 768 quarter sections or 122,880 acres of land for 8,175 communistic Doukhobors and giving the independents their entries, the commission found available for settlement and at the disposition of the government 1,618 homesteads. In 1911 about 600 Doukhobors had taken up homesteads and had become British subjects. The suggestions of the commission in regard to the settlement of this troublesome land question were carried out. All entries by Doukhobors, who were not cultivating the land entered in their names for their own benefit, were cancelled. The Doukhobors were given six months, or until May 1, 1907, in which to make entry. In case the homestead of an independent Doukhobor was more than three miles from the village where he resided, his entry was protected for six months, but if he was not in residence on his homestead before May 1, 1907, his entry was subject to cancellation. To protect the community Doukhobors as much as possible, there were reserved the quarter-section on which the village was situated and adjoining quarter-sections not exceeding in total area fifteen acres to each resident of the village, exclusive of independents, or approximately three times as much land as they had brought under cultivation during eight years, including as much of the community cultivation as possible, in no case exceeding a dis-

[41] *Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries*, 9.
[42] *Ibid.*

tance of three miles from the village. Some of the Doukhobors claimed they could not support themselves on this reserve but most of them were satisfied with the arrangement.[43] Fearing that their holdings would be reduced to seven acres per soul if they did not cultivate their land, the Doukhobors actively set to work to break it up. As they have prospered and their wealth increased, they have since bought several thousand acres in addition to these reserves. Thus in consequence of their refusal to become Canadian subjects, they lost the greater part of their homesteads amounting in value to about two million dollars.

Peter Verigin's attitude toward the land question is noteworthy. It is true that he is in a difficult position but his procedure in this matter appears questionable, to say the least. He found everything in confusion on his arrival and until matters had settled down he announced that the sect would become British subjects. After that, while Verigin still professed his willingness that they should become British subjects, his assistants apparently worked against him and supported the opposition to naturalization among the villages. As it is an indisputable fact that the Doukhobors obey no authority other than Verigin's, only one conclusion is possible. If evidence of his supremacy were wanting it might be found in the fact that at his suggestion in 1886 they changed their name to the "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" after they had in 1816 announced to the Russian government that they would rather die than make such change. The settlement of the land troubles, although it has proved beneficial, has not disposed of the Doukhobor question.

The essence of Doukhoborism is struggle and wandering and the latest development in the history of the Doukhobors is their emigration to British Columbia. Upon the decision of the special commission on the Doukhobor land question there occurred a split in the community; for some of the members of the community, as has already been stated, accepted the government's

[43] The Prince Albert colony of about one thousand people, not satisfied with its lands, has sought to remove to the Yorkton district. Seven hundred seventy-four Doukhobors, living near Devil's Lake, on March 30, 1907, also petitioned to join the Yorkton Doukhobors, requesting that their lands be exchanged for allotments in the Yorkton district. The government found it necessary to refuse the petition but many of them have removed in spite of this refusal.

offer, made individual entries and became Canadian subjects. From that time on, Peter Verigin determined to move the community to some other province where he thought conditions would be more favorable for continuing communistic life. British Columbia was decided upon and Verigin secured the first land holding there by private purchase, and moved a first installment, consisting in all of two thousand Doukhobors. Altogether five thousand and seven hundred out of the eight thousand Doukhobors in Saskatchewan moved to British Columbia. The rest were to follow shortly. Verigin purchased a total of 14,407 acres at a cost of $646,017 in British Columbia on the banks of the Columbia river, and established four large settlements there at Brilliant, Glade, Pass Creek, and Grand Forks. The transportation and resettling cost about $200,000, both the exodus and the establishment of the immigrants in their new home, as well as the land itself, being paid for from the central fund. This fund is administered under the direction of Verigin though managed by Mihail Kazahoff for the benefit of the community. It represents the community property. Each adult man in the village contributes $200 annually to this central fund. A village committee manages the village property which belongs to each individual village. While in Saskatchewan the Doukhobors had acquired wealth; the balance sheet of the community dated August 13, 1912, showed total assets of $332,300 and this sum did not include property owned by individuals or independents. The Doukhobors have paid their debts and no better evidence is needed of their thrift than the fact that eighteen months after their arrival in Canada and their settlement under the most unfavorable conditions, in a moneyless condition and lacking everything, they requested the English Quakers "to cease pecuniary gifts and apply them where they were more needed."

In British Columbia they have cleared and cultivated land, have established water-works and electric light systems at Brilliant, have erected sawmills at all the settlements and have operated successfully a brickworks plant at Grand Forks and a jam factory at Nelson, thus adding manufacturing to their agricultural pursuits. The leading characteristic of the Doukhobors is still simplicity in life and manners. They have built their houses in the British Columbia colonies so that each of

them accommodates several families. The women take turns at cooking, baking, cleaning, and other work, and the men take turns caring for the heating stoves, and similar tasks. They are still strict vegetarians and raise everything for themselves. Verigin claims that the cost of living for a Doukhobor family is the lowest in America. They have banished the use of money from their community; when members receive money from outside it is turned into the common treasury. Their need of money has in fact been eliminated, for clothing and every other necessity is free of charge for all members of the colony. A committee has charge of purchasing and selling and this committee exists as long as it does its work acceptably. The Doukhobors discuss and settle their public affairs at a public forum, which is an assembly house for more than 2,000 people.

But even in British Columbia the Doukhobors have failed to find peace. Soon after settlement they came into conflict with the government. They had asumed that they would not be disturbed in the matter of governmental regulations but the officials began to demand compliance with the school laws and the registration of marriages, births, and deaths. The Doukhobors object to registration as being against the tradition of their religion. They insist that they can not comply with a law which they cannot sanction. They reject the English kind of education with boy scouting and military drill as "a most pernicious and malicious invention of this age." They denounce the prevailing commercial system of education as emphasizing too much the development of material interests and ignoring the spiritual factors. They say it creates an insatiable greed for easy money and luxury. In regard to registration they state that they do not consider their residence in Canada as fixed for all time, saying "To-day we happen to be here, after some time we may find ourselves in another country altogether." Since they consider war wicked and wholesale murder, they absolutely refuse to serve in the army.

Thus the hope of finding perfect freedom in a new country has not been realized and the history of the Doukhobors in Canada is not finished. Convinced of the worthlessness of their material success and of all worldly aims, they are as intent as ever on spiritual salvation. That their efforts to realize cer-

tain ideals of conduct, however admirable, will prove futile seems certain. Their policy is too negative and the spirit of the times is against them. "At the same time, in the stubborn seeking for perfection in isolation from the world, society and temptations of wealth and the body they are an example and light to a materialistic age." In their future, as with all primitive and natural phenomena of decay and dispersal, lies the possibility of extraordinary evolution. Whatever the ultimate outcome, for the Canadian government the Doukhobor problem remains still, as it was in the beginning, the most perplexing one which the immigration department has to face.

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